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MODERN PROPHETICAL LITERATURE.*

THE works, the titles of which we have placed below, form not a tithe of those, on the same subject, which have appeared since we last treated of the Literature of the Apocalypse.^b In the midst of continual failures in facts and dates, and under the burden of much indifference from one portion of the religious public, and of almost ridicule from another, the students of

* *Armageddon; or, A Warning Voice from the last Battle-field of Nations, proclaiming by the mouths of Prophets and Apostles, that the Close of the Times of the Gentiles, the Second Personal Advent and Millennial Reign of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are nigh at hand; when God's Covenants with the Patriarchs, and our Lord's promises to His Apostles, "and Prophets, and Saints, and them that fear His Name, small and great" (Rev. xi. 18), will be literally and completely fulfilled.* In Three Volumes and an Appendix. By a Master of Arts of the University of Cambridge. London: Wertheim and Co. 1858. 8vo.

To Θηριον: a Dissertation on the History of the "Beast," as derived from the Prophets Daniel and John; and of that Head of the Beast especially "whose deadly wound was healed" (Rev. xiii. 3). By Maurice Cely Trevilian, Esq. London: Wertheim and Co. 1858. 8vo, pp. 604.

Three Letters on the Prophecies. On the True Place of the Seventh Seal; on the Infidel Individual Antichrist; and on Antiochus Epiphanes as a supposed Subject of Prophecy. Being in continuation of Eight Letters published in 1831. By James Hatley Frere, Esq. London: Hatchard. 1859. 8vo, pp. 108.

Notes on the Apocalypse, as explained by the Hebrew Scriptures; the Place of Prophecy in America and Australia being pointed out. London: Rivingtons. 1859. 8vo, pp. 150.

^b *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1857.

Daniel and the Revelation continue their efforts. If their appropriations of inspired prophecy cannot be sustained in some cases, they make fresh attempts; and if they are manifestly incorrect, they ingeniously change their ground, and weave a new hypothesis. They remind us of the perseverance of a household insect, who will repair its web, although it should be broken twenty times by the same hand. We wish we could feel that the reparations of the theories of those to whom God has given intelligence, were as effective and useful as those of the humbler followers of the unreasoning instincts with which their Maker has endowed them.

The greater part of orthodox Christians in all ages have been content with an admission that prophecies remain to be fulfilled, but that it was their duty to wait patiently till the book of Providence should be opened, and the finger of God clearly point out the accomplishment. They have recognized the existence of a vast field hereafter to become known in all its extent and all its peculiar features, but at present a *terra incognita*, a land from which the hand of God has not yet lifted the cloud which has hitherto rested upon it. Like sensible geographers, they have refrained from giving to this unexplored continent mountains and rivers supplied only by the imagination. But, on the other hand, the modern students of prophecy have been unwilling that any part of the *orbis terrarum* of Biblical truth should remain unmapped out, and, in the absence of authentic surveys of the country, they have guessed what must be the filling up of the outline. While sober and thoughtful men have rested in peace, in the general belief that prophecies exist which are some day to be accomplished; the more sanguine and fanciful have tried to anticipate the time of the unveiling, and have stated what, in their opinions, must be the events which sages and seers have darkly foretold. To change the figure, the one class of theologians are like the old alchymists, working by a method of empiricism which will only satisfy themselves; while another class is content to abide by the Baconian method, and to take sober induction as their guide.

It will be replied, that we are invited, indeed commanded, to search into prophecy, and that one or two texts are sufficient to warrant all that is doing by the explorers of unfulfilled predictions. For instance (Rev. i. 3), "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein, for the time is at hand." Or (Rev. xxii. 6, 7), "These sayings are faithful and true, and the Lord of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. Behold I come

quickly; blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." But it will be plain that if exegesis is lawfully applied to these and similar passages, many objections will arise to the interpretation of those who make it a duty to find out to what precise events unfulfilled prophecies refer. The word *prophecy*, it might be suggested, does not necessarily convey the idea of a prediction; nor does it follow that the charge given in the above texts refers to the *whole* of the book of Revelation, but only to the practical parts of it. And knowing how dangerous it is for men to divine beforehand what may be meant by this and that prediction, the cautious divine would apply all legitimate limitations to such texts, as he would to the exhortation, "Swear not at all," or "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." He would do this even if such texts stood alone, and were not limited and explained by those of a contrary tendency. But these texts of the Revelation, admitting as they do so many meanings besides that which some students of prophecy give to them, are positively neutralized in that exposition by others whose purport is clear and explicit. For example, we find in Acts i. 6, 7, that the disciples were anxious to know what was about to take place in the Divine government, and said, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" and that our Lord replied to them, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power." Such a text as this, so plain that it hardly admits of more than one exposition, might weigh with all sober divines to repress curiosity, and to leave future events to throw such light on prophecies that no doubt can remain of the connexion between them.

There is another consideration which weighs much with ourselves to discourage the prying into futurity of which we are now speaking; we mean the conduct of God in regard to the individuals of which his Church is composed. How eagerly we often try to discover what is in the future! How we investigate narrowly the *shadows* of coming events which appear sometimes to lie in our pathway, in order to see what it is which they adumbrate! How frequently it appears to us to be of prime importance to our interests that we should know a *little* of the future in order to regulate our present movements and conduct! And yet how the book of time refuses to open its closed leaves, how inexorably it hides the mysterious characters which we seek so earnestly to copy out and to solve! An earnest curiosity, justified, as we are tempted to think, by our own interests, is thus often indulged, and yet as often it is disappointed, and we are at length brought to rest in the concurrent judgment of

good men in all ages, that it is far better for us to remain in the dark, and that future events are concealed from us by the great goodness of our heavenly Parent. A principle of the Divine Government so universal, and so generally admitted to be all-wise and good, in relation to individuals, we might expect to operate in regard to the Church at large; and this analogy, though not of itself an argument, becomes a powerful one when viewed in connexion with such a declaration as fell from the lips of our Lord. At all events, *we* are convinced, as the greater part of the Church in all ages has been, that it is not the will of God that we should know to what events or persons prophecies relate till their fulfilment has taken place, and catholic consent is given to the fact.

But it will be found that such works as those which are now before us proceed on a principle directly opposed to this. Their writers maintain that it is God's intention to indicate what is coming in such a manner that certain persons and events may be pointed to as the subjects of prophecy, and that their course and conduct may be reckoned upon. The process seems to be this. It is concluded that the Revelation, for instance, speaks of some events fulfilled and of some still future, and that the former supply a key by which the latter can be indicated with a degree of certainty sufficient to influence our conduct. The conclusion is jumped at that certain events in the past have accomplished certain predictions, and it is then assumed that certain others, linked with these in a fixed sequence, must take place. Thus, for example, it is assumed that the Papacy is the subject of much of the prophecy of the Revelation, and events in its past history are pointed to as manifest fulfilments. It follows on this assumption, that the Beast spoken of in the thirteenth chapter is a development of the Papacy, and that its *number* must be found in some individual who will play a conspicuous part on the theatre of Christendom. Hence, in past ages, there has been an effort made to say who the Beast is; and, although the failures have been most numerous, a similar effort has been, and is being made in modern times, and is ingeniously attempted in the volumes before us. To us such treatises seem to have no foundation to rest on but the fancy of the writers, that the whole structure they build rests on a mere assumption in the first instance, and consequently on a baseless reasoning throughout. We could say much on the general question of the presumed application of the Apocalypse to these recent centuries of the Christian era, but our object now is different. We wish merely to present to our readers the grand theory of the three first of the works on the list we have given

above, with the sure result, if we are not greatly mistaken, of inducing them to hold fast to the declaration of our Lord, that it is not given to us "to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power."

We are not surprised that those who think that the Beast of the Apocalypse is an individual character, and that this is about the time when he should exhibit his powers in Christendom, should fix upon the present Emperor of the French as identical with him. We say this, not because we can see that any of the characteristics given in the Revelation, or in other parts of Holy Scripture where Antichrist is mentioned, meet in Louis Napoleon, but because we know the facility with which some students of prophecy can use the Procrustean operation in order to accomplish the conditions of their theories. We shall give rather copious extracts from these hallucinations, so as to allow the authors to speak for themselves, and it will be seen that, with very different mental qualifications, they unite in one testimony as regards the fulfilment of certain portions of Apocalyptic visions.

The writer of *Armageddon* has exhibited the greatest industry, and proves himself to be well acquainted with the literature of modern prophetic exegesis. He is very diffusive, but his four volumes (for the Appendix forms one) may be advantageously consulted for materials which are capable of being made a better use of than we think he has done. A copious index renders reference easy, and by turning to that we see at a glance the opinion he forms of Louis Napoleon as the Beast. For instance, under Napoleon I. we find the following items among a host of others:—"The supposed seventh head of the Imperial Beast;" "his baptismal name contained in the mystic number of the beast in Greek numerals, two Greek compounds designating him by the same characteristics as those given to Nebuchadnezzar in Jer. iv. 7." "The seventh head wounded unto death by the sword at Waterloo," etc.; "Death of his son, and all apparent expectation of the revival of the septimo-octave Headship in the Napoleonic line at an end until the appearance of Napoleon III. upon the scene." This brings us to the heading in the index of Napoleon III., and under that we find him as "constituting in himself the septimo-octave Head or Headship of 'the Beast that was, is not, and yet is;'" the mystical number of the Beast is said to be "contained both in his baptized and surname, the former in Latin, the latter in Greek numerals." The Wilful King of Daniel is "to be finally developed in him;" he is said to "assume divine honours, like his uncle," and it is asserted that the "world will probably be divided between him and Russia."

These brief notices in the index are expanded at great length in the volumes themselves, and we have found more about Louis Napoleon in them than we have met with elsewhere. The passage we now quote is a long one, yet it is only a small portion of what we find on the same topic :—

“He prospered, moreover, until the indignation of God was accomplished, through him as His instrument, against the blaspheming and unrepentant persecutors of the literal as well as the spiritual Israel; through him, the ‘Scorching Sun’ of the Fourth Vial, as we shall presently see, was under its primary fulfilment: and then, as had been foretold by the prophet, he came to his end, on the barren rock of St. Helena, friendless, deserted, stripped of all his earthly glory, and with none to help him. Such too, as we see by the conditions of the prophecy of Revelation, now under our consideration, was to be the fate of the Seventh Head, thereby proving, in everything, the identity of Napoleon I. with that head. It was to continue for a short space only; inferring thereby the previously long duration of the Sixth Headship, and instead of falling, as the other heads had done, through internal regulations or revolutions, it was to be wounded to death. Yet was this his apparently deadly wound to be healed, and all the world to wonder after the Beast who, though slain by the sword, yet lived; a revival that was manifestly to be exhibited in the septimo-octave Head, or Eighth Head of the Seven, and so close a resemblance would this his resurrection Head, as it may be termed, bear to the defunct one, that it would seem to the world as if it had never died.

“And has not this all been marvellously fulfilled to the very letter in Napoleon I. and his nephew Louis Napoleon? For eleven years only, from 1804—1815, did the reign of the Seventh Head continue; it was, as it were, ‘slain to death’ in the bloody field of Waterloo. At the decease of the captive of St. Helena, in 1821, the beast ceased to live: and, to all human foresight, the remainder of the prophecy was involved in darkness, for the restoration of the Bourbons, which ensued on the deposition of the Seventh Head, was followed in 1833 by the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, as the young king of Rome was afterwards called, and all prospect of the revival of the Seventh Head was, apparently, at an end. Yet did He, the Omniscient, fulfil it in his own good time. First the ashes of the departed emperor, the imperial Seventh Head, were, in accordance with his dying request, ‘that they might repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people he loved so well,’ exhumed in 1840, by permission of the British Government, from their tomb in St. Helena, brought back to France, and deposited in a splendid mausoleum, in the Church of the Invalides at Paris.

“And, as if the usurping spirit survived in those remains, but a few short years elapsed ere it rose again bodily, as it were, from its resting-place, and expelled the junior, as it had previously done the elder, branches of the house of Bourbon, from the throne of their ancestors. After a suspension of existence for three and thirty years, the Beast lived again under his resurrection, or septimo-octave Head, or Headship, in the person of Napoleon III., when, on the flight of Louis Philippe in 1848, he was

made President of the French Republic, and the astounding words, '*The Beast that was, is not, and yet is,*' were accomplished. They were accomplished too where least expected, in one who was looked upon either as a mere London trifter, or rash adventurer, whose attempt with a few followers at Boulogne to subvert the government of Louis Philippe, was rewarded with an apparently contemptuous imprisonment in the castle of Ham, in Picardy, and that, remarkably enough, in this very same year, 1840, in which the corpse of his uncle was received with triumphant military honours, as if it were alive again, amidst the universal rejoicing of the French nation. 'They elected him (Louis Napoleon, says Mr. St. John, in his biography of him), as one of their representatives in that Legislative Babel, the National Assembly. From that moment the fate of the Republic was sealed. *The skeleton of Napoleon, already brought from St. Helena, rose from its grave to crush the fragile form of liberty to death. The old man stood in the young one, whom he had invested with artificial interest, and enabled him to stifle the voice of freedom.*'—p. 273.

"*'And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.'*" These are sad and fearful words, and may appear in the minds of some to be presumptuously applied, even though conjecturally, since time alone can warrant, it may be urged, their direct application. Yet is our investigation neither unchristian, nor unscriptural, since we are everywhere most especially enjoined to beware of this last most terrible creation of the Dragon, out of whose destined abode in the bottomless pit we are to look for its rising. And, if we find such embryo characteristics of the identification of the *resuscitated Napoleon dynasty* with the septimo-octave Headship, as may lead us ultimately to expect that possible further and final Antichristian development in it which may reveal it to a wondering world as 'that wicked one whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of his coming,' it is our duty to be on our guard, as well as to warn others, that with his day comes also 'the day of the Lord's vengeance and the year of his redeemed.' It is clear, from the terms of the prophecy, that this septimo-octave Headship is to stand forth to the world, as if it were a continuation of the very existence of the seventh head. And almost every thought and word and act of the present occupant of the French Imperial throne, from the commencing period of his election to the Presidential chair to this hour, are in such marvellous conformity with those of his predecessor, that they seem by an overruling Providence to point him out, either as the expected one himself, or the foundation-stone of that septimo-octave Headship out of which it will spring, and be finally developed as *the Antichrist.*"

We must now turn to the exegetical defence of this application of prophecy, if such a term can be applied to what is more like a conundrum.

"Another of the most important preliminary and distinguishing marks of this last Headship is found in Louis Napoleon, in the number of his Latinized or Roman name, *Ludovicus*, under which, having dropped his other baptismal name of Charles, he is prayed for in all the churches, and the numerals of which form the mysterious number 666, as thus :

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \text{L} & \text{V} & \text{D} & \text{O} & \text{V} & \text{I} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{S} \\ 50 & 5 & 500 & 0 & 5 & 1 & 100 & 5 & 0 = 666. \end{array}$$

And, as we have already seen in our remarks upon the supposed Seventh Head, his other name of Napoleon contains the same mystic number in Greek numerals; so that whether the 'number of the Beast' be interpreted in Greek or Latin, it is equally to be found in the name of the third Head of the Napoleon dynasty."

It would be a reflection on the judgment of our readers if we were to attempt to point out all the objectionable parts of this passage; we will only allude to the determination displayed by the writer to make out his theory by *all* means, so that he gives to the Latin O the numerical power which it has in the Arabic notation. It is quite clear that by this process anything may be made out of Scripture, and any other great man of the day might be dignified by the title of the Apocalyptic Beast without much difficulty.

But we must now refer to Mr. Trevilian. His *Dissertation on the History of the Beast* is, in many respects, a remarkable production. It is the work of a layman, and it displays strong convictions and great earnestness of purpose. Provided it were not faulty *ab initio*, we should admire the closeness of the reasoning, and if in what we could consider a sound cause, the terseness of some of the arguments. There is also much originality in the treatment of the subject, and views of the matter are presented which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere. To one of these we shall refer presently, but we will first quote some paragraphs to shew the way in which Louis Napoleon is brought upon the scene, and the kind of argument by which he is identified with the Beast.

"It has been shewn, that the Vision we are engaged with of Daniel's 'four beasts' has a close relation—that of identity of its component parts, to the vision of Rev. xiii.; and analogy seems imperatively to demand, in consequence, that the seventh head in Daniel—being the same as the one wounded to death in the Revelation—should be found in a *second manifestation*, or the 'kingdom' be in some way '*divided*;' and as the great Napoleon is the seventh head in Daniel (ver. 7), the character presented in verse 8, the 'little horn,' will necessarily be some one who can respond to the description of *himself restored* (who but Louis Napoleon?) and who can figure in the 'eighth' place. If there be really any requirement of this sort arising out of the analogy, it seems impossible to put aside the claim of the 'little horn' to satisfy it; and if the 'little horn' thus becomes the required 'eighth' head, it is equally impossible not to acknowledge Louis Napoleon, being the resuscitated *seventh* head, to be he. That is to say, not so much (it may be) that Louis Napoleon is the impersonation of the 'little horn,' as that in his *day*, or *dynasty*, will be fulfilled the *signs* of the 'little horn.'

"Now if Louis Napoleon be, indeed, representatively, the personal 'little horn,' it can only be so by his assuming a new and very unexpected guise. He is to be traced in a direct manner only to the headship of the *Beast*; by what metamorphosis can we imagine him to appear likewise as head of the Papacy, as at once the secular, and sacro-secular, head of Rome! Even imagination fails as a guide, except it be rudely to suggest that, not content with the *subordinate spiritual government* held by all sovereign princes, he may declare himself the *spiritual head* of the Church, the high priest as well as king of the State; so making good the pretensions to holiness ascribed to the 'little horn,' which has eyes like the eyes of a man; and to the 'man of sin,' who 'sitteth in the temple of God (the Christian Church) shewing himself that he is God;' *i. e.*, sitting as Christ, *supreme in all authority*—('Ut in templo Dei sederit, ostendens se *tanquam* ipse sit Christus, et Filius Dei;' Jerome: *vid.* O'Sullivan, 46). It is in Louis Napoleon at any rate, and in some such manner, that we think it highly probable will be manifested the final phase of the 'little horn,' as at once the lord and son of the Papacy, *as Christ is of the house of David*, and so *THE Antichrist*.^c

"Now if the 'little horn' be the Papacy; and if the 'little horn' be in a concentrated sense Louis Napoleon; it might fairly be expected, from the artistic propriety observable in every part of prophecy, that this personage should carry about him *personally* some evidence of the claim, shewing (for instance) his peculiar title to the *appellation* itself. Now he is a 'horn' of empire, by virtue of being son of Louis, king of Holland, than whom it would be impossible to imagine a more veritable 'horn' or subordinate power, as shewn by the circumstance just now alluded to, of his having abdicated his crown rather than obey the injurious behests of his imperial 'Head.' Like begets like. Had Louis Napoleon been the son of Napoleon, it would have been impossible that he should pass, personally, for a 'horn.' He is also a 'little horn' because springing up (as it were accidentally) as a '*lusus naturæ*,' without any natural right of position. The power committed to him rests entirely on his connexion with the great Head departed; with which accords his own avowal, that his '*mission*' is to carry out the will of that Head. But, as if the more fully to establish his identity, and place it beyond all cavil by a double testimony, St. John (be it again mentioned) designates him a *Head*: he appears as the 'eighth Head' of empire, in the great vision of the fall of Babylon (Rev. xvii. 11). Thus he is at once in symbolism a *Head*, and a *horn*, springing out of a head. In conformity with which double sign, he carries the double cognomen of Louis, the 'horn,' and Napoleon, the 'head;' the 'horn' that still is, the 'head' that is to be."

Now in what manner does Mr. Trevilian bring the passage in the Revelation, containing the number of the Beast, to prove

^c We must here mention that Mr. Trevilian, in a note to the volume, confesses that he is in error in calling Louis Napoleon *The Antichrist*. He says, "There remains that he is the 'revived Head,' the redoubtable 'eighth king,' of Revelation, the 'vile person' of Daniel, but without those spiritual pretensions which seem inseparable from the idea of *The Antichrist*."

that Louis Napoleon is the individual specified? He does it in two ways, and it is in this part of the dissertation that the originality occurs to which we have referred above. It is well known to Biblical critics that a various reading existed in very early times in the Greek text of Rev. xiii. 18, which is thus referred to by Dr. Tregelles:⁴ "We know from Irenæus that the number was expressed in Greek letters ($\chi\xi\rho$). He speaks of a different reading $\chi\rho$ [616] (which is found in C), and he rests for the true reading, 666, on the authority of 'correct and old copies,' and the information of those who had known the apostle, 'qui facie ad faciem Johannem viderunt.'" The universal canon of criticism has been that two readings of a text cannot both be right, and in that we entirely acquiesce. We cannot well imagine the obscurity which would come over the Holy Scriptures if we were once to admit that various readings might have equal authority. Yet such is Mr. Trevilian's very dangerous admission. He says:—

"When a *varia lectio* of a text presents itself, equally well authenticated in early MSS. as the text commonly received, it is very possible both may have been given by inspiration. Thus, there would be an absurdity in the supposition, because St. Matthew indites the words, 'forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors,' in the Lord's Prayer, and St. Luke writes, 'forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us,' that the one form of words is to be considered less vouched by the inspiring Spirit than the other. Now, there is found a certain 'various reading' of the text $\chi\xi\rho$ (600, 60, 6)—*viz.*, $\chi\rho$ (600, 10, 6), of which Irenæus testifies that it was much received by the learned in his day, though he himself strongly condemns it, receiving without any doubt the better known $\chi\xi\rho$. The question is, whether a 'various reading' presenting itself under such pretensions, may not, by possibility, deserve to be regarded in a higher light than that of a mere *alternative*, as having been imparted by the Holy Spirit as a *concomitant* portion of the original text. Of course, being a case where *number* is concerned, and all the precision of number required, it would be folly to regard this numerical *variation* with the same indifference, as the merely *verbal* variation above cited from the Lord's Prayer; but I can see no improper violence in the proposition—seeing the whole passage to have the appearance of *defectiveness*, and the sacred enigma to require *two members* instead of one in the form of its answer—that some number such as this, regarded now only as a 'various reading,' may have slipped by some means or other out of the inspired Word."

We will not say such a thing is *impossible* as two readings having authority, but it is far too *improbable* to found any-

⁴ *The Book of Revelation, Translated from the Ancient Greek Text, etc.*, p. 25. London. 1859.

thing practical upon. Yet Mr. Trevilian proceeds to erect on this frail foundation a very bold theory indeed. He surrenders, not in his judgment, but for the sake of argument, the hypothesis that the "various reading" may have formed part of the original text, and confines himself to maintaining its authority. "It should not be a matter of surprise to find some well authenticated number descending from the highest antiquity, occupying perhaps the hazardous position of a 'various reading,' which the very act of giving preference to a competitor at once dooms to annihilation; but being really a *comment* upon the original text, and offering itself, not in the character of a supplanter, but as a result of the early belief that the mysterious number *given* contained an *inner* mystery, the indispensable household god, as it were, in the inmost recesses of the building." The object of all this is as follows. Mr. Trevilian says that "the *mark* of the Beast is not the only, nor the most important thing that invites an investigation, there is also the *name* of the Beast;" and in these two readings of the Greek text he thinks he finds them both!

"Considering that two things are required, and that but one *number* is here given; and considering that, on making the experiment, this number is found to make one of the things required—the *mark* (not in a direct but an enigmatical manner, as might have been anticipated from the depths of a secret which inspiration had condescended to exercise itself upon)—what more likely than that this single number should prove to be the depository of the other thing required also? I look around. Is there no friendly finger to point the way in this additional search? Imagination fails! The '*name*' is lost! But, behold! I observe a number descending from apostolic times ($\chi\iota\rho$) greatly differing from the number given, yet bearing a family resemblance to it. I determine to try my hand upon it. I find in the first place—regarding the *given* number $\chi\chi\rho$ again as a sign—that this *new* number yields the component parts and chief characteristics of that sign, in particular its *roots* ($10 + 6$), and *first germination* (10×6)—just as when (putting aside allegory) it is intended to draw forth from a multitude some individual to be its leader (as when Saul was chosen to be king), the selection will naturally fall upon one who most eminently embodies its general character—as did Saul the chief features of the sons of Jacob, as developed in the most favoured of their tribes. Secondly, treating this apparent offspring still as a sign—a tripartite sign, such as is the parent, but constructed as a derivation—I find that, placing its members in a position relatively to each other, which, in unison with the universal custom of mankind, is held to *abrogate the character of a sign, and to exhibit the thing signified*, it renders the name in full length of Louis Napoleon."

By some recondite arithmetical calculations Mr. Trevilian deduces the number 6,000,000 by "unbinding," as he says,

the sign 666; and then the *mark* of Napoleon comes out in this way:—

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N. P. L. N.} \\ \text{i.e., } 50 \times 80 \times 30 \times 50 = 6,000,000! \end{array}$$

To find the name, the first process is to alter and transpose the letters of the various reading, $\chi\epsilon\tau$ and make them $\iota\xi\tau$. But we must give the result in the words of the writer:—

“Now, how to read off this sign? This is the last and most difficult step of all. We know of a certainty by this time, that to read off the *active* Antichrist the terms of the sign must be transposed, and appear in the order 10, 60, 6, (that is, ι , ξ , τ); but the question is, by what legitimate process can this form of sign be converted into a *single number*, so as to be capable of rendering the name required? Here the writer will deem it best to introduce at once the chance discovery he made six years ago, and gave it in vain to the world in his pamphlet:—

A	30	N	50
o	70	a	1
v	400	π	80
ι	10	o	70
s	200	λ	30
		ϵ	5
		o	70
	710	ν	$50 = 356 = 1066 = \iota\xi\tau$.

Again we must say, as of the author of *Armageddon*, that it appears to us that by such intricate processes as these, transposing, and altering, and arranging *pro re natâ*, almost anything may be proved from the passage in Rev. xiii. 18.

We come now to the “Letters” of Mr. Hatley Frere. That gentleman is an octogenarian, and he tells us that he has “been enabled through the means of a new system of Apocalyptic arrangement, and the adoption of more stringent rules of interpretation than commentators have hitherto followed, not only to make known, during the last forty-five years, the general course of predicted events, but also, at every critical period, to verify the truth of his system by calling attention to the particular prophecy next about to receive its fulfilment.” This is rather a bold assumption, but we have no doubt that Mr. Frere thoroughly believes its truth. It appears that the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte signally fulfilled the expectations of the writer, but that his death disconcerted him. He thus wrote in 1850:—

“Subsequently to the death of the young Napoleon, Duke of Reichstadt, who appeared to be pre-eminently qualified to fulfil all the conditions of this prophecy, the author, in a letter published in 1833, entered fully into the difficulties apparently standing in the way of any fulfilment

of it, arising from the circumstance that there was then, and till lately has still continued to be, an entire deficiency in the Roman empire of any individual qualified either by personal influence or descent to sustain the character of the future infidel or individual Antichrist, as set forth by the author in his interpretation of this prophecy, and as universally the subject of the expectation of the ancient church; and he consequently avowed that he considered the '*mystery*' in which it was then involved to be so great as to place '*an impenetrable barrier against his further inquiries*;' nevertheless he maintained that the divine science of prophetic interpretation would eventually be completely vindicated, and the true interpretation satisfactorily ascertained by the occurrence of the following events, which he has uniformly, during these thirty-four years, endeavoured to hold up to the view of the Church as the signs and circumstances which would accompany the manifestation of the infidel Antichrist in his last form as eighth head of the Roman Empire: namely, that the time when *would be on the pouring out of the seventh Apocalyptic vial of wrath*;—that THE PLACE WHERE *would be on the throne of Rome*;—and that the CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH it would occur, would be *as the result of an universal Continental popular insurrection and revolution*: and he cannot now but notice the first dawning of the rising light, and the already changed and more favourable aspect of affairs since he wrote in 1833.

“The expected great Continental revolution of the Seventh Vial has at length taken place, and at the same time the obstacle to the fulfilment of the prophecy arising from the absence in the Roman empire of any fit representative of the late Emperor Napoleon the Great is found no longer to exist. By an event most extraordinary, and which, considered in connexion with this prophecy, may be justly esteemed miraculous, but of a much more reasonable and Scriptural character, and more consonant to the present nature of the divine dispensations than the resurrection of Napoleon from the dead would have been (which some who have adopted imperfectly the author's views have crudely and enthusiastically expected), we see Louis Napoleon, who is now the heir of Napoleon the Great, occupying his uncle's place as the head of the French Republic; and the general expectation, and the occasional cries of '*Vive l'Empereur*,' already pointing out to him his future course; while another event, equally extraordinary as to the means by which it has been brought about, bearing as it must do more or less remotely upon the development of this prophecy, is the incipient connexion which has taken place between himself, as President of the French Republic, and the city of Rome, of which he has been for a season the virtual governor, and which has been so long occupied by the French army. This important measure, the result and consequences of which no politician would venture to pronounce upon, appears to have been brought about without adequate motive, unless it has arisen from the ambition of the successor of Napoleon; and though the occupation should be only temporary, yet it may be most important in its results; and together with his sudden and unexpected elevation to the head of the French nation, can hardly be considered otherwise than as partaking of a supernatural character.

"Referring, then, to those views which the author has always held, and to the difficulties which have been so recently and so suddenly surmounted, he cannot but consider it as highly probable, if not altogether unquestionable, that the future prophetic representative of the late Emperor Napoleon the Great will prove to be Louis Napoleon, or otherwise some member of his family who may hereafter occupy a similar position."

We must now leave this subject. We much doubt whether many of our readers will thank us for occupying our pages with what has so little that is scientific about it, which is so purely fanciful, which so sets at naught all received canons of Biblical interpretation. But we do not think that such modes of religious thought, however remote from what we could wish to see accomplished in theology, can either be ignored or treated with avowed contempt. If there is an excess of a sort of superstition in the hypotheses, stated as *facts*, which we have briefly brought before our readers, we must bear in mind that there is another phase of religious thought, equally distant from the centre of truth, yet far more dangerous; we mean a theological indifference. Prophecy certainly ought to be studied, unless we are prepared to pass over, as unfit for thoughtful investigation, a large part of the Word of God; and probably such writers as those we have now reviewed have more of the temper necessary for discovering the relations and bearings of divine philosophy than many more correct thinkers. The thing most to be lamented is the want, in such writers, of consecutive reasoning, of sound induction. That their heart is better than their head, may be affirmed with safety; for we can bear witness to the earnest piety which pervades their literary productions.

The root of the evil is, that a foregone conclusion is rigidly adopted, and made to shape the course and current of all after investigations. Certain data are assumed as true in relation to the Apocalypse, and it is concluded that the prophecies it gives must be comprehensive of the whole history of the Church, and that that history is confined within the limits of a few generations after our own time. The whole course of God's proceedings in the government of the Church are first confined within about two thousand years, by a most arbitrary and unfounded hypothesis, and then, as a matter of course, certain events and persons *must be* fixed upon as being indicated in these prophecies. This accounts for so many persons of modern times having received the equivocal distinction of being either *the* Beast or a part of that monster. We can see nothing in Louis Napoleon to constitute him either the Beast or the Antichrist, except a kind of necessity in these students of prophecy to confer these titles on *some one* at the present era. They have decided first

that the previous prophecies *must* refer to the past course of Christendom, and then they *must* perfect the chain by finding the Beast. That character *ought* to come in here, *therefore* he must be looked for among existing men, and, *therefore*, Louis Napoleon is he. Let such writers once suspect the truth of their premises—let them imagine that God's government of the Church may be only in its beginning, and that it may continue for thousands or tens of thousands of years—and the charm will be broken; and it will be seen that there is really no foundation for affixing to men of our day the fulfilment of an Apocalyptic representation.

The last work which we have placed on our list, *Notes on the Apocalypse*, is quite a remarkable production, but we regret to say that it is singular for even greater violations of all critical and exegetical laws than the three others. Leaving the trodden path in relation to the number of the Beast, the author goes to America for the key to unlock the mystery, and gives his opinion in the following words:—

“There is another point of view in which the number of the Beast has been considered, that of a date. Generally no satisfactory one seems to have been recognized; but by referring back 666 years from the discovery of America we come to the year 826, in which Pope Pascal acknowledged the German Emperor as the head of the Western Empire, and the Emperor acknowledged the Pope as the head of the Church, thus marking the rise of the sixth head, as the year 1492 marks the rise of the Second Beast, when Columbus first landed in the New World. The year 1492, the first colonization of America, when rose the Second Beast from the Roman earth, was also rendered remarkable by the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain, and the union of Spain as one kingdom, under Ferdinand and Isabella. Here, then, ended all traces of the first war, the second being in full action by the taking of Constantinople by the Turks some years before.”

We find it difficult to feel serious in reading such cabalistic lore as applied to the interpretation of the Holy Bible, where, if anywhere, a sober and enlightened reason should guide the pen. But our readers must be informed, briefly, in what way the Hebrew Scriptures are said to explain the Apocalypse, by the writer before us. “Great Biblical students,” he says, “have held that the Greek of the New Testament should be considered, in reference to the Hebrew roots contained in the Hebraistic words. The Hellenistic Greek is acknowledged on all hands to demand special investigation.” But where are we to find Hebrew roots in Greek words? Everywhere, according to this writer, where a lively fancy can discover any vocal resemblance. We need do no more than quote the following, in which all sorts of recondite meanings are found in the names of the places in which

the seven Churches of Asia were located ;—names, be it remembered, many of them essentially Greek, and having probably no more relation to Hebrew, than the names of London and York have.

“ Ephesus, loving.

“ Smyrna, watched over, kept.

“ Pergamos, dividing, as into heresy.

“ Thyatira, abominations, idols ; teaching.

“ Sardis, the remnant.

“ Philadelphia, the wonderful outpouring of the Spirit.

“ Laodicea, to the time of spueing forth.”

To each of these names a Hebrew word is attached, presenting a most amusing study to a philologist.

We will find space for one more extract, as we do not wish to misrepresent the writer of this volume.

“ON THE NAMES OF THE TRIBES.

“ One of the Hebrew words for city means the *high place*, others *encompassed place*, all equally applicable to the description here given of the New Jerusalem. According to the earlier prophet, her walls, great and high, shall be called Salvation. The Lord himself is represented by the foundations. ‘Other foundation can no man lay;’ and in Zion is laid this foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, as a diamond having twelve faces, on which are written the names of the Apostles of the Lamb.

“ In the order in which the names of the Apostles occur in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew’s Gospel, their signification will be seen to agree in order, as well as in meaning, with the stones of the foundation as enumerated in this chapter.

“ Simon, called Cephas, *a stone*, which breaks or bruises, with jasper, which breaks or bruises.

“ Andrew, *set apart*, with sapphire, the number.

“ James (or Jacobus), *the heel*, with chalcedony, the affliction of the Lord.

“ John, *the graciousness of God*, with emerald, he that keepeth.

“ Philip, *the mediator declining*, with sardonyx, the prince, smitten, melted as wax.

“ Bartholomew, *the son arising*, with sardius, the prince, going forth.

“ Thomas, *united*, with chrysolite, binding.

“ Matthew, *who cometh*, with beryl, the son exalted.

“ James (of Alpheus), *the heel*, with topaz, breaking, bruising.

“ Judas (Lebbeus, or Thaddeus), *coming forth*, with chrysoprasus, bruising, breaking forth.

“ Simon the Canaanite, *possessing*, with jacinth, he shall possess.

“ Paul, *separated*, with amethyst, breaking, separating.

“ This agreement, so regular and complete, must be intentional, part of the plan, in which the annexed table will be seen to comprehend also the names of the tribes and of the early patriarchs.”

ON THE DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO HELL.*

"He descended into hell."—*The Apostles' Creed.*

THAT formulary of Christian faith which has been handed down to our times under the name of the Apostles' Creed, has rightfully obtained, from its antiquity, scripturalness, simplicity, perspicuity, brevity, and comprehensiveness, the assent and veneration of the Universal Church. With respect to its author or the time of its composition, we possess no very satisfactory information. Its title and a general tradition of early date, would lead us to assign its authorship to the apostles themselves. Thus Ambrose, in the fourth century, declares, that "the twelve apostles, as skilful artificers, assembled together, and made a key by their common devices, *i. e.*, the Creed." Rufinus, in the same century, asserts, that the Christians of the period in which he lived, "had received by tradition from the Fathers that, after the ascension of our Saviour, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit, but before the apostles separated from each other to go into the habitable parts of the world to preach the Gospel, they settled among themselves the rule of their future preaching in order to prevent their teaching different doctrines during their separation, unto those whom they should unite to the Christian faith. Whereupon they assembled together, and being full of the Holy Spirit, they composed the Creed, each one inserting what he thought convenient, and ordered it to be a test of their future sermons, and a rule to be given to the faithful." Not content with attributing the authorship of the Creed in general to the apostles, some of the Fathers alleged that each member of the apostolic College inserted a particular article, and hence the name *symbolum* which it received.^b Now it is historically certain, that several articles attributed by these writers to the apostles, *e. g.*, "the descent into hell," ascribed to St. Thomas, and "the Communion of Saints," imputed to Simon Zelotes, formed no part of any creed during the first three centuries. It is manifest, therefore, that the Creed, as it stands in its present form, could not have been composed by the apostles in the manner alleged. The silence of Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, and the silence of ecclesiastical writers generally, for above three centuries, furnishes the strongest evidence that the

* By Rev. Joseph Muenscher, D.D., Mount Vernon, Ohio. From *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1859.

^b This notion originated in a false inference from the word *apostoleo*, and from confounding *σύμβολον* (a test or token) with *συμβολή* (a collection).

Creed as such did not proceed in any form from the hands of the apostles themselves. But although no reliance can be placed on the tradition of the apostolic authorship of this Creed, it cannot be denied that the Creed itself, with the exception of a very few articles, originated in the earlier ages of Christianity, and that it contains the substance of all the primitive creeds, which have been transmitted to our times. It received its distinctive title probably from the circumstance that it was universally esteemed as comprising an admirable summary of those prominent facts and doctrines, which constituted the theme of apostolic preaching, and which were regarded from the first as requisite to be believed in order to an intelligent profession of the Gospel. Accordingly, although it never received the formal sanction of any ecclesiastical council, it early became, and still continues to be, the Creed of Christendom. "This faith," says Irenæus, "the Church guards carefully, *as if she dwelt in one house, believes, as if she had but one soul, and proclaims, teaches, and delivers, as if she possessed but one mouth.*"

In characterizing the Apostles Creed as comprehensive, it is not intended to affirm that it embraces all the important doctrines of Christianity; but that it includes, either by direct affirmation or by obvious implication, all those leading truths which lie at the foundation of our religion; those truths which were classed among the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, in which Catechumens were particularly instructed previous to their admission by baptism to membership in the church. Hence it was early adopted as the universal confession of the baptized, —a position which it still occupies either in form or substance, in every branch of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, whether Eastern or Western.

There are two articles in this venerable and scriptural symbol, however, which, as has been already intimated, cannot lay claim to the same antiquity or universality as the rest. They are the *descent of Christ into hell*, and the *communion of saints*. Neither of these originally formed a part of the creed of the Antenicene Church. Both of them differ in one important respect from the rest of the Creed; for while the meaning of the other articles is plain and perspicuous, as a creed should always be, of these it is equivocal, and liable to misapprehension. It is still an open question, whether "the Communion of Saints" is to be regarded as a distinct, independent article of faith, or as merely an explanatory appendage to the preceding article. Accordingly in some editions of the Book of Common Prayer it is separated from the antecedent clause only by a comma: while in others, by a semi-colon. Regarded simply as exegetical, the mean-

ing of the whole article may be thus expressed: "The holy catholic (universal) church, which is the communion, fellowship, or community of saints." Thus understood, the visible church is declared to be that society which embraces the community of pious persons, who acknowledge substantially the same faith, and hold fellowship with one another, and with Christ Jesus, their common spiritual head. But if the latter clause be viewed as a distinct and independent article of the Creed, then it dogmatically asserts that there exists within the body of the visible, universal church, a spiritual, as well as an outward union, communion and fellowship,—a communion of kindred minds, such as is found, and found only, among real Christians.

In regard to the other article alluded to, viz.: "*the descent of Christ into hell*," there is much more difficulty. The terms in which it is expressed are such as to render its meaning, especially to a mere English reader, very obscure and uncertain. And the learned are by no means agreed as to its true interpretation. In tracing the history of this article, we find that it had no existence in any creed or confession of faith, so far as we have any knowledge, which was drawn up prior to the Council of Nice (A.D. 325); neither does it form any part of the Creed set forth by that Council, nor of that more full and complete edition of it, which was adopted and set forth by the second general Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, and which was incorporated into the liturgy of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, under the name of the *Nicene Creed*.^c Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia (Italy), who died A.D. 410, affirms that in his time it was contained neither in the Roman nor in the Oriental Creeds. It appears to have been first introduced into the (Apostles') Creed of the Church of Aquileia, about the year A.D. 400. Afterwards it was inserted in the creed commonly, though erroneously, called the Athanasian Creed, which is supposed by some to have been composed by Vigilus, Bishop of Thapsus in Africa, about A.D. 485; though others assign to it a somewhat earlier, and others still a later, date. It was not generally adopted by the Church until the seventh century, when it was classed together with the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as an Ecumenical symbol. The Descent into Hell was not introduced into the Roman (Apostles') Creed, until the year A.D. 600; after which it was generally recognized as a part of that symbol. The Church of

^c The Nicene Creed in the Book of Common Prayer differs from the Constantinopolitan Creed only in the addition of the phrase "and of the Son" after the words "who proceedeth from the Father," which was inserted by the Latin Church.

England at the Reformation retained the three Œcumenical Creeds, and also made the Descent the subject of one of the articles of religion drawn up A.D. 1552, in the reign of Edward VI., in which the doctrine was made to rest on the well-known language of Peter. It was re-affirmed in the articles set forth A.D. 1562, during the reign of Elizabeth, with the omission, however, of the clause in which an authoritative interpretation is put upon it by an allusion to a particular text of Scripture. This clause was left out in consequence of the animosity excited by the disputes which *this question* had engendered in some parts of England.^d

The Apostles' Creed was also received by the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the Continent, as a fundamental confession; and in the former it is used, as in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, not only as a confession at baptism, but as an integral part of the public liturgical worship. Among the acts of the general convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, held A.D. 1785, in which the initiative steps were taken towards the perfect and independent organization of that Church, was one expunging the article relative to the Descent of Christ, from the Apostles' Creed,^e and excluding from the Prayer Book the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. When the proposed service-book, containing the alterations and omissions agreed upon by the convocation, came before the bench of English Bishops for their sanction, it was determined by that body to require of the American church the restoration of the Nicene Creed, as a very important safeguard against the Arian and Socinian heresies. The omission of the article "he descended into hell," in the Apostles' Creed, was strongly objected to by the aged and venerable Dr. Moss, bishop of Bath and Wells, chiefly on the ground that it was originally inserted in order to counteract the Apollinarian heresy, which consisted in denying a perfect humanity to the incarnate Saviour, and affirming that his divinity supplied the place of a human soul. The other bishops appear not to have been agreed as to the meaning of the article, nor were they impressed with a conviction of its importance in a formulary of faith; and hence they were not at first inclined to press its restoration. But at length, out of regard to the feelings and wishes of Bishop Moss, more than from any preferences of their own, they passed an order requiring its restoration.

^d See Hardwick's *History of the Articles of Religion*, pp. 101, 132.

^e "In the creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, one clause is omitted as being of uncertain meaning."—*Preface to the Proposed Book*.

In their official letter, addressed to the general convention, the two archbishops say: "Even in that (confession of faith) which is called the Apostles' Creed, an article is omitted which was thought necessary to be inserted with a view to a particular heresy, in a very early age of the church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception. We therefore most earnestly exhort you to restore to its integrity the Apostles' Creed, in which you have omitted an article merely, as it seems, from misapprehension of the sense in which it is understood by our Church." The archbishops do not say, in this communication, in what sense the article was, at that time, understood in the Church of England. It had long ceased to have any authoritative interpretation, and the standard writers of the Church were by no means agreed as to its meaning. The question was then, as it is now, an open one in that Church, and the particular views respecting it, which happened to prevail at that time among the English divines, could have no binding force on the American church. In the general convention, held in 1786, the grounds on which the archbishops insisted upon the restoration of the article, were subjected to a searching criticism. The subject was finally referred to a committee, who, on the following day, reported in favour of the proposition to restore the article.

After a warm debate, the report of the committee was at length adopted, and the clause reinstated; not, however, by the affirmative vote of an actual majority of the dioceses represented.^f In the general convention of 1789, after the consecration of bishops White and Provost had taken place, the Book of Common Prayer was subjected to a final revision, when a discussion again arose respecting the Article on the Descent of Christ. The House of clerical and lay deputies finally passed a resolution, ordering it to be printed in italics and between brackets, with a rubric permitting, instead of it, the use of the words:

^f Five Dioceses or States were represented in that Convention: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and South Carolina. On the question, whether the words "He descended into Hell" should be restored to the Apostles' Creed, agreeably to the recommendation of the committee? the vote taken by Orders and Dioceses stood as follows: New York—clergy, *Aye*, laity, *No*; divided. New Jersey—clergy, *Aye*, laity, *Aye*; affirmative. Pennsylvania—clergy, *Aye*, laity, *No*; divided. Delaware—clergy, divided, laity, divided. South Carolina—clergy, *Aye*, laity, *Aye*; affirmative. Two Dioceses were in favor, and three divided; so that the proposition was carried by a minority of the Dioceses represented. The whole number of members composing the convention was twenty; eight clergymen and twelve laymen. Of the clergy, *seven* voted in favor, and *one* (Dr. Wharton) against the restoration of the clause; and of the laity, *six* voted in favor, and *six* against it. It is worthy of note, that the vote of the two largest and most important Dioceses was divided, and that the opposition in the convention came chiefly from the side of the laity.—*See Journal of Convention.*

"He went into the place of departed spirits." When this resolution came up in the House of Bishops for concurrence, that body, in order more satisfactorily to obviate objections to the Article, proposed to substitute a declaration that its meaning was: "the state of the dead generally."^s In consequence, however, of an oversight on the part of the President of the Lower House, the amendment of the bishops was not carried. Accordingly, when the committee appointed to prepare the book for the press, met for that purpose, they found to their surprise that the two houses had entirely misunderstood each other. The committee decided, however, that it ought to stand as proposed by the Lower House, and it was, accordingly, so printed. But bishop White, who was a member of the committee, dissented from the views of the majority, and protested against their decision, on the ground that the Creed, as in the English Church, ought to be regarded as the Creed of the American church, until altered by consent of both Houses of convention, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, which in this case had inadvertently not been done. When the general convention again met in 1792, the subject came up the third time, and another effort was made to have the Article expunged altogether, but without success. It was ordered that the Creed should be printed in all future editions of the Prayer Book, with the Article inserted, not in italics and between brackets, as before, but with a rubric, leaving it discretionary with any churches to use or omit it, or to use, in place of it, the words, "He went into the place of departed spirits."^a Of the two bishops who were present in the Upper House, viz., White and Seabury, the latter was strongly in favor of retaining the Article for the reasons assigned in the English Episcopal conclave by bishop Moss; while the former, though evidently disliking the Article, was disposed on the whole to retain it, on the ground that it would tend to promote peace, and be acting in good faith towards the English bishops, while at the same time a latitude would be left, by the proposed rubric, for understanding it as referring to the state of departed spirits generally, instead of the strict, literal sense. When the book came out, bishop Provost, who was absent from the convention, expressed his disapproval of the

^s The language of the Larger Westminster Catechism is similar to this, in the answer to Question 50: "Christ's humiliation after death consisted in being buried and *continuing in the state of the dead*, and under the power of death, until the third day, which has been otherwise expressed in these words, 'He descended into Hell.'"

^a From this rubric it is manifest that, whatever interpretation the Protestant Episcopal church may authoritatively put upon the Article, she does not regard the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell as one of very grave importance.

form in which this part of it appeared, more than either of the Article itself, as it originally stood, or of its entire omission, on the ground that it exacted a belief in the conscious existence of departed spirits between death and the resurrection.¹ With these remarks on the history of the Article in the Creed, we proceed to the consideration of its interpretation.

"The intermediate state" is a form of expression used relatively of the human, rational soul, to denote its separate condition or state during the period intervening between the death of an individual and his resurrection from the dead. At death a separation is believed to take place between the immaterial and material part of man; at the general resurrection a reunion will take place between them. And the interval of time which elapses between these two events, be it shorter or longer, is the intermediate state of the soul. The idea of an intermediate state is obviously grounded on the doctrine of a future literal resurrection of the body. Those of course who reject that doctrine, or who adopt the notion of a figurative, spiritual resurrection only, which takes place at death (*e. g.*, the Gnostics, in the first period of the church, the Bogomiles, Cathari, and other heretical sects, in the Middle Ages, and the Swedenborgians, Unitarians, and Pantheists in modern times), discard the idea of the state in question. The point when this state of temporary disunion between the soul and body begins, is the moment of the individual's death: the point when it terminates, is that of his rising again at the general resurrection of the dead. As the doctrine of a literal resurrection is maintained by nearly all professed Christians, however they may differ in respect to the nature of the resurrection-body, so that of an intermediate state is generally admitted. According to this view, two changes are allotted to mankind, with the exception of such as shall be alive on the earth at the time of our Lord's second advent: the first, the act of passing from the present life to the state, whatever it is, which immediately succeeds it; and another, from that state to the one which is to take place at the resurrection. What, then, is the *condition* of the soul during this intermediate period? Is it in a state of perfect insensibility? of unconscious repose? Are all its faculties suspended, so that it is utterly incapable of action, of enjoyment, or of suffering? Or does it exist thus separated from the body, in a state of consciousness and activity, and sensibility to pleasure and pain? It has been supposed by some professed Christians, that at death there is a suspension of *rational* as well as of *animal* life. This opinion appears to rise

¹ See Bishop White's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*.

naturally out of the system which maintains, that the human being is entirely material, and that thought and feeling are only qualities of organized matter. Of course we might expect that such materialists as Dr. Priestley would advocate this opinion. Believing, as he did, that as the whole man died, so the whole man would be called again to life at the appointed period of the general resurrection, he regarded the intermediate portion of time as a state of utter insensibility; as a profound sleep, from which the man would awaken, when called on by the Almighty, with the same associations as he had when alive, without being conscious of the portion of time elapsed. But this sentiment is not confined to the materialist. It has been held by some who admit the immateriality of the soul, that it is distinct from the body, and that during the intermediate state it is separated from the body. These do not deny the possibility of the soul's separate existence in a *conscious* and *active state*, but they question or disbelieve the *fact* of such existence. This opinion has been lately advocated with much ingenuity and plausibility by Archbishop Whately, in his *View of the Scriptural Revelations concerning a Future State*. The principal reasons assigned for this opinion are the frequent application in Scripture of the term "*asleep*" to the deceased, as characterizing their state, and the allusions to a particular day of judgment in which every man's condition will be finally fixed, and with which his happiness or misery is connected. The Greek verb *κοιμᾶσθαι*, *to sleep*, is frequently used in the New Testament as an elegant euphemism for *to die*. See John xi. 11; Acts vii. 60; xiii. 36; 1 Cor. vii. 39; xi. 30; xv. 6, 18, 20, 51; 1 Thes. iv. 13—15; 2 Peter iii. 4. Compare Matt. xxvii. 52. The noun *κοιμησις* is used instead of *death* in Sir. xlvi. 22; xlviii. 14. The application of the term *sleep* to *death* in the New Testament, is evidently taken from the Old. See Job xiv. 12; Ps. xiii. 3. In Jer. li. 39, 57, the phrase *perpetual sleep* occurs in the same sense. Now, as a mere poetic euphemism, the word proves nothing in regard to the state or mode of the soul's existence after death. It sheds no light on the question of the sensibility or insensibility, the consciousness or unconsciousness of the soul. Indeed, its use is quite compatible with an entire disbelief in the separate existence of the soul, and even of its immortality. Thus Dr. Priestley represents the dead soul as asleep. The image was also very common among the Greek poets. Homer, narrating the sudden death of a warrior in battle, calls it "the iron sleep of death." Moschus, in the following passage on the death of Bion (Epitaph. v. 105) represents death as *an endless, hopeless sleep*—*ἀτέρμονα, νήγρετον ὕπνον*.

"The meanest herb we trample in the field,
Or in the garden nurture, when its leaf
In Autumn dies, forebodes another Spring,
And from brief slumber wakes to life again;
Man wakes no more! Man, peerless, valiant, wise,
Once chill'd by death, sleeps hopeless in the dust,
A long, unbroken, never-ending sleep."

So Horace:—

Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda—
"To us, when life's brief day has once declined,
One night, one sleep eternal, lurks behind."

Lucretius is full of the same simile. Thus, lib. iii. 1100:—

"E'en could we life elongate, we should ne'er
Subtract one moment from the reign of death,
Nor the deeper slumber of the grave curtail,
O'er ages could we triumph—death alike
Remains eternal—nor of shorter date
To him who yesterday the light forsook,
Than him who died full many a year before."

Sometimes, indeed, the heathen poets speak of death as a *sacred sleep*, but in a manner which leaves it doubtful whether they alluded to a future state. Callimachus Epigr. 10. Τῇδε Σάων ὁ Δίκωνος, Ἀκάνθιος, ἱερὸν ὕπνον κοιμᾶται· θνήσκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς.

The external similarity between a corpse and the body of a person asleep, doubtless gave rise to this *usus loquendi*. And it is certainly a very natural and beautiful poetic analogon. Whether the term *sleep* imports anything more than this in the passages of Scripture referred to above; whether it is designed to intimate the actual condition of the soul in the intermediate state, and if so, in what *sense* it is used, and what it is intended to import, are questions not easily answered. While on the one hand, some allege that it is designed to convey the idea that the deceased person is *spiritually* (i. e., as to his soul) in a condition resembling sleep, namely, in a state of insensibility; on the other hand, others, with far greater probability, imagine that the figure applied, as it is, to believers, is intended to convey the idea, that their souls are in a state of rest,—of repose and freedom from sin, temptation, toil, pain, and weariness. Applied to the departure and subsequent condition of a child of God, it is thus linked with peculiarly peaceful and tranquillizing associa-

tions. The idea of the total insensibility of the soul in its separate state can hardly be reconciled with the plain teachings of such passages as the following: "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." "The God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,—he is not a God of the dead, but of the living, for (they) all live unto God." "Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ." "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." "We are confident, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord." "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." The appearance of Moses and Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration certainly affords strong support to the hypothesis of a state of activity and consciousness after death and before the final resurrection.^j But while the intermediate state is one of consciousness, as opposed to a state of profound insensibility, it is *not* one of trial, probation, or preparation, in which an opportunity is afforded to rectify the errors committed here, and to work out a salvation which we neglected here to secure. It is a state of enjoyment and suffering, of reward and punishment respectively, to the pious and the ungodly. To this view Whately opposes the unquestioned doctrine of the general judgment at the last day. If every man immediately at death, and *before* the general resurrection, enters upon a state of reward and punishment, what, it is asked, is the necessity of a day of judgment *after* the resurrection? It may not be possible to give an answer to this inquiry that shall be perfectly satisfactory; for the Scriptures shed but little light upon the point, and it would therefore ill become

^j The English reformers were so firmly persuaded of this truth, that they put forth the following declaration in the reign of Edward VI. as one of the Articles of the Church. It is the fortieth of the *forty-two* Articles of 1552: "The souls of them that depart this life do neither die with the bodies, nor sleep idly." "They which say that the souls of such as depart hence do sleep, being without all sense, feeling, or perceiving, until the day of judgment, or affirm that the souls die with the bodies, and at the last day shall be raised up with the same, do utterly dissent from the right belief declared to us in Holy Scripture." Now, although in the revision to which the Articles were subjected in 1562, this Article was omitted, there is no proof that the omission arose from any change of views which had taken place in regard to the subject-matter of the Article. When Archbishop Whately, therefore, appeals to the expression "*those who sleep in him*," in the Burial Service of the Episcopal church, as, in its most obvious and natural sense, favoring the doctrine of an unconscious intermediate state, he certainly mistakes the import of the phrase as employed in that service. Otherwise it would be inconsistent with the introductory clause in the prayer which precedes it, quoted in a subsequent part of this Article. Indeed, the Archbishop admits that the authors of the Church-Services, at least of the Burial-Service, appear to have adopted the opinion, that the intermediate state is one of enjoyment and of suffering, respectively, to the faithful and the disobedient.

us to speak confidently, in relation to it. But admitting that the condition, as well as the locality of the soul, is substantially the same in its general character, as it will be after the general resurrection and judgment, and differing from it only so far as it may be effected by the reunion of the soul and body, it does not follow that the judgment, thus partially forestalled, will be unnecessary or attended with no important effects. Ends and purposes under the divine government may be accomplished by it, of which we can form no adequate conception. So that if our imperfect and limited reason should entirely fail us on this point, and we were unable to suggest even a plausible conjecture in reference to it, it would not necessarily follow that departed souls are in a state of profound insensibility, and incapable either of enjoyment, or of suffering. Though the general judgment may not materially change the previous condition of *human beings* in the future world, it may have an important bearing on the character of the *divine Being*. It may indeed be thought that the ends of justice are answered, when individuals are treated according to their deserts; and as this is done, or supposed to be done, immediately after death, that no further procedure is necessary. It is true that justice, as it respects *private persons*, consists in regulating their conduct by its dictates, in their transactions with their fellow beings; and if they uniformly preserve inviolate the rights of others, all its demands are fulfilled. But the justice of a *Governor* belongs to the public, and it is expected of him, that he not only execute the laws with impartiality, but that his justice be exercised in such a manner as is most conducive to the general good. Now as Jehovah is the moral Governor of the world, it is not enough that he is just; he must *appear* also to be just. The retribution which takes place immediately after death is unknown. The grounds on which the condition of each individual is determined, are not apparent to us, and it may be entirely beyond our power to discover them. Hence a general judgment, at which all the descendants of Adam shall be present, and everything pertaining to the moral character of each other shall be disclosed, appears to be necessary to the perfect display of the justice of God; to such a manifestation of it as will vindicate his moral government from all suspicion of injustice and partiality, and impress the conviction on the minds of all intelligent beings that he is righteous in all his ways and holy in all his works.—Now in whatever state the disembodied souls of all men are, in the same state we may presume that the rational soul of our Saviour was during the interval between his death and resurrection. If theirs is a conscious state, then such was his also. But *where* was that con-

scious state passed? It is to this point that the article in the Creed relates. We proceed, therefore, to inquire into its meaning. In order to a comprehensive view of the subject, it will be necessary to examine some of the most prominent interpretations which have been given of it.

I. There is the metaphorical interpretation, first proposed by Calvin. According to this, "the Descent into Hell" does not refer either to the body or the soul of Christ in the intermediate state, but to a period antecedent to his death. It is figuratively descriptive of his extreme mental sufferings and agony in the garden and on the cross.^{*} This interpretation became quite prevalent, for a time, in the different branches of the Reformed Church. It is found in the Confession of Faith which was adopted by the English congregation at Geneva, and received the approval of the Church of Scotland. That Confession consists of a Paraphrase on the Creed; and on the clauses, "dead and buried; he descended into hell," it says:

^{*} The theory of Calvin has been frequently misunderstood and misrepresented. Bishops Horsley and Henshaw, and others, have charged the Reformer with holding that our blessed Lord actually went down to the place of torment, and there endured the pains of a reprobate soul. Thus Bishop Henshaw says: "the learned Genevan reformer, John Calvin, the celebrated father of a system of religious faith which goes under his name,—in conformity to the rigid features of his Creed,—believed that our Lord Jesus Christ, having died as a surety and substitute for sinners, went down to the place of punishment prepared for the wicked, and underwent for the benefit of the elect the actual pains and torments of the damned in hell." (*Henshaw's Theology for the People*, p. 134. See also Horsley's *Sermon*, vol. ii., p. 93.) A writer in the *Church Review* for July, 1857, gives a similar representation of Calvin's opinion. "Calvin, who supposed this passage (1 Peter iii. 18, 19) to refer to our Saviour's going into the state of the dead, while his body was buried, feeling the force and acknowledging the true meaning of this word "prison," is more consistent; and although the supposition was awful, yet he faced it honestly, and supposed that our Lord in his Spirit and soul, spent the three days while his body lay in the grave, in the Gehenna, or Hell of Torments, working out the full condemnation and literal torments of the lost in the prison of despair." Calvin's sentiments in regard to the descent are found in his *Institutes*. Lib. ii., chap. 16, sec. 10. His language is: "Si Christus ad inferos descendisse dicitur, nihil mirum est, cum eam mortem pertulerit, quæ scelestis ab irato Deo infligitur."—"If Christ is said to have descended into hell it is no wonder, since he suffered that death which is inflicted on the wicked by an angry God." "Cum duos in anima cruciatus damnati ac perditii hominis pertulerit."—"Since he suffered in spirit the direful torments of condemned and lost man." The language of Calvin is obscure and liable to misconstruction. But its import is fully established by contemporaneous history. Indeed the Reformer was so far from holding the opinion frequently imputed to him, that, according to Dr. Hey, it was the increasing popularity of his views, as we have represented them, which induced Archbishop Parker and the other Bishops in the reign of Elizabeth to omit that clause in the third article of religion, set forth in Edward's reign, in which the *locus vexatissimus* in 1 Peter, is applied to the literal descent of Christ into hell, because it was not acceptable to those who embraced the opinion of the Genevan Reformer. See H. Browne's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 93.

“suffered his humanity to be punished with a most cruel death, feeling in himself the anger and severe judgment of God, even as if he had been in the extreme torments of hell; and therefore cried with a loud voice: “My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?” The Heidelberg Catechism, which was published in 1563, and is the manual of instruction for the German and Dutch Reformed Churches, expresses the same view. Question 44 asks: “Why is there added, ‘He descended into hell?’” Answer: “That I may be assured and wholly comfort myself in this, that my Lord Jesus Christ, by his inexpressible anguish, pains, terrors, and hellish agonies, but especially on the cross, hath delivered me from the anguish and torments of hell.”

It cannot be denied that the language of the Article is, *per se*, fairly susceptible of such an interpretation. The expression, “to descend into hell,” may very well be employed to describe, in a bold, figurative manner, the extremity either of bodily or mental anguish, or of both combined. As men who have attained the summit of their ambition and reached the highest pinnacle of earthly glory, are poetically described as boasting that “they have reached the stars,” and that “they strike the stars with their lofty heads,” so it may be said, in reference to the indescribable anguish to which our Saviour’s soul was subjected in Gethsemane and on Calvary, that “he went down to hell,” or “to the lowest depths of hell.” We find a similar poetic hyperbole in Isaiah xiv. 11—15, where the prophet depicts the elevated political condition of the proud and arrogant king of Babylon, and contrasts it with his subsequent fall. We give the passage as translated by Dr. Henderson:—

11. Thy pomp is brought down to *sheol* (*ᾗδης*),
And the sounding of thy harps;
Under thee is spread putridity;
And the worms are thy covering.
12. How art thou fallen from heaven,
Illustrious son of the Morning;
How art thou felled to the ground,
That didst discomfort the nations.
13. Thou saidst in thine heart, *I will scale the heavens;*
Above the stars of God I will raise my throne;
I will sit on the mount of the assembly, in the recesses of the north;
14. *I will ascend above the heights of the clouds;*
I will make myself like the Most High.
15. But thou art brought down to *Sheol* (*ᾗδης*),
To the recesses of the pit.

A similar hyperbole is employed by our Saviour when he

says of Capernaum that, although at that time "exalted to heaven," in respect to privileges, it should be "thrust down to hell." Comp. also Ps. lxxxviii. 3, 6; xviii. 4, 5; cxvi. 3.

But although the words, taken by themselves, will bear the construction put upon them by Calvin, this cannot be their meaning in the Creed as it now stands. The connexion obviously forbids it. The relative position which the clause occupies, after the burial and before the resurrection, compels us to understand it as referring to some event which transpired subsequent to the interment and not prior to the death of Christ. There are, moreover, insuperable objections to this interpretation. Such a bold, figurative mode of interpretation is wholly out of place in a document of this kind, and inconsistent with the general character of the Creed. A confession of faith, designed to receive the assent and credence of all classes of people, should doubtless be couched in literal terms, and expressed in as plain, simple, and perspicuous a manner as possible. We do not look for figures of speech in such an instrument. They would be inappropriate and incongruous. Now the Apostles' Creed corresponds, in this respect, to what a creed should be. Nothing can be plainer and more easily comprehended, for the most part, than this ancient symbol.

Besides, it is fatal to the interpretation, that doctrinally it has no scriptural basis to rest upon. Where, within the Sacred Volume, is it said that Christ suffered the torments of the damned, either on the cross or in the abode of lost spirits? Indeed, it would seem to be inconceivable that he should have suffered them. For the worm that never dies could not possibly have gnawed his sinless soul; remorse of conscience, a capital ingredient in the misery of the lost, he could not have endured.

Nor would it seem to be at all necessary to the work of Atonement, that he should thus suffer. The mediatorial sufferings of Christ were not strictly penal, but simply vicarious. They were an equivalent substitution for the penalty due to sinners, but not the penalty itself, either in kind or quantity. They answered the same purpose, and accomplished the same righteous ends, in the moral government of God; and that was all, in the way of equivalency and substitution, which the nature of the case required, or which the sinless Jesus could render. If, in order to render the substitution undertaken by our Saviour in behalf of sinners effective, it were necessary that he should endure the literal penalty of the law, the very punishment denounced upon transgressors, then we might be compelled to admit that he must have suffered the torments of the lost, either on the cross or in Gehenna.

II. The descent of Christ into hell is supposed, by some, to import nothing more than that *he went into the state of the dead*. This appears to have been the prevalent opinion among the Westminster divines; for in the Shorter Catechism, appended to the Westminster Confession, there is inserted the Apostles' Creed, and to the clause "he descended into hell," is annexed the following explanatory note: "that is, continued in the state of the dead, and under the power of death, until the third day." This explanation appears also in the answer to question 50 of the Larger Catechism: "Christ's humiliation after death consisted in being buried and continuing in the state of the dead and under the power of death, until the third day, which hath been otherwise expressed in these words: 'He descended into hell.'" If this means simply that Christ was dead for the space of three days, or a part of three days, the fact will not be disputed: but can the Hebrew word *Sheol*, or the Greek *Hades*, or the English *Hell*, be made to signify a *state* or *condition* of being? We think not. The Hebrew word, when used in a literal sense, always imports a *place*, a local habitation, and never a *state*. So it has been generally understood, both in ancient and in modern times. Besides, the phrase *he descended into the state of the dead*, can properly signify only, *he died*; a fact which has been already declared in a previous Article of the Creed. This, then, cannot be the meaning of the clause; for it would be not only tautological, but out of place, to affirm the death of Christ here.

III. Beza and others maintain that this Article refers to the dead body of Christ, and is equivalent to *he descended into the grave*." This is the interpretation of Dr. Barrow and Wm. Perkins. It is a remarkable circumstance that in the early creeds in which this clause is found, the burial of Christ is not mentioned. Thus in the creed of the church of Aquileia, the words are: "crucified under Pontius Pilate, he descended *ad inferna*. The same remark applies also to the Athanasian Creed, which has the descent, but not the sepulture: "who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell (*εις ᾗδου*), rose again, on the third day, from the dead." The omission of the burial, in these creeds, could hardly have been undesigned, inasmuch as it is found in all, or nearly all, previous creeds and confessions. Hence there would seem to be force in the remark of Rufinus, that "though the Roman and Oriental churches had not the words, yet they had the sense of them in the word *buried*."

¹ In a note in the Preface to the proposed Episcopal Prayer Book we find the following remark: "In the first creeds that have this clause or article, that of

The Latin *infernum* or *inferna* properly signifies *the lower parts*, or what is beneath the surface of the earth; and is synonymous with the Greek *καταχθόνια*, SUBTERRANEAN, which is found in the creed of Ariminum, A.D. 359. So *inferi* and *ὑποχθόνιοι* are applied to those who inhabit the abodes of the dead. In the Athanasian creed, the word *ἄδης* was first introduced in the place of *καταχθόνια*. The word *κατώτερα* is found in some creeds instead of *ἄδης* and *καταχθόνια*, with evident allusion to Eph. iv. 9, where the phrase *τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*, *the lower parts of the earth*, has been understood by many commentators to denote the grave. (Comp. the Heb. *קִבְרוֹת*, Sept. *κατώτερα τῆς γῆς*, Ps. lxiii. 10.) In further support of this interpretation, it has been alleged that the Heb. *Sheol* (*שְׁאוֹל*, LXX. *ἄδης*), in Ps. xvi. 9, a passage on which the Article in the Creed is chiefly founded, signifies *the grave*. That the word *Sheol* (*שְׁאוֹל*), which commonly signifies *the region or abode of the dead*, is sometimes employed with specific reference to the *grave* or the receptacle of the dead body, cannot well be doubted. See Ps. vi. 5; cxli. 7; Isa. xxxviii. 18, 19; Ezek. xxxii. 27; Eccl. ix. 10 (comp. Sirac. xvii. 27).

An account, however, of the origin of the clause in the creed of Aquileia has been given which, if correct, would militate against this interpretation. It is said that the Article was introduced for the purpose of counteracting the Apollinarian heresy. This heresy took its name from Apollinaris the Younger, bishop of Laodicea (Syria), who died between A.D. 380 and 392. The time when he first promulgated his heresy is not precisely known. He was not anathematized by name till the second general council of Constantinople, A.D. 381; but nineteen years before (A.D. 362) his heresy was condemned by a synod at Alexandria without mentioning the name of the author; also by another at Rome, A.D. 373. This heresy consisted in denying to Christ the possession of a human rational soul, and maintaining that its place was supplied by his divine nature. To bear testimony against this heresy, and virtually to affirm that Christ Jesus was a perfect man, composed of body and soul, the Article, it is said, was inserted, declaring his descent, as to his rational soul, *ad inferna*, into the abode of departed souls. That the Article in question was subsequently appealed to by the orthodox, in refutation of this error, cannot be disputed; but if it were originally inserted for this purpose, it is quite extraordinary that Rufinus, in his exposition of the Creed, does

Christ's burial not being mentioned in them, it follows that they understood the descent into hell only of his burial or descent into the grave, as the word is otherwise translated in the Bible."

not allude to it. But whatever may have been the occasion of its insertion, or whatever the sense in which it was originally understood, it is plain that ever since its introduction into the Roman Creed, where it was first appended to the *burial*, it must have had a meaning distinct from the *sepulture* of Jesus.

IV. Another interpretation which has been given of this Article is, *that Christ descended into the place of future punishment (Gehenna)*. This view was adopted by some of the later Fathers, and prevailed quite extensively during the Middle Ages in connexion with the doctrine of purgatory. By the Protestant Reformers the notion of purgatory was universally rejected; but their views with respect to the intermediate state, and the descent of Christ into hell were very diverse and unsettled. That our Lord went down to the abode of condemned spirits, however, was very generally entertained by them, though they differed considerably as to the object of his mission. Some thought it was to suffer the punishment inflicted on the lost in their own miserable abode. Others, that it was to display to those who were consigned to everlasting punishment, and even to the fallen angels themselves, the power of his kingdom and the victory which he had obtained over sin, and to triumph over Satan in his own peculiar dominion. Others, that it was for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to lost spirits, and especially to the impenitent who were swept away by the Noachian deluge, to whom he announced the atonement which he had made for men, offered them pardon through his merits, and invited them to share in the blessings of salvation. By the church of England the strict literal sense of the descent into the place of punishment was first adopted. In the Book of Common Prayer published in the fourth year of Edward, A.D. 1552, the third article of religion reads as follows: "As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell; for his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul being separate from his body remained with the spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say in hell, and there preached unto them." In the short Catechism set forth by royal authority in the following year, the descent is thus explained: "That he truly died, and was truly buried, that by his most sure sacrifice he might pacify his Father's wrath against mankind, and subdue him by his death, who had the authority of death, which is the Devil; forasmuch as not only the living but the dead, were they in hell or elsewhere, they all felt the power and force of his death, to whom lying in prison (as Peter saith) Christ preached, though dead in body, yet relieved in spirit." In a synod which was held ten years after

(A.D. 1562), in the reign of Elizabeth, the explanatory clause was stricken out of the article of religion. The precise import of Christ's descent was thus left indeterminate, and it has ever since remained an open question in the Church of England. Archbishop Parker is supposed to have been induced to omit the explanatory clause in consequence of the representation of the Bishop of Exeter, who in a paper prepared for the synod declared, that there had been "great invectives in his diocese between preachers on this article; some holding that the going down of Christ to hell was nothing else but, that the virtue and strength of his death should be made known to them that were dead before; others maintaining that it only means, he sustained upon the cross the infernal pains of hell, when he cried out: *Why hast thou forsaken me?*" Finally, there are persons who preach, that this Article is not contained in other symbols; and all these sayings they ground upon Erasmus and the Germans, especially Calvin and Bullinger; the contrary side bringing forward to their support the universal consent of the Fathers of both Churches."^m The effect of this omission of the reference to Peter's Epistle appears to have been to allay for some time the controversy which had arisen on this subject. The extreme view, however, continued to be held by some. It is strongly advocated by Dr. Fiddes, and by Bishop Beveridge, in his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. In support of this interpretation, appeal is made to the plain, literal meaning of the Article itself. And it must be confessed that, if the language be construed according to its customary use at the present day, the Article does obviously imply two things, 1. That Christ went as to his human soul to the place of punishment, and 2. that this place of punishment or hell, is situated beneath the earth. Such is the meaning which every English reader would naturally put upon it. No doubt the Saxon word *Hell* was originally employed in the general comprehensive sense of the Greek *Hades*, and was appropriately adopted to represent it. But such is not now the case. The word *hell* has ceased to be used in the wide, indefinite sense once attached to it, and is now employed specifically and exclusively to designate the place of future punishment. Thus far, then, the advocates of this opinion have *terra firma* to rest upon. But in further support of this view they appeal to 1 Peter iii. 19, 20; (comp. chap. iv. 6;) Col. ii. 15; Eph. iv. 8, 9; (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 18;) Rom. x. 6, and Ps. xvi. 10; (comp. Acts ii. 31.) That these passages of Scripture do not prove the doctrine which they are here adduced to establish,

^m *Strype's Annals*, i., c. 31; and *Life of Parker*, i., 513. Hardwick, p. 132.

will be shewn under another head. Suffice it to say, that the descent of Christ into hell, as thus explained, is now universally abandoned. We know of no respectable writer who would now advocate this extreme opinion, notwithstanding its accordance with the literal and obvious construction of the Article.

V. Another interpretation which has been given of the descent of Christ into hell, and which is entitled to particular notice, is developed in the following theory. There is in addition to, and distinct from, heaven and hell, a *third place* or *locality* of departed souls in the invisible world. This particular locality is called in Hebrew *Sheol*, in Greek, *Hades*, and in Latin *infernus Orcus*, and is situated under the ground, somewhere beneath the surface, or as some suppose, in a cavity at the very centre of the earth. This is the peculiar abode of the disembodied souls of all those who have departed this life, whether good or bad, during the intermediate state, where they respectively enjoy comparative happiness or endure comparative misery. At the general resurrection, they will leave this temporary abode, become reunited to their former bodies, and either ascend to heaven or go to hell (*Gehenna*), according to the decision of the final judgment, when the felicity of the pious and the misery of the wicked will be complete. This subterranean abode is supposed to consist of two distinct compartments, having no connexion with each other, but separated by an impassable gulf. One of these, called *Paradise* and Abraham's bosom, is the abode of the *pious* dead; the other, denominated *Tartarus*, *the Abyss*, *Gehenna*, or else without a specific name, is the abode of the ungodly. Now it is alleged that the rational soul of our Saviour descended to this general locality of souls, and remained during his intermediate state in that department of *Hades*, which is occupied by the pious dead. Hugh Broughton, a learned Oriental scholar of England (A.D. 1597), appears to have been among the first to advocate this opinion in that country, which at first gave great offence to the older divines who had embraced the views of Calvin; among whom was Archbishop Whitgift. At length, however, the Archbishop abandoned his former opinions and adopted those of Broughton. Since that period the views of the distinguished Orientalist have been gaining ground in the Church of England. One of the most distinguished and ingenious advocates of this theory in recent times is Bishop Horsley,* whose views were embraced by Bishop Hobart, and reproduced by him in a *Dissertation on the State of the Departed* originally published in 1816.—“He, (*i. e.*

* In his Sermons, originally published in 1810.

Christ) descended to hell properly so called," says Bishop Horsley, "to the invisible mansion of departed spirits, and to that part of it where the souls of the faithful, when they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity."

In regard to the *local situation* of *Hades*, the Bishop says, "It is evident that this must be some place below the surface of the earth; for it is said that he (Christ) 'descended,' i.e., went down to it. Our Lord's death took place upon the surface of the earth, where the human race inhabit; *that*, therefore, and none higher, is the place from which he descended; of consequence, the place to which he went by descent was below it; and it is with relation to those parts below the surface, that his rising to life on the third day must be understood." In reference to the same point, Greswell, a learned living divine of the Church of England, in his elaborate work on the Parables, undertakes to shew: 1. that *Hades* is under the ground; and 2. that it is the deepest point within the earth. With regard to the latter point, he comes to the sage conclusion that the locality of *Hades* is at, or about, the centre of the earth. "For since," says he, "it must be equally true of the relative position of *Hades* to all parts of the surface of the earth, that it is alike within the earth, alike beneath in reference to all parts of the surface, and alike at the same point of extreme depth beneath, in reference to the surface; it does not seem possible to explain this community of relation in the position of *Hades* to all parts of the earth's exterior surface, consistently with a well-ascertained physical fact, the spherical form of the earth, except by supposing its true position to be at or about the centre of the sphere itself." The same writer proceeds to shew that *Hades* is divided into distinct regions, relatively situated with respect to each other, as a higher point in regard to a locality would be to a lower; and then, that though the souls of all men pass into *Hades* by death, as the common receptacle of the dead, they do not all pass into the same *locality* of *Hades*, but the souls of the good are received into one locality, viz., the higher or upper region, and the souls of the bad into another, viz., the nether region. Thus we have the map of this imaginary country spread out before us, and the whole delineated with as much minuteness as if the learned author had himself been a visitant and eye-witness of it.

The *object* of Christ's descent into *Hades* is thus described by Bishop Horsley: "That he should go to this place was a necessary branch of the general scheme and project of redemption, which required that the divine Word should take our nature upon him, and fulfil the entire condition of humanity, in every

period and stage of man's existence, from the commencement of life in the mother's womb to the extinction and renovation of it. The same wonderful scheme of humiliation which required that the Son should be conceived, and born, and put to death, made it equally necessary that his soul, in its intermediate state, should be gathered to the souls of the departed saints." This theory, in regard to the intermediate place and the descent of Christ into hell, is alleged to be the doctrine of Scripture, of the early Church, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

1. The passages of Scripture which are chiefly relied upon to sustain this view are five, viz., Psalm xvi. 9; Luke xxiii. 43; xvi. 23, 24; Eph. iv. 9, 10, and 1 Peter iii. 18—20.

Psalm xvi. 9, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption." There can be no reasonable doubt among all those who hold to the inspiration of the apostles, that this passage is prophetic of the Messiah. For Peter and Paul both refer it to Jesus of Nazareth in proof of his Messiahship, and shew that it was fulfilled in him and in him alone (Acts ii. 25—31; xiii. 35—37). It is, moreover, generally regarded as the principal passage, if not the only one, on which the Article of Christ's descent into hell was originally founded; and there can be little doubt that the word *ᾗδης* was inserted in the Athanasian Creed, in the place of *καταχθόνια*, to make it more nearly conform to this place. The only question, then, is with respect to its meaning. In its most comprehensive sense, it includes the entire domain of death: the locality of the body and the locality of the soul. It occurs sixty-four times in the Old Testament, and in several instances it appears manifestly to be used with special reference to the locality of the body, *i. e.*, the *grave*, the *sepulchre*; and so the learned translators of our Authorized Version understood it, for in thirty-one instances (viz., Gen. xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38; xliv. 29, 31; 1 Sam. ii. 6; 1 Kings ii. 6, 9; Job vii. 9; xiv. 13; xvii. 13; xxi. 13; xxiv. 19; Psalm vi. 5; xxx. 3; xxxi. 17; xlix. 14 (twice), 15; lxxxviii. 3; lxxxix. 48; clvi. 7; Prov. i. 12; xxx. 16; Eccl. ix. 10; Cant. viii. 9; Isaiah xiv. 11; xxxviii. 10, 18; Ez. xxxi. 11; Hosea xiii. 14 (twice), they have rendered it *grave*; and in three instances (Num. xvi. 30, 31; Job xvii. 16), *pit*.

That pious men among the ancient Hebrews entertained not only a hope, but an influential belief in a future conscious state of existence, seems clear from many passages of Scripture, both in the Old and New Testament. They looked forward, at death, to another and a better country, even a heavenly. At the same time it is manifest that their views and conceptions, in regard to that future state of immortality, the condition of the soul

in that state, its precise locality, etc., were exceedingly vague, indefinite, and obscure. The whole subject was involved in a dense cloud, which they were unable to penetrate. They knew not what became of the rational soul after its separation from the body; but as the body was deposited in the grave, so they imagined that the soul might descend with it, and occupy a place more or less remote from it. Hence the word *Sheol* was employed to denote, generically, the *entire region, the subterranean dwelling-place, of the dead*; not exclusively or chiefly, perhaps, the receptacle of the dead body, but also the abode of the disembodied souls of all those who had passed through the gates of death, irrespective of their previous character or their present condition as happy or unhappy. They had no idea of an *intermediate state* or an *intermediate place*, because they had no idea of a resurrection and transference to another abode, unless the celebrated passage in Job xix. 25 be thought to intimate the contrary. They appear to have regarded *Sheol* as the *final* abode, both of the righteous and the wicked. To the one it was supposed to be a place of happiness; to the other, of misery. It covered all they knew about futurity. It was their heaven and their hell. It was not, then, such a place, according to the conceptions of the early Hebrews, as the advocates of this hypothesis represent it to have been.

Now the word *Sheol* (or *Hades*) occurs in the passage from the Psalmist under consideration; and the inference deduced from it is, that our Saviour, as to his rational soul, went down to the general receptacle of souls, situated somewhere under the earth, or as Greswell says, in a hollow cavity at the centre of the earth, and there took up its abode during its separate state. On this passage we remark: 1. That the general and comprehensive term *Sheol* may be here employed with particular reference to the receptacle of the body, *the grave*, as one department of the invisible world, or world of the dead.

The Hebrew term employed by the Psalmist and here translated *hell* is *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל), which the authors of the Septuagint Greek version have uniformly (with only one or two exceptions) represented by *Hades* (ᾍδης). The etymology of the word is uncertain. Some lexicographers derive it from שָׁאַל, in the sense of *to ask, crave, demand, require, seek for*, etc., and they suppose that it is employed to designate the *grave*, or the *region of the dead*, as *rapacious, craving, never satisfied*, like the *orcus rapax* of Catullus, the ἀπρακτής of Callimachus, and the English phrase *insatiable sepulchre* (see Hab. ii. 5 and Prov. xxx. 15, 16, where there is thought to be an allusion to this derivation). Others derive the word from חָפַץ, in the sense of *to excavate, to hollow*

out, like the obsolete root קֶוֶט , and put for קֶוֶט , a cavity, a hollow, subterranean place, just as the German *hölle*, *hell*, is originally the same with *Höhle*, a hollow cavern;—and the Latin *cælum* is from the Greek *κοῖλος*, hollow. The etymology is not of much importance, since use, and not derivation, is the true standard by which the meaning of a word is most properly ascertained. At the same time the etymology of the word, whether we derive it from קֶוֶט , taken in the sense of to ask, or in that of to excavate, would justify us in supposing that it might appropriately be employed to designate the grave, notwithstanding the existence of a less poetic; more limited and specific term (קֶבֶר) to denote the locality of the dead body. The term *Sheol* is clearly of a generic character, and signifies *the world*, or *region of the dead*. It cannot be shewn from the word itself merely, that it refers exclusively to the locality of the soul. 2. That such is the meaning here is rendered quite probable, if not certain, from the parallelism. Gesenius, De Wette, Hengstenberg, and others maintain that קֶוֶט in the following hemistich translated after the Septuagint (*διαφθορά*) corruption, signifies *the pit*, which is but another name for *the grave*. The noun occurs twenty-two times in the Old Testament; thirteen times it is rendered in our Authorized Version, *pit*; once, *grave*; twice, *ditch*; twice, *destruction*, and four times (Job xvii. 14; Ps. xvi. 10; xlix. 9; Jonah ii. 6) corruption. By comparing the passages any one can see that in two of the places in which it is translated corruption (Psalm xlix. 9; and Jonah ii. 6), it might more properly be rendered *grave* and *pit*. But whether we render it here by *pit* or *corruption*, is immaterial to our argument; for in either case, it refers to the *body*. 3. If it could be shewn that *Sheol* must here denote specifically the *abode of the rational soul*, it would not follow that this is located under the earth. For the mere circumstance that such was the popular belief or conjecture of the ancient Hebrews, would not prove this to be the fact. There is no evidence that they obtained this information from direct revelation. On this point the Hebrews may have been, and doubtless were, mistaken. 4. There is no proper antithesis between נַפְשׁ (*soul*) in the first member of the verse and the corresponding word קֹדֶשׁ (*holy one*) in the second, which requires us to understand the former of the rational soul. The word נַפְשׁ may be here, as it often is elsewhere, an idiomatic periphrasis for the personal pronoun and equivalent to *me*. If so, then the distich forms a synonymous parallelism, and may be rendered,

“Thou wilt not leave (abandon) me to the grave;

Thou wilt not suffer thy Holy One to see (experience) corruption.”

To this it has been objected that Peter, in quoting the passage as prophetic of the Messiah (Acts ii. 25—31), lays an emphasis on the word *ψυχὴ* (*soul*), and that consequently he designed to discriminate between the *soul* and the *body* of Jesus, as if the one were in the *receptacle of spirits*, and the other in the *grave*. But it cannot be satisfactorily established that such emphasis exists. Indeed the reading *ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ* of the Textus Receptus in ver. 31, is a very doubtful one. The words are not found in several of the oldest and best MSS. (A B C D), nor in the Vulg., Syr., Copt., Sahid., and Arab. (Erpenian) versions; and are either cancelled or bracketed in all critical editions of the New Testament. That no emphasis is to be sought in the word, is clearly manifest, we think, from the manner in which both Peter and Paul refer to the passage. Paul does not quote the first member of the verse at all (Acts xiii. 35), but *does* lay an emphasis on the word *διαφθορά* (ῥη), *corruption*, in the second clause: "For David, after he had served his generation by the will of God, fell on sleep (*i. e.*, died), and was laid unto his fathers, and *saw corruption*. But he, whom God raised again, *saw no corruption*" (ver. 36, 37). The sole purpose, moreover, for which both the apostles appeal to the passage, is simply to shew that the resurrection of the Messiah from the dead was the subject of ancient prophecy, and that Jesus by rising from the dead without experiencing corruption or the destruction of his body, was consequently the Messiah. They direct particular attention to the death, burial, and resurrection of the uncorrupted body of Jesus, and pass over the intervening period and all that related to it, with the least possible notice (see Acts ii. 29). Paul also in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, makes distinct mention of the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, as topics upon which he had frequently discoursed to them (xv. 3, 4), but passes over his intermediate existence in the world of spirits in silence. On the whole, then, we think that this *locus classicus* affords very little support to the theory which it is brought to sustain.

2. Another passage which is relied upon to establish the theory of a third subterranean place of the departed, is the declaration of our Saviour on the cross to the penitent robber: "This day shall thou be with me in paradise" (Luke xxiii. 43). It is alleged that the paradise here spoken of could not have been heaven, because our Saviour said to his disciples after his resurrection: "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father," *i. e.*, to heaven. Hence it is inferred that paradise is the name given to the upper compartment in *Hades*, or the underworld. And in support of this view an appeal is made to

the *usus loquendi* of the sacred, the Jewish, and the early Christian writers. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine these sources of evidence. And, first, what is the Biblical use of the word *paradise*? The word is of Eastern origin. It was a name common to several of the Oriental languages (e.g., the Sanscrit, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac), but especially current among the Persians. From these it passed into the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, and consequently into all the Western languages. Its proper signification in the East was a *beautiful garden*, a *park*, a *pleasure ground*. The earliest instance that we have of it in Greek (*παράδεισος*) is in the *Cyropædia* and other writings of Xenophon, about 400 years before Christ. The circumstance which has given to this term its extensive and popular use is its having been employed by the Greek translators of the LXX. and afterwards in the Syriac version, and by Jerome in the Latin Vulg., as a translation of *the garden* (ἡ) in which our first parents were placed. The word belongs to the later Hebrew, and occurs (פָּרְדֵּי, *pardees*) only in three places in the Old Testament (Neh. ii. 8; Eccles. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13). In the first of these it is rendered *forest*; in the other two, *orchard*. In the Apocryphal book of Susanna, the word occurs constantly in the sense of *garden*. So Sirac. xxiv. 30. Josephus calls the gardens of Solomon in the plural *paradises* (*Ant.*, viii., 7, 3). From a literal sense it came at length to be used metaphorically to denote the abstract idea of *exquisite delight* (Sirac. xl. 17, 27); and then it became a symbolical name for *heaven*, the *happy region of the blessed*, the *dwelling-place of God*, of Christ, of holy angels, and of the spirits of the just made perfect,—the house of many mansions which Jesus has gone to prepare for his faithful followers. In the New Testament the word occurs *three times* (2 Cor. xii. 4; Rev. ii. 7; and Luke xxiii. 43). In the first passage, Paul speaks of himself as having been caught up into paradise.* In verse 2, he says that he was caught up into

* Our argument does not require that any stress should be laid on the particle *up* in our English version. The verb *ἁρπάζω* (ver. 4) does not of itself indicate the direction of motion, but only the suddenness of the action, and the passiveness of the object. We may therefore translate *was snatched, caught, or carried away* into paradise (see Matt. xiii. 19; Acts viii. 30). The same word, however, occurs in ver. 2, and undoubtedly in the same sense, where Paul is said to have been *caught up* (*ἁρπάγηντα*) into or unto (*εἰς*) the third heaven. Now if *εἰς τρίτου οὐρανοῦ* is identical in import with *εἰς τὸν παράδεισον*, or at least so far equivalent to it, as to be a general local description of a situation in which *δ παράδεισος* is found, as seems to be quite certain, then *paradise* cannot be the happy region or side of the underworld, as is imagined; for no Biblical writer with whom we are acquainted, has ever thought of placing the *third heaven under the earth*. Forasmuch, then, as the third or highest heaven has been always understood and represented to be far *above* the earth, and beyond the sidereal

the *third heaven*. The two, then, are identical. Some commentators, it is true, seek to prevent this inference by alleging that the apostle refers to two separate visions occurring on different occasions, in one of which the scene is laid in *Heaven*, and in the other in *Hades*; and that consequently paradise and the third heaven are not the same. But this allegation is incapable of proof, and altogether improbable. There can be no reasonable doubt that verses 2 and 3 contain, not a fresh assumption, but merely a solemn repetition of what is affirmed in verse 2, with the additional particular of Paul's having had unspeakable revelations made to him. Even Olshausen, who makes a distinction between the upper and the lower paradise, and supposes the latter to be situated in the happy portion of *Sheol*, maintains that, in this place, the two expressions used by the apostle refer to the same thing, and denote the most exalted region of light, the immediate presence of God. The same remark applies to Alford.

In the second passage (Rev. ii. 7) we find the following declaration. "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the *midst of the paradise of God*." In this place the word *paradise* is universally admitted to signify without doubt *heaven*, considered as a place of exquisite delight. The usage of the term in the two passages which have been considered, warrants us in putting the same interpretation upon it in the only remaining passage in which it occurs, unless there be something special and peculiar in it which requires a different construction. But we can discover nothing of this sort. The objection that our Saviour did not ascend to heaven until some time after his crucifixion, is more specious than solid. It is true that, as to his human body, of which he was speaking, he did not immediately ascend; but he certainly did as to his divine nature, and so also, as we think, as to his human soul. Let us now inquire into the Rabbinical use of the word *paradise*. The language of Paul and of John, not to say of our Saviour, implies a prior belief among the Jews, or at least of some among them, that paradise was in heaven. Without this the apostles would hardly have been understood. This statement is corroborated by one of Wetstein's quotations appended to Luke xxiii. 43. Chagiga. fol. 14. 2. "Four have entered paradise by the hand of God." The application of this term to denote the hap-

heavens, so ἀράξω may here in both instances of its occurrence very properly from the adjunct acquire the meaning of *to catch* or *snatch up*, as it is rendered not only in our English Bible, but by most translators (see also 1 Thess. iv. 17; Rev. xii. 5.)

* See Huidekoper:—*The Belief of the First Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld*, p. 107.

piness of the righteous in the future state, originated, according to J. Pye Smith (Kitto's *Cyc.*) with the Jews of the middle period between the Old and New Testament. "In the Chaldee Targums 'the garden of Eden' is put as the exposition of heavenly blessedness (Ps. xc. 17, and other places). The Talmudical writings, cited by the elder Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. et Talm.*, p. 1802) and John James Wetstein (*N. T. Gr.*, vol. i., p. 819), contain frequent references to *paradise* as the immortal heaven, to which the spirits of the just are admitted, immediately upon their liberation from the body. The book of Sohar speaks of an earthly and a heavenly paradise, of which the latter excels the former as much as darkness does light. (Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.*, vol. i., p. 1096.") There can be no doubt, therefore, that the word was used by the Jewish doctors in the time of our Saviour, in the sense in which it is used in the New Testament to designate the heavenly world. We now turn to the *Patristic use* of the word. The following passages will shew how the Antenicene Fathers were in the habit of employing the term. Origen believes in a twofold paradise. The former he located in the *third heaven*; the other *on earth*. Of the former he affirms that Paul heard in the third heaven what, according to his own quotation immediately preceding, he heard in paradise.¹ In this paradise Adam had originally been. "The Lord God," says Origen, who was a believer in the pre-existence of souls, "cast him out of paradise, and placed him over against the paradise of delights, and this was the punishment of his fault, which has certainly passed upon all men." Of the earthly paradise he says: "I think that whoever departs this life in holiness will remain in a certain place on earth which the Scriptures call paradise, as in a place of instruction. If any one is clean in heart, and particularly pure in mind and quick in the use of his faculties, he will depart at an early day, and ascend without delay to the region of the air, and will finally arrive at the kingdom of the heavens."²

Tertullian represents *opponents* as maintaining the soul's direct departure at death to *paradise*, which he meets by the question: "How will the soul be exhaled into *heaven*" prior to the judgment?³ It would seem then that these opponents, whoever they may have been, placed paradise in heaven, not in the underworld. *Tertullian* himself sometimes places paradise in heaven; into which, however, he contends that only martyrs are transferred immediately after this life. "No one," he says,

¹ *Fragmenta*, vol. iv., p. 694. A. See Huidekoper, p. 108.

² *Comment. in Rom.*, lib. v. 4. *Opp.*, vol. iv., p. 556.

³ *De Principiis*, II., xi. 6; vol. i., p. 106.

⁴ See Huidekoper, p. 111.

"on leaving the body dwells immediately with the Lord, unless he who by the prerogative of martyrdom shall go to *paradise* instead of to the underworld."* In other places Tertullian places *paradise on the earth*, but not *under it*.

Cyprian places *paradise* in heaven, or identifies it with heaven. "Let us embrace," he says, "the day which assigns to each his abode; which when we are taken thence (out of the world by death), restores us to *paradise* and the *celestial kingdom*." These quotations are sufficient to shew that the early Fathers placed *paradise* either in heaven or upon earth, or else held to a twofold *paradise*, the one *celestial*, the other *terrestrial*; but that they carefully avoided the location of it in the underworld." No doubt *paradise* is a part of *Hades*, taken in the wide, etymological sense of *invisible world*, but not in the special sense of *underworld*.

3. The next passage relied upon to prove the existence of an intermediate, temporary, and subterranean locality of souls, is the parable of Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19—31). It is undoubtedly the fact that, in the time of our Saviour, the popular notions of the Jews with respect to *Hades*, bore a near resemblance to those of the Greeks and Romans. And the costume of this parable is made to conform to the opinions which then prevailed. But it is difficult to perceive how it furnishes any support to the theory which it is adduced to support.

It is confidently affirmed that Lazarus and Dives went to different compartments of *Hades*. But the parable does not say that Lazarus went to *Hades*; but was *carried by angels into Abraham's bosom*. This is a figurative expression, denoting nearness to Abraham, and a participation in his felicity. True, the early Christian Fathers commonly placed the locality of Abraham's bosom in the underworld. And this they were probably led to do from the use of the expression in this parable. But the respective abodes of Dives and Lazarus were far apart, and separated by an impassable gulf. "Nor is it likely," says Bishop Pearson, "that the angels, which see the face of God, would be sent down from heaven to convey the souls of the just into that place, where the face of God cannot be seen. When God translated Enoch, and Elias was carried up in a chariot into heaven, they seem not to have been conveyed to a place where there was no vision of God; and yet it is most probable that Moses was with Elias as well before as upon the mount; nor is there any reason to conceive that Abraham

* *De Resurrect. carnis*, c. xliii., p. 411.

† *De Mortalitate*, p. 166.

‡ See Huidekoper, pp. 105—117. Also Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, vol. i., pp. 235, 236.

should be in any worse place or condition than Enoch was, having as great a 'testimony that he pleased God' as Enoch had."² But even if we suppose, with some, that the story of this parable was a Rabbinical one, applied, according to our Saviour's custom, to his own instructive purposes; and that the phrase "Abraham's bosom" was employed by the Rabbins to denote the happy side or upper region of the underworld, we are not compelled to admit the truth and reality of the representation. The object of parables is the inculcation of important doctrinal or moral truths in the most pleasing and impressive manner. The story may be founded on fact, or be entirely fictitious; and, provided the doctrines designed to be inculcated be true, the terms in which they are inculcated may be adapted to the prevailing ideas of those to whom they are addressed, whether true or false. It may, indeed, be often difficult for us to separate the drapery from the truths which underlie it, and to discover the precise point or points which a parable is designed to illustrate. The context, which is our principal guide, may fail to give all the information required, and we may be left to gather the scope from a careful examination of the parable itself. Still, nothing can be more evident than that, in compositions of this kind, a literal interpretation of the whole would often lead to the greatest absurdities and contradictions, and that consequently we must discriminate between the truths designed to be inculcated and the costume and drapery in which they are clothed. The leading truths which appear to be enforced in this parable are these: that the soul is immortal, and exists in a separate and conscious state after the dissolution of the body; that the future condition of men will be according to their real character, and not according to their outward circumstances in this world; and that that condition, whatever it may be, whether happy or miserable, will be unchangeable and eternal. The parable furnishes no support to the theory of an intermediate state and temporary abode of the soul after death, which is to be exchanged, at the general resurrection, for another. It contains not the slightest allusion to anything of the kind.

4. Eph. iv. 9, 10. "Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things." This passage, in its application to Christ, is susceptible of three interpretations. "The lower parts of the earth," may be used for the *earth itself*,

² Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, art. v.

in opposition to heaven (Isa. xlv. 2), and would then refer to the incarnation of Jesus, including his entire mediatorial work on earth; or, it may denote *the grave*, and then it would refer to the burial of Jesus and his descent into the sepulchre (Psalm lxiii. 9; Matt. xii. 40); or, it may signify the same as *Hades*, and then it would have reference to the *descensus Christi ad inferos*, taking the word *Hades* either in its more general sense of the *underworld*, including the local habitation both of the body and the soul, or in its more restricted sense, of the soul. Against the last interpretation, it may be urged that the idea of a descent into a subterranean region is entirely foreign to the meaning of the passage in the Psalm (lxviii.) on which the apostle is commenting; that the only descent of which the context speaks is opposed to the ascending to heaven; and that this is the opposition so often expressed in other places and in other forms of expression (*e.g.*, John iii. 13; vi. 38; viii. 14; xvi. 28).⁷ It is most probable that the genitive τῆς γῆς, as Winer thinks,⁸ is the genitive of apposition, and exegetical of τὰ κατώτερα μέρη, and that the expression means "the lower parts," viz., "the earth" (see 2 Cor. v. 5; Rom. viii. 23; iv. 11, etc. Comp. Acts ii. 19, where the heaven above is opposed to the earth beneath; and John viii. 23). If this be the meaning of the passage, then it lends no support to the theory we are controverting. Indeed, so doubtful is its meaning, that some of the advocates of the theory place very little reliance upon it.⁹

5. The last passage which we shall notice, as relied upon to prove the existence of an intermediate, subterranean receptacle of disembodied souls, is 1 Pet. iii. 18—20. "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." This is confessedly a very obscure and difficult passage, and perhaps no interpretation which has been given of it is entirely satisfactory. The view generally adopted by Protestant divines at the present day is, that by "the Spirit" in this place is meant—not the human soul of Jesus, but either *the Holy Spirit*, the third person of the Trinity, or the *divine nature* of Christ,—the "Spirit of holiness," according to which he is "the Son of God," in contradistinction to his being "the Son of David according to the flesh;" *i.e.*, as to his human nature. In, or as to, this divine Spirit he preached through the instrumentality of Noah to the antediluvians, none of whom, however, so

⁷ See Hodge's *Commentary on Ephesians*.

⁸ *Grammar of N. T.*, § 48, 2.

⁹ See Browne's *Exp. of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 88.

far as we know, believed, except the small number who were saved in the ark. Another interpretation has been propounded by Doctors Skinner and Browne.^b According to these critics, the phrase, "quicken^d in the Spirit," signifies *spiritually quicken^d*, and refers to the moral power and results of Christ's mediatorial work, "the spiritual life and power conferred on the Saviour as the reward of his disinterested labours in the cause of God's honour and man's salvation," which "was illustriously manifested in that wonderful quickening of his apostles by the communication of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and in communicating, through the instrumentality of their ministry, spiritual life and all its concomitant and following blessings, to a multitude of souls dead in sin." By "the spirits in prison," we are to understand, sinful but living men, righteously condemned for their guilt and depravity; the slaves and captives of Satan, shackled with the fetters of sin. The coming and preaching describe, not what our Lord did *bodily* (σαρκικῶς or σωματικῶς), but what he did *spiritually* (πνευματικῶς); not what he did personally, but by the instrumentality of others. According to the first interpretation, the preaching of Christ refers to a period long anterior to his incarnation; according to the latter, it refers to a period subsequent to his resurrection and ascension into heaven. It is not necessary to our present inquiry to determine which of these is the true or more probable meaning of the passage. They are both equally opposed to the notion that Christ's mission and preaching were to disembodied spirits in Hades, which is the sense in which it is understood by those, whether in ancient or in modern times, who appeal to it in support of the Article in the Creed. These differ as to the particular compartment in *Hades* intended by φυλακή, *prison*. Some suppose it to denote the *unhappy side—the lower region—the* special locality and abode of the wicked and impenitent—τάρταρος, γέεννα, ἄβυσσος. Others make it refer to the *happy side—the upper region—paradise—Abraham's bosom, or the Limbus patrum* of the Romanists. The latter view is ingeniously advocated by Bishop Horsley, and has been adopted by Hobart, Bloomfield, H. Browne, and many others, especially in the Episcopal church. The learned Bishop maintains that the Greek word φυλακή, translated *prison*, simply denotes a *place of safe-keeping*, and accordingly proposes to render the clause in Peter thus: "He went and preached to the spirits in safe keeping." He thinks that the persons in safe keeping, to whom the

^b See *Biblical Repository* for April, 1843, p. 470, and *Bibliotheca Sacra* for November, 1847, p. 708.

apostle particularly refers, were the antediluvians, who had been disobedient, but who before their death were brought to repentance and faith. And he supposes that Christ in his disembodied state went to this subterranean *φυλακή*, not for the purpose of preaching repentance or faith, because the preaching of either comes too late to the departed soul, and because these souls had believed and repented, or they would not have been in that part of the nether regions which the soul of the Redeemer visited; nor with a view to announce any liberation of them from we know not what purgatorial pains, of which the Scriptures give not the slightest intimation; but he went to proclaim to them the glad tidings that he had actually offered the sacrifice for their redemption, and was about to appear before the Father as their intercessor.^c

This hypothesis of the Bishop is, we think, liable to serious objections, both philological and theological. We wait for the production of a single passage from the New Testament which sustains him in the interpretation which he has put upon the word *φυλακή*. This word, which properly signifies *watch, guard*, is applied to the act of keeping watch, *guarding* (Luke ii. 8); to the persons who are set to watch, a *watch, guard* (Acts xii. 10); to the place where a watch is kept, a *watch-post, station* (Rev. xviii. 2); and to the place where any one is watched or guarded, *ward, custody, a prison*. The signification of *prison*, as denoting a place of penal confinement, is unquestionably the predominant one in the New Testament. It is the meaning in at least thirty-five instances out of forty-seven in which it occurs; whereas not a solitary instance does the Bishop appeal to in support of the signification which he assigns to the word. A slight analogy to the signification advocated by the Bishop, may be thought to exist in Luke ii. 8, where the shepherds at Bethlehem are said to have been "keeping watch over their flocks by night;" but it is one which will not hold on close comparison, "safe *custody* or *keeping*," which is equivalent to *protection*, implies the presence or probability of *danger*; but what further danger is to be apprehended by those who have passed their present probation? What is the class of enemies from whom the spirits of departed saints or penitents need to be guarded? On what side is it that they are threatened with assault? Of what nature are those attempts on their happiness against which vigilance has to be exercised? *Saints are kept*, and need to be kept, by the power of God only unto the salvation (1 Peter i. 5) which awaits them on their release from this world.^d

^c See Bishop Horsley's Sermon *xx.*, vol. ii.

^d Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, for January, 1853, p. 451.

The reason also assigned by the Bishop for the mission of Christ to the underworld, can scarcely be called anything but puerile. It had no important object, and was followed by no results. He went, it seems, to announce to the antediluvian penitents the great fact that he had completed his work of redemption. But why was his preaching or announcement confined to them? Were not the souls of the post-diluvian penitents equally interested in the joyful tidings? Why then are they passed by in silence?

An angelic choir was deputed to give information to the living inhabitants of earth, of Christ's incarnation to enter on his work of mercy. Could not the same angelic messengers have proclaimed to the antediluvians in paradise the completion of his work?

What Scriptural authority is there moreover, for the assertion that the antediluvians or any considerable portion of them repented at the preaching of Noah? It is indeed possible that some of them might have repented at the last moment, when it was too late to escape the threatened destruction, but there is not a shadow of proof of it. Indeed, the contrary seems to be distinctly implied in such passages as Luke xvii. 27; 2 Peter ii. 5; Heb. xi. 7. The assumption, therefore, is entirely gratuitous, and the whole theory is consequently baseless. That the souls of the pious on leaving the body pass immediately to heaven, we think is perfectly clear from the declaration of Paul (2 Cor. v. 6—8): "We are always confident, knowing that whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord (for we walk by faith, not by sight); we are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present (*lit. to be at home*) with the Lord." This passage manifestly teaches that, when the soul of the Christian departs from the body, it lives with Christ, dwells where he dwells, and enjoys intimate familiar intercourse with him there: it goes to its home, its everlasting home. But to be present or at home with Christ is certainly to be in heaven, for it is there in his glorified human nature, that Christ now is, and not in the underworld. Comp. also 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.

Philipp. i. 23, 24. "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and *to be with Christ*; nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you." It cannot admit of a doubt, that *to be with Christ* in this passage is a phrase of the same import as *to be present* (or at home) *with the Lord*, in 1 Cor. v. 8. Paul then here reiterates the declaration which he had made in the Epistle to the Corinthians. From these passages it seems impossible to come to any other conclusion than that Paul ex-

pected immediately after death to enter upon the enjoyment of heavenly felicity with his Saviour (comp. John xvii. 24. Stephen, Acts vii. 55, 59).

That this is the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal church, will clearly appear, we think, from the following passages. The doctrines held by that Church are to be learned from the Articles of religion, the Liturgy, and the Homilies. In reference to the subject under consideration, the Articles are silent. Not so the Liturgy and Homilies. There is the negative testimony arising from the fact that, in no part either of the one or the other, is there any allusion to a third or intermediate place of abode—a subterranean locality—for the soul after death. And it is somewhat remarkable that except in the Apostles' Creed and Art. III. of religion, there is a studied silence in regard to Christ's descent into hell. Thus in the Litany the following obsecrations are put into the mouths of her members. "By thy cross and passion ; by thy precious death and burial ; by thy glorious resurrection and ascension." Here the descent into hell is passed over in silence. Again, in the consecration prayer in the Communion service, the following passage occurs : "having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension." But there is positive testimony to the belief of the Episcopal church in the immediate transition of the soul after death to heaven. Thus in the prayer for a sick child, in the office for the visitation of the sick, the worshippers are instructed to pray : "Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity." In the prayer for a sick person the following petition occurs : "Yet, forasmuch, as in all appearance the time of his dissolution draweth nigh, so fit and prepare him, we beseech thee, against the hour of death, that after his departure hence in peace, and in thy favor, his soul may be received into thine everlasting kingdom." So in the Occasional prayer for a sick person : "Or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting." In the Burial Service we read : "Almighty God, *with whom* do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord ; and *with whom* the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, *are in joy and felicity.*" The language of the Homilies is very explicit on the subject. In the second part of the Homily against the fear of death the following passage occurs : "Let us be always of good comfort ; for we

* The same language occurs in the Occasional prayer for a sick child.

know that so long as we be in the body, we be as it were far from God in a strange country, subject to many perils, walking without perfect sight and knowledge of Almighty God, only seeing him by faith in the Holy Scriptures. But we have a courage and desire, rather to *be at home with God and our Saviour Christ, far from the body; where we behold his Godhead, as he is, face to face, to our everlasting comfort.* These be Paul's words in effect; whereby we may perceive, that the life in this world is resembled and likened to a pilgrimage in a strange country, far from God; and that death, *delivering us from our bodies, doth send us straight home into our own country, and maketh us to dwell presently with God for ever, in everlasting rest and quietness."*

Again, in the third part of the Homily on prayer, there occur the following passages: "The scripture *doth acknowledge but two places after this life*; the one proper to the elect and blessed of God, the other to the reprobate and damned souls, as may be well gathered by the parable of Lazarus and the rich man," etc.—"Where is then the *third place*, which they (the Romanists) call purgatory? Augustine doth only acknowledge *two places after this life, heaven and hell.* As for the *third place*, he doth plainly deny that there is any such to be found in all scripture."—"As the scripture teacheth us, let us think that *the soul of man passing out of the body goeth straightways either to heaven or else to hell*; whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the other is without redemption."^f

Such being clearly the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal church in regard to the future state, it only remains to reconcile this with the Article of Christ's descent into hell. We cannot suppose that she designs to teach one doctrine in her Liturgy and Homilies and another in her creed and Articles of religion. The two can be harmonized only by putting a liberal construction on the creeds. And this has been done by the American church herself, in the Rubric prefixed to the Creed, in which she substitutes the words: "He went into the place of departed spirits," as of equivalent import. The terms in which this substitute is couched are quite general and indefinite. By employing the verb *went* in the place of *descended*, she virtually repudiates the hypothesis of a subterranean cavity as the receptacle of disembodied souls. And the phrase "place of departed

^f In the Articles of religion, probably drawn up by Usher, and agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the clergy of Ireland, A.D. 1615, we find the following declaration on this subject: § 101, "After this life is ended the souls of God's children will be presently received into heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable comforts; the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, there to endure endless torments."

spirits," *determines nothing* as to an intermediate locality, separate and distinct from both heaven and hell. It merely affirms that the soul of Jesus at his death went to its appropriate place in the invisible, spiritual world. Thus understood, the dogma of Christ's descent into hell is freed from all difficulty and mystery, and made plain to the comprehension of every mind, as well as consonant with the general tenor of Scripture. The results to which we are brought by the preceding remarks are:—

1. That the soul of man does not die or sleep with the body, but immediately after the dissolution of the latter, passes into a separate disembodied, conscious state, and into its appropriate place (so far as spirits may be supposed to occupy place), either of enjoyment or of suffering,—its heaven or its hell,—according to the moral character which it may possess.

2. That there is no third intermediate place of spiritual existence; no subterranean habitation of disembodied souls, either of probation or of purgation; no imaginary paradise in the underworld where the souls of the pious are preserved in safe keeping; no *limbus patrum*, no *limbus infantum*, no purgatory.

3. That our Saviour, according to the Creed, was perfect man as well as perfect God, having a human soul no less than a human body.

4. That when crucified he died in reality and not merely in appearance (*syncope*), since there took place an actual separation of his soul and body.

5. That the idle and unprofitable question as to the object of Christ's descent into Hades is precluded; a question which greatly perplexed the fathers, the schoolmen, and the Reformers, and led to the invention of many absurd and unscriptural theories.

BUNSEN'S EGYPTIAN HISTORY.*

THE work before us deserves careful attention, both from the extraordinary conclusions at which it arrives, and the extreme openness with which it puts forth the author's authorities, and his method of deduction.

In making a statement of his conclusions, sifting them by his own authorities, and shewing from the same authorities how exactly Egyptian tradition agrees with Scripture history, we shall be doing nothing more than the Chevalier invites.

Following the author's last English volumes rather than his earlier ones as most conveying his meaning, it appears that having fixed the commencement of the reign of Menophthes of the nineteenth dynasty by the era of the canicular cycle, he works downwards and upwards, apportioning the historical period of Egypt into three empires, which he calls the old, the middle, the new, successively commencing in the years 3643 B.C., 2668 B.C., and 1626 B.C. (ii. 579). But the year 3643 B.C. is by no means the earliest to which his story of Egypt reaches. In the first volume (p. 356), we have a claim for Egyptian history as for all other history, of a period antecedent to that point in which history is generally supposed to begin, derived from the successive strata of development which its language, writing, and mythology exhibit. The exact length of this period is of course nowhere put forth. But in the preface to the third volume, he states that man existed on the earth about 20,000 years B.C., that the flood took place about 10,000 B.C., extending to Asia only, and that Egypt was inhabited before the flood.

Our author marks his Old Empire under three divisions ;—the first, from Menes to Phiops, exhibiting its culminating point, during which the vastest and the greatest number of the pyramids were erected ; the second, from Phiops to Amenhema I., exhibits its decline, very few monuments being traceable to this period ; the third, from Amenhema I. to Amoutharthios, being a period of restoration, marked by records of conquests, and by the erection of the labyrinth, the formation of canals, the cultivation of the faïoum, and a great increase of civilization. During the first of these divisions of the old empire, with the exception of one local dynasty, we learn that all Egypt was

* 1. *Ägypten's Stelle in der Weltgeschichte—Geschichtliche Untersuchung in fünf Büchern.* Von Christian Carl Josias Bunsen. Vols. i.—v. Hamburg und Gotha: 1844—1857.

2. *Egypt's Place in Universal History—An Historical Investigation in five Books.* By Christian C. J. Bunsen. Translated from the German by Charles Cotterell. Vols. i.—iii. London: 1848—1859.

under the dominion of a succession of central monarchs, ruling from This and Memphis; that during the second or weak period, five cotemporary dynasties divided the dominion; that under the third division, the whole of Egypt returned to the rule of one dynasty, of Theban extraction.

Passing to the middle empire, Chevalier Bunsen devotes its whole period, after a few introductory years, to the rule of the Hycsos or shepherd kings, an Arab race who made a fortified camp in the Delta, conquered Memphis, and made *several* (ii. 422) tributary princes, who, according to Egyptian tradition, perpetrated many acts of cruelty, and persecuted the religion of the country; but who, according to Bunsen, "soon became mollified and gentle, through the charm of good order and social enjoyments they would have found around them."

As cotemporary with these Hycsos we have, by our author, placed, first a Theban, then a Xoite, and then another Theban dynasty.

The new empire, centering during its first three dynasties at Thebes, but afterwards ruling from cities in the Delta, produced the greatest memorials of progress and strength. It commenced with Amos and culminated under Thothmes III., who, according to our author, completed the war against the Hycsos, and finally expelled them. After this king, Bunsen informs us in his last volume (though his second seemed to give quite a different picture), other princes succeeded in unbroken prosperity, until the reign of the Menophes already mentioned; on him Bunsen places the invasion of the leprous Palestinians, who conquered the whole land, and held it during thirteen years, but who were then finally expelled. The twentieth dynasty, Bunsen informs us, after a prosperous commencement, became tributary to Assyria, the dynasty following is noticed as one of priests, and that succeeding it as connected with Shishak's plunder of the temple at Jerusalem; after this event the Chevalier finds little in Egyptian history worthy of his remarks.

But our chief enquiry will be, How does this great German, this friend of Lepsius, this stay of Evangelical Christianity in the fatherland, make this agree with Bible history? The answer is simple; in no way: he makes the Bible story agree with it.

The Chevalier adopts as a principle, in the very commencement of his work (i. 161-2), that chronology is not a matter of revelation, but he "assumes" that "the centre of revelation is of an historical character," and determines "to admit as established the truth of all facts in the civil history of the Jews, however remotely they may be connected with revealed religious truths, until the contrary has been demonstrated."

Having thus cleared the way with an apparent reverence for Scripture, he lays first before us, as we have already seen, as demonstrated, that man was created about 20,000 years B.C., that after 10,000 years a deluge destroyed the inhabitants of central Asia; that the inhabitants of Egypt were not affected, and were therefore not originally of Noah's seed.

These are, however, but little matters incidentally treated of; whole chapters are carefully devoted to the more important matter of rectifying the Bible history itself.

We are taught that, after the flood, Noah's family gradually advanced step by step over the renewed earth towards the west, leaving in each halting-place a new colony; that as part of that law of progress, Terah intended to proceed into the land of Canaan, and took with him Abram and Lot; that before he arrived there he died on the road at Haran; Abram and Lot, however, going on in the intended path. Isaac, Bunsen asserts, was born before Abram arrived in the land, while his father was yet only fifty years old. The entry into the land took place in Abram's seventy-fifth year, and that patriarch died when he was a hundred years old; before that event, Isaac being sixteen years of age, married Rebecca; Jacob being thus born in the thirty-sixth year of Isaac, was only nineteen years of age when he fled from his brother, his blind and aged father Isaac being only fifty-four; Isaac's whole life he cuts off at eighty years, brings Jacob into Egypt when he was only seventy, cuts off his life at ninety-eight years, and that of Joseph at seventy-eight. Having thus multiplied the times before Abram by ten, and divided those of the three patriarchs by two, and brought Israel into Egypt, Bunsen, who in his first volume told us that only half of the seventy who came into Egypt were men, now treats the whole number as genuine, but adds, that with their dependents, they were nearly 2000. The year of their entry is fixed at 2754 B.C., and that of the Exodus at 1320 B.C., leaving a period of 1434 years for their sojourning there. For 205 years of this long period they were, it seems, in great prosperity, "and mainly, if not exclusively, agriculturists" (iii. 358). Then another shepherd tribe, far less civilized than they, overran all Egypt, making the land of Goshen their headquarters, and continuing 929 years; during this time, seeing that they would lose most of their land, Bunsen puts the Israelites down as "itinerant traders (? pedlars)" throughout the whole land of Egypt, and considering that the Hycsos were people of a kindred race, though inferior to them in civilization, he says, they "doubtless made themselves very useful by their knowledge of the country and its resources" (iii. 358); eighty-

five years follow for the rise of the eighteenth dynasty, and then we are told that Thothmes III., having completed the expulsion of the Hycsos, was able to enslave them, and Israel remained bondslaves for 215 years.

The Exodus, we are informed, was "an episode in the civil and religious war by which Egypt was distracted for years, and from which it never recovered." The Israelites were driven to desperation under Menephthah, and Moses and Aaron made preparation for revolt, by having intercourse with the chief of Midian (iii. 199), by organizing an universal conspiracy, and by secretly arming the people, and this so successfully, that for a period of some two years they were able to give a passive if not active resistance to Pharaoh (iii. 203 and 261). Between the visits of Moses to Sinai, and his interviews with the Midianitish tribes necessary for his great conspiracy, "serious plagues occur, repeated entreaties are made, and proofs are evinced of the power of the Spirit which was in Moses" (iii. 261); then the Palestinian races (iii. 267), whom Moses had called in, invaded and devastated Egypt, holding it for a period of thirteen years, and under cover of their presence the Israelites departed, "after a protracted and at length not bloodless struggle" (iii. 327), moving along the banks of the canal of Rameses, which falls into the extreme head of the Red Sea. Menophthes having been driven into Ethiopia by the Palestinians, Moses' friends, and remaining there for thirteen years, while they destroyed the animal worship of Egypt, was unable to collect a second army to follow the Israelites. Turning next to the story of the Israelites in the wilderness, the Chevalier admires their republican spirit at Mount Sinai, and the valour with which they fought against Amalek, reminds us that the deserts in those days were far more fertile than now, and traces them in the second year to Kadesh Barnea; there he tells us that "wonderful man Moses" was very nearly failing in his attempt to lead his race into a freer land, where they might enjoy a spiritual religion, by the strong desire of Israel to return to Egypt, on whose border they were standing, and take a "share in the rich booty" which was being gathered by "their kindred tribes, and with them take signal vengeance on the dark children of Ham, instead of struggling with daily privations on the confines of an inhospitable land, and *without having any end or object in view*" (iii. 268). For to suppose that they desired to return to bondage is, says Bunsen, "impossible" and "a fable." Seeing, then, this danger, Moses resolved to negotiate no longer with the Edomites, but went to the south and compassed their land, and entered at once, in the third year from the Exodus, into the land of

Canaan, into the part that is beyond Jordan, passing northward therein to the spot opposite Jericho, and gradually expelling its inhabitants. After a period of possession of this land for twenty years, Moses died, and Joshua assumed the leadership; he also continued in this same land of Bashan for eighteen years, before he conducted Israel over Jordan; but, during this time, Raames III., having restored Egypt to its pristine strength, had been campaigning in Palestine, and beating down its inhabitants; his last campaign was in the year 1279 B.C., therefore in 1273, all things being prepared, Israel passed the Jordan, and after conquering the towns mentioned in the Book of Joshua, remained as the recognized dominant power, according to "a stipulated agreement" made at Hebron with the Canaanites (iii. 272), until 1246 B.C. (Joshua having survived the conquest about seven years); then they were made "tributary to a Mesopotamian satrap," and continued in this state of subjection and dependency for a hundred and seventy-five years, until the time of Saul; during this period they enjoyed, according to our author, "a respite for thirty years at the most, and this at distant intervals of short duration;" occasionally heroes sprang up for this end, but after every delivery the invading hordes appear again, and all is unchanged, except the name of those to whom they paid tribute, "the only possible explanation" being "the paralyzing power of Assyria," which, Bunsen asserts, at that time ruled over Syria and even Egypt itself. We are informed that one hundred and seventy-five years is to be counted to the Judges, being estimated only by the troubles, and not by including the rests; to these he gives an average of seven years, refusing the number forty in every case, his object being to shorten the period; and he not only, also with the same object, takes advantage of the Jordan for contemporaneous Judges, but into the forty years of the Philistines compresses the forty years of Eli, the twenty years of Samson, and the whole judgeship of Samuel, stated by him at twenty years (iii. 288). After spending some labour upon Hiram king of Tyre, we are brought to the well-known monument of Shishak's plunder of Jerusalem, and thenceforward neither Israelite nor Egyptian history gives him much interest; a transition being made here into Biblical chronology, which on the whole the Chevalier henceforward approves, although as usual he finds that in some smaller points he must correct it.

To meet such an outline of Israelite history by internal comparison of its details with those given in Holy Scripture, would be both needless and useless. If Bunsen's story is true, whoever compiled the historical Scriptures was not inspired for

that purpose, and wrote, as the Chevalier expresses it, "under the influence of purely childish delusions, persistence in which can only be productive of doubt and unbelief" (iii. 341); and we must in future look upon sacred history, not as the expression of the divine Word, who is the truth, as well as the way and the life, but as "a strictly popular epic" (iii. 300), with only "an historic basis" handed down to us by ignorant or designing persons, with such "an illegitimate combination of historical and unhistorical data as at once spoils and destroys both history and poetry," *i. e.*, both truth and beauty (iii. 299). Considering, however, Bunsen's position, and the recklessness with which infidelity in the present day seizes hold on every semblance of argument against inspiration, it is very necessary that his arguments and reasoning should be laid bare.

His assertion as to the length of time since the first settlement of Egypt, has been already wholly disposed of, and is, indeed, only added by him as a supplementary proof of his theory of the gradual growth of language. Yet it is a remarkable example of what he considers valid proof. He reasons thus: a boring has lately been made at the base of a statue erected 1350 years B.C., and at the lowest depth of the Nile deposit (? Nile ooze), upon the sand supporting it, have been found fragments of pottery and burnt brick. Now as the accumulation to the base of the statue in 3214 years is nine feet four inches, it will have required a period of 13,500 years for the accumulation to reach the whole depth of twenty-nine feet; and a boring reaching in another place to fragments at a depth of fifty-nine feet would require 20,000. Now surely, as a mechanical fact, this calculation is worthless; a colossal statue can never have been erected at the level of the sediment of the Nile in its own days, where all the city could look down on it; rather we should have expected the very contrary: equally is the calculation worthless in the view of a geologist; the fragments are found below the alluvium upon the sand; surely it cannot be that the Nile was colonized before any deposit was made by its waters; if not, then the fragments must have settled to the foot of the alluvium, by the movements of the inundation, and if this be at all true, all data derived from their present position is useless; and, yet again, burnt brick savours rather of Roman than earlier times.^a

But we must look at the true foundation of Bunsen's history. He asserts, first, that the lists of kings contained in Manetho and Eratosthenes, as interpreted by the monuments, contain the only reliable sources of chronology. He next asserts that a comparison of the two authors proves that the dynasties given

^a See *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1859, p. 386.

in Manetho are not all successive; and again he determines rather to be led in details by Eratosthenes than Manetho. Thus far we think him right; but in proceeding further the Chevalier is wholly at fault. It is evident that Eratosthenes' researches have cut short the earlier periods given by Manetho, but Eratosthenes' list has come to us in a mutilated state. After interpreting Egypt and Manetho to us for 1076 years, his list suddenly stops, and Manetho alone remains to be followed; the question immediately arises, how far off is this close from the final termination of Egyptian history. Now the first thought of a logical mind would certainly be to compare the sums total of the earlier dynasties of Manetho, with the list of Eratosthenes in our possession, to learn whether any agreement exists which might be a rule for the future; then having made such discovery its endeavour would be to complete the general outline of Egyptian chronology from Manetho in accordance with such rule; and this being effected, its duty would be to examine the production with a very strict criticism. Not so however Bunsen; he very quickly concludes that there is no chronological connexion between the two authorities; that the sums attached to Manetho's dynasties have no chronological accuracy, but are in reality only intended as the products of the length of the several reigns in the several dynasties, whether successive or cotemporary; and having thus thrown aside any hope of being guided in the future from experience in the past, and being left without a pilot among the mazes of Manetho's dynasties, his great desire is to find some other statement of Manetho as to the length of the entire period, which may help him over the difficulty. This desire is of course satisfied; he finds in Syncellus a passage giving a sum to the thirty dynasties, and instantly adopts it, placing the 1076 years of Eratosthenes at its commencement, and at its close, the kings immediately preceding and those following the canicular era, and creating a middle empire to fill up the gap left in its centre; which he himself confesses "seems to be assuming as historical fifty and odd kings, upon the mere entry of lists which do not give us one single name, one single date of reign" (ii. 416). The number he finds in Syncellus is 3555, but in what, either in nature or value, it differs from the sums total appended to the lists by Africanus or Eusebius as recorded by the same author, except in amount, is difficult to conceive. There are, indeed, some very sufficient reasons for believing that it is only such a total as Bunsen had already rejected, altered and corrected by Symmachus' own calculations after the manner of the author before us; indeed, in his last volume (iii.) our author himself shews such a doubt of its value, that he devotes a section to the proof

of its having really come from Manetho, rather than any other source, which he does by labouring in a circle at his own churn, shewing that the dynasties of Manetho, as altered and arranged by him, most probably fit in with that number (iii. 92).

In all this, as we said before, we do not agree with Bunsen, and we wonder at his fatuity. Africanus is his chosen channel to Manetho's dynasties. Has he never added up the first Thinite and all the pre-eighteenth Theban dynasties by their despised sums from the lists of Africanus, *i. e.*, i., xi., xii., xiii., xvii.? If not, he should do so at once, for they exactly agree in their total with the 1076 years of Eratosthenes; then let him turn to the Memphite dynasties, and similarly add up all their sums, *i. e.*, i., iii., iv., vi., vii., viii., only substituting in the third, the sum of Eusebius for that of Africanus,^b and the same period of 1076 will within two meet him a second time.

Surely it is impossible to despise the sums of the dynasties after such a coincidence between Memphis and Thebes, and so exact a corroboration of their genuineness from Eratosthenes, who saw the originals in the temples. But if the Chevalier still considers their value doubtful, he may test them in another way. He has himself fixed the commencement of the canicular cycle twenty-five years before the close of the nineteenth dynasty; he may say, "if the sums represent periods, they should exactly fit in from this date until they meet the Persian chronology;" let him then remember that they have been reduced, or selected, by the Greek copyists in order to correspond with Grecian dates of the Trojan war, and of the commencement of the Olympiads; and let him, therefore, where there is a choice, take the largest sum of each dynasty preserved to us, and he will find, by addition, this whole period also accurately spanned.

Bunsen surely ought to have allowed that Eratosthenes is not only of value as selecting certain kings in traditionary order from the original records, but also as setting forth clearly the existence of a certain definite period of 1076 years in the chronological arrangements of the priesthood, both at Thebes and Memphis, into which the succession of their dynasties had been accurately fitted. If he had not, by a singular fatuity, passed over this great teaching of Eratosthenes, his argument must have run in the following course. Eratosthenes has shewn, that during the period now called the old empire, the priests, both of Thebes and Memphis, in recording the dynastic lists of their own cities, attached to them sums which in succession were

^b The cause of this single error of Africanus is easily traced in the length of the reign of Aches, which, from two contemporary dynasties, should have been twenty-eight or thirty instead of forty-two.

intended to accurately reach 1076 years; thus not only putting forward a claim to separate jurisdiction in both these cities during the whole of this period, but inviting us to believe that by adding the sums of succeeding dynasties of these cities to this number, we may arrive at the full traditionary length of the whole monarchy.

Now it appears that there are no more Memphite dynasties in the Thirty, but there are Theban; therefore, Memphite claims cease at this juncture; we enter on a new phase, Memphis being professedly subject, and we must trust to Thebes alone. Add then the Theban eighteenth and nineteenth sums, dropping out the years of Amosis^c (sixty-two) already counted, who introduces the eighteenth dynasty, but without any due length apportioned to his reign, and twenty-five years of Menophres and Seti II., which we have already mentioned as passing over the new canicular era; and we ought to find the traditionary length of the whole period before this era. The addition produces 1461 years, or an exact canicular cycle.

With this remarkable result to so simple and evident a mode of treating the subject before us, it is impossible to doubt that we have before us the traditionary chronology of Egypt. Also every Theban and every Memphite dynasty being accurately expended, we have neither kings nor time for any intervening period between an old and new empire.

While, however, his own authorities given in his work have thus, by their mutual enlightenment, overthrown Bunsen's system of chronology, by exactly agreeing as to the traditionary chronology of Egypt as given by the priests; their internal disagreements as palpably prove that priestly chronology to be altogether unreal, and to be vastly extended. We have no need to do more than compare Eratosthenes with the Theban lists of Manetho on one side, and those of Memphis on the other, to be at once convinced of this; they both commence with the first Thinite. Eratosthenes declares that this dynasty is too long by at least a century. Thebes follows with the eleventh, twelfth,

^c By an examination of the lists of Eratosthenes, it will be found that his last king, with sixty-two years, is named AMOTΘAPΘIOZ. Bunsen cannot with his theory understand this name, but renders it Amun Timaus, to suit a Greek tradition of the entry of the Hycksos. The name is doubtless AMOS with a title, or with a partner. Bunsen has pointed out many similar names in this list; in the eighteenth dynasty, Africanus gives no sufficient period for the length of this king's reign, though he records his name first; in Manetho's seventeenth, or last pre-eighteenth dynasty, it is expressly stated that the kings were partly Shepherd and partly Theban; Lepsius also, as Bunsen informs us, considers Amosis, though in the eighteenth dynasty, not rightly of it; and there are several independent reasons for believing that our copy of Eratosthenes' list of the old empire, from Menes to Amosis, would include both sovereigns.

thirteenth, and seventeenth. Eratosthenes points out that the eleventh and twelfth really reach within three kings of the new empire, hence the thirteenth and seventeenth, if both genuine, must by their numbering have been cotemporary with these eleven and twelve, only surviving their more powerful rivals by a few years: or similarly turning to Memphis, we find Eratosthenes at least cutting off a century from their kings, even though some are supposed to be cotemporary with those of Thebes. We see, that is, that in the period of the old empire alone, Eratosthenes convicts the priests of Thebes and Memphis severally of greatly extending their history, in order to make the foundation of Egypt reach back to the commencement of the canicular cycle. Shall we then say that Eratosthenes himself, who commences at the same date, is more to be trusted? Surely not. Having shewn that his two sources of information are wrong, and wrong even where they agree, surely in filling up exactly to the same length he must be also wrong. We might indeed, from the monumental evidence connected with the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, shew independently that this traditional period is considerably extended, but we need scarcely do this; if the reasons already advanced are not sufficient, surely it must be allowed *à priori* that a first canicular cycle could not have originated in the reign of Menes, and especially when we find that the canicular era does not bear his name, but that of the later king Menophres, in whose reign the peculiar conjunction again occurred. Bunsen would himself join in avoiding the possibility of such an arrangement. Are we then after all these investigations as hopelessly at sea as before? Very far from it: our enquiries have reduced the uncertain subject of Egyptian history to so very small a compass, that a very little more consideration of the materials before us must establish their true relationship and connexion. Towards this end Bunsen has undesignedly done much, and a short criticism upon those parts of his work which still remain for use, will completely restore the Egyptian story to its true position.

We have two periods on which to remark, the new empire until Menophres, and the old.

In the first of these, the genealogies of our author and most of his strictures appear to be worthy of high praise—indeed, he has almost wholly followed Lepsius; but to the freedom with which he has altered the length of each reign no such praise can be given. We have received the list of the eighteenth dynasty through five separate channels, and with a very exact agreement. Two difficulties, however, met Bunsen; the omis-

sion in Africanus, as we have already remarked, of any sufficient length of years to Amosis, thirteen years only being given to his title; and the entire neglect of Amenhept II. in every copy; but surely this method of altering every length of reign in the dynasty to meet this seeming fault is utterly without excuse or foundation. It is indeed as he says, very true that certain queens on the list bore the royal title during the earlier part of the dynasty, while other unnamed kings really ruled, and that during part of the time Thothmes III. bore a title of a compound kind; but this is no reason why the period in which this happens should be spread out from 120 or 124 to 159 years. So again in the nineteenth dynasty, the origin and genealogy are undoubtedly to be received as Bunsen records them; but why should he again change the length of the reigns? It may appear to him that there is no chronology, and that therefore one must be made; but acknowledging, as he does, that while Horus is the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, the nineteenth branched off from his father Amenhept III. through a female whose claim was co-ordinate with that of Horus, it is surely a point not to be despised, but rather of extreme value, that all the succession from Amenhept III. (as given in Josephus), except this king Horus, to the end of Raamses I., exactly extends over the length of the reign given to the first king of the nineteenth dynasty in Africanus. Does not this supply a chronological link? True it is, the claim to these fifty-one years and six months belongs to Raamses I., the first male of the dynasty, who only ruled one year at their close, and the name added to them in the nineteenth dynasty is Sethos; but it must also be remembered that Josephus, after recording this list, has added, that Sethos is also called Raamses. To these fifty-one and a half years follow the reign of Seti, Menepthath, or Sethos I. There is no doubt of his position, and Africanus here inserts him as a Menepthath; but why should his number be altered to twelve years from nineteen and a half or twenty? Next follows Raamses II. with sixty-seven or sixty-eight years, and then Menophres and the well-known date 1326 B.C. Having thus claimed that the list be left untouched, and only interpreted by the monuments, we must next protest wholly against the story of the last incursion of the Palestinian tribes being placed upon the reign of Menophres. Manetho's words required no such arrangement; the incursion must have happened in the thirty-first or last year given of Amenophis III., and the thirteen years' flight into Ethiopia before them, must be represented by the thirteen years in which, as Bunsen himself shews, he appears under the name of Chebron. The fact of the oldest Apis found

in the Serapium being of Amenhept III. is a strong corroboration of this; because the Palestinians are especially noted as having destroyed the sacred animals, and Amenhept as having carried those living into Ethiopia; the restoration of religion would be itself a cause for new Apis vaults and renewed splendour, even if all the old Apis mummies were destroyed.

Not that we would connect the actual Exode with this event. Manetho's other story of Misphragmuthosis having shut up 240,000 shepherd families at Abaris, which Bunsen renders the Hebrew city (?), and of Thothmosis, his son (i. 647), having arranged with them for their departure, together with his remark, that having left Egypt they founded Jerusalem, so accurately agrees with the Israelite story in numbers and general outline, that there ought to be no doubt of its application; and especially when we find the junction of the two reigns, exactly forty years before this incursion, and in the year 1505 B.C., which is the true Biblical year of the Exode, when the Hebrew numbers are used without alteration. The invading of the Palestinians coinciding with the year of Joshua's entry into, and conquest of, Canaan, may be, however, fairly connected with the terror and distress then existing in that country. They were perhaps joined, or even partially invited, by that mixed multitude, of whom we shall have again to speak, who accompanied Israel as far as Sinai, and returned to Egypt, as far as we can gather, after the plague at Kadesh-Barnea. Nor can the fact that during some part of his reign, Thothmosis IV. mined in the copper-land of Sinai, affect the fact of the wandering of Israel; rather the contrary; before the Exodus the Amalekites had ruled that country with signal strength; the Israelites, however, in the first year of their wanderings, were the means whereby they were very much weakened, and in Thothmes' second year Israel left the neighbourhood of Sinai for remote stations, and permanently. We claim that either the *sole* rule of Amenophis II. was so short and so calamitous, that it was not recorded in the lists, he being the king who ruled for the very short period of Moses' presence in Egypt during the plagues; or else that he was wholly titular and secondary. We should doubt whether the inscription of the obelisk proves more than the length of time which it was in the workmen's hands, and that it was not completed until after the death of Thothmes III.

With this story of the Exodus also agrees the accession of Amenhept I., whose royal sister carried the title of Pharaoh's daughter. If indeed Amosis' long struggle to establish this dynasty was complete thirteen years before, these thirteen years would not be too long a period before the birth of Moses to

suit the Biblical expression of the rise of the new king who knew not Joseph; yet it seems likely that the slavery of Israel would be the last act of the full establishment of the dynasty, and would rather date from the year 1584 or 1587 (as we receive the detail of Josephus or the round numbers of Africanus), than earlier.

Thus far the restoration then is easy and satisfactory. The restoration of the old empire by the use of Bunsen's labour is nearly as easy, and will be as satisfactory. The monuments, indeed, give less assistance, but the sums of the lists give more.

To Bunsen's fundamental error in servilely copying Eratosthenes we have already alluded, but we acknowledge with one exception the general outline of the history he has given, and with great gratitude much of its laborious detail; the exact chronological arrangement will follow from the mere contrast of corresponding names in the cotemporary dynasties immediately that exception is removed.

The exception is of course the position of the Shepherds. Bunsen had interposed them between the fall of the twelfth and the eighteenth dynasty; we now know that the chief of the three Shepherd dynasties at least, must be thrown back so as to be cotemporary with part of the old empire itself. Bunsen's general outline of the native kings will only allow one possible place, the time of the sixth Memphite, a period already marked as one of decline.

This position being allowed (even for argument sake), the whole story of the old empire, by the self-evident comparison of the cotemporary dynastic names, quietly and perfectly unfolds itself.

Look shortly at the fitness of some of these comparisons, and take first the name of Phiops. Bunsen tells us that Phiops of the sixth dynasty and Apappus of Eratosthenes are one person, and that his Egyptian name from the monuments was A. PEPI. (ii. 201.) He also tells us that this same Egyptian name was the title given to the Hycsos king by Ra-Skennenn-Atnaken (iii. 356) in an Egyptian romance lately translated. Now, among the names of the shepherd kings cotemporary with the sixth dynasty, is Apophis; can we doubt that Apaphus and Apophis are the same name? And surely a titular, not a personal name; for on a comparison of the different lists of this fifteenth dynasty this name will be found devoted to every prince in turn except the first; and note that both Abram and Isaac call all the sultans of the same race then sojourning to the south of Hebron, Abi-Melech. The first consequence of this synonyme is that we have Eratosthenes himself witnessing to this general order of the succession, Suphi, Hycsos, Sesorteesen. The second

is, that Nitocris at once resumes her true position, a Shepherd princess of Chaldæan extraction, as Herodotus himself hints.

Take next one other comparison flowing also in part out of this. The first king of the sixth Memphite dynasty already before us, as containing this Shepherd title, is Akthoes, a man who also is found introducing the ninth Heracleopolitan dynasty; of him the lists assert that he was more cruel than all the kings before him, and introduced dire calamities "*in universam Egyptum*," and also that he was put aside by his guards, and in a fit of madness threw himself to the crocodiles. Surely his cruelty introduced the Hycsos. But Eusebius says further that the same king introduced the fifth Elephantine dynasty, and Bunsen says that Africanus' name of the first ruler of that fifth dynasty, Outher-Cheres, is without doubt to be identified with Useserkarf (ii. 190), and that he was buried in the field of the Pyramids, being, as is reasonable to suppose, one of the family of their erectors. This name does not appear in the fourth Memphite dynasty among the Suphi, but it does appear as Aches in the third, immediately preceding the last two names, which are evidently only varieties in writing Cheops and Chephen, and are therefore synonymes for these kings—and in this case, in the more marked manner, as an error in the length of his reign, where forty-two has been substituted for twenty-eight or thirty, has connexion with the difference of Africanus' sum of the dynasty from that of Eusebius, which last we have already shewn to be the correct one. Is it not clear, that this king so often named and so connected was of the Suphi family, a tyrant as the others, and the special instrument whereby the Shepherds were introduced to Egypt, and that by him the numerous divisions of the empire which succeeded to the advent of the Hycsos was brought about? With these explanatory synchronisms, and with the assistance derived from the difference between the recorded sum of these dynasties, (especially of the Shepherds, in Eusebius, Africanus, and Josephus, as contrasted with the sixth Memphite dynasty, which appears to have been especially a Shepherd one,) and also with the memory of Herodotus' assertion that Philitis fed his flocks in the neighbourhood of the three Pyramids while they were being built,—not only does the story of Egypt reveal itself at once, being interpreted by that of the Hyksos; but also the cotemporary dynasties are supplied with such an exactness of commencement and conclusion, in so many different instances, that we cannot doubt that its chronology, is equally before us. The perfect accuracy of this arrangement could only be explained by a continued reference to detail, and a diagram, which would

be tedious on this occasion; but the story thence resulting, which we proceed to give, and the synchronisms and reappearance of name already pointed out, (although several others exist,) will enable any one who has a copy of Bunsen's first volume and a slight knowledge of the subject, to draw out such diagram for himself.

The commencement of the reign of Menes, according to the Theban, Thinite, and Memphite estimate of the first dynasty, was in the year before or after the Hebrew date of the flood, 2348 B.C. But Eratosthenes, we have already seen, deducts as not genuine some one hundred years from this primeval period, and places thus the first settlement of the valley of the Nile in 2242 B.C., a date very clearly corresponding with the dispersion of Peleg and the foundation of the first and Cuthic kingdom at Babylon. The first settlers in Egypt, evidently dispersed and settled at different centres, brought with them a high amount of civilization; their rulers, however, were rather heads of families than kings. The first race of kings appears to have been a branch of the Cuthic kingdom of Babylonia; this race, so celebrated by Rawlinson, ruled at Babylon, according to Berosus, in two dynasties (i. 716), from 2259 B.C. to 1976 B.C., being succeeded then by Chaldean races. The giant tribes of Southern Canaan, against whom, in 1934 B.C., Khedor-Laomer came up from Babylon, were also of this Cuthic race. The first of these kings in Egypt was apparently Sethorsos, whose gigantic stature is mentioned, about 2092 B.C.; they continued gradually becoming more oppressive until they culminated in the Suphi, 1934 B.C., who built the great Pyramids; their final fall took place in 1834, before that same race of men which had previously broken the centre of their race at Babylon. One hundred years, however, before this, in 1934, they had first found these Pali pasturing in their land, but at that time peaceably, the more warlike tribes among these being then engaged in uprooting the kindred kings of Palestine. Also when Abram found the Pali in the south in 1925 the peaceable and pastoral character seemed still well suited to them. But though these Nomads were at first peaceable, they did not always thus continue; some tyrannous act of Akthoes, who ruled over the part of Egypt nearest to them, either affecting them as his mercenaries, or causing the native Egyptians to invoke their aid, they interfered and deposed that prince, making that part of the Delta subject to them, and establishing their own suzerainty over it. For a time the Suphi on the other side of the Nile either trusted or despised them; yet this event seems to have had some effect, and Mycrynus the Holy appears to have desired to propitiate and gain

the hearty support of his people. After his death it is most likely that an attempt was made by a marriage with Nitocris of some Suphite (perhaps Methu-Suphis), to avert the danger; but her husband having been treacherously killed, she took ample vengeance. And the Hycsos on this occasion overran the whole land, driving the Cushite into Ethiopia, and appointing in subservience to themselves, native dynasties in the chief divisions of Egypt. For another 103 years they continued supreme, their sultans bearing the title of Apophis, although the particular name of each individual is very doubtful, and Egypt, its labourers and its artificers, remained subject; but then civilization had its sway again. Now it seems that in the country of Acthoes they had at first built a city for themselves, to which afterwards they added fortifications against the chance of any help being sent to their enemies from those Cushites who were still ruling in Nineveh and its vicinity, and that afterwards they made Memphis their capital; thus it came about that gradually their race was divided, one part retained its Nomadic character, another became semi-settled and were of a mixed parentage.

While this division was gradually growing up, Thebes, first of all the subject cities, gained its freedom, and at a very early date, perhaps even forty-three years after the year 1834 B.C., established an independent but friendly dynasty, under Amenemes I., eventuating in the twelfth dynasty. The twelfth dynasty seems to have obtained Memphis in 1731 B.C., when the true Nomads passed away, and the sixteenth dynasty, the mixed race, only remained. The mixed race became allies and perhaps subjects of the twelfth dynasty, and we may even suggest, allowed the Theban king to be their suzerain, and to carry their royal title, as now at times the Emperor of Russia has carried that of Khan to certain Tartar tribes. After the cessation of the twelfth dynasty, apparently through failure of descent, we find these settled Hycsos again striving not only for independence but dominion; we find them waging war with the successor of the Nantef dynasty, who seem to have been the first who established themselves in the seat vacated by the Sesortosidæ, and afterwards with Amosis, but unsuccessfully. They were conquered and made servants, and nearly at the same time Israel became bondslaves.

The sway of the twelfth dynasty became very noted under the reigns of Sesortosen III. and Amenhema III. or IV., who, as Bunsen most justly teaches us, were the Sesostris and Mœris of Egyptian story. In the reign of Sesortosen III. not only did Egypt conquer nations to the far north, but also far into the land of Cush. This is the king who first placed a tax upon

all the land in the country, except that of the priests, and thus founded the financial prosperity of the empire. To this king is also attributed, by Herodotus, the re-division of all Egypt, and therefore the invention of geometry. Mœris succeeded him, and was honoured as the reclamer of the Faioum, the builder of the labyrinth, and the constructor of the great lake and its connected canals. Now Bunsen and Lepsius both rightly place Joseph and the going down into Egypt under this dynasty, but our author fixes the time very imperfectly under Sesortesen I., merely because we have a record of a great famine having happened under that king's reign; the biblical student, however, well knowing the common occurrence of famines in those days, will rather consider that previous drought as one preparatory cause of Joseph's interpretations being so well received, than as a reason for disjoining the Hebrew history written from the traditionary story of Egypt, when, by the use of the Scripture date, they so accurately support each other. Even after Bunsen's arrangement, the agreement of Egyptian and Bible history on these events is very valuable, how much more so under our present explanation. We have learned that the Nomad shepherds had lately been expelled from the land, hence only could the best pasture be given to Israel, hence only the abomination expressed at the trade of a shepherd, hence the excuse for Joseph's calling his brethren spies, and for his saying to men professedly of the Nomad race, "to see the nakedness of the land ye are come." We have seen also that some of a mixed shepherd race still remained, and the length of Africanus' sum to the fifteenth dynasty forces us to believe that though in subjection to Sesostris, they were subject allies, Sesostris himself holding the sultan title over them; here is a cause not only for the ready admission of Israel among them when their peaceable nature was established, but an explanation to the almost impossible tradition of Egypt, that Joseph served under an Apophis. Eratosthenes calls this Sestortosis, Sostic-Hermes; surely the Hermes refers to Joseph; surely we have here Egypt's testimony to his wisdom, and thankfulness for all the benefits and wealth he provided by his rule, and may believe that to that wisdom are due the canals and lakes and perfect agriculture of his day, as well as the division of the land and its taxation: finally we may also conclude, that to the same wisdom is really to be attributed the final settlement of the Egyptian Calendar, which is, indeed, most improbably in itself attributed to the last Shepherd Apophis of the fifteenth dynasty, but, by the peculiar conjunction of Joseph's time, may have been rightly so in name, and yet really have originated in Joseph, who was connected by marriage with

the Egyptian priesthood, and was their friend. So remarkable and perfect a correspondence as thus presents itself of events, characters, titles, and persons, utterly unconnected and often opposite, can scarcely be found in vindication of any other historical event, hitherto subject to question either in sacred or secular history.

The last few years of the twelfth dynasty are so obscure that we neither know certainly how nor when it ceased. They were succeeded not only by a war already related, but by the temporary independence of Israel, an event which took place apparently in 1656 B.C. The Nantef princes having, however, called in to help them against the sixteenth Shepherd, Amosis, who by marriage had kindred with the Cushite families in Ethiopia, that noted king seems to have gradually established his own family in supremacy, re-introducing thereby, in some sense, the old Assyrian Cushic race to power, the hereditary enemy of the Shepherds, and of the twelfth dynasty. We have already seen that these new kings, who knew nothing of Joseph, to make all safe, enslaved Israel; their lineage thus pointed out, gives double ground for their hatred. We have, however, no hint that Israel actually joined the mixed multitude against Amos; rather we may expect the words of inspiration are literally true, the "Assyrian oppressed them without cause." We have already traced their further history under the new empire; it only remains to point out that the seventeenth dynasty ends with the Exodus, but that the sixteenth, after, in part, accompanying Israel as far as Kadesh-Barnea, returned again to their settlement, took a share with their Palestinian friends in the plunder of their old enemies, and were made to share also in their friends' disasters, and date their final close of independence to the restoration under Raames I. and Sethos, after which doubtless many of them became slaves, labouring on the great buildings of their conquerors, though some left Egypt, and settled in various parts of the world; one portion was with Danaus the colonizer of Greece, as the date, by its exact agreement between the close of the dynasty, the note of Manetho concerning Armais, and Clinton's Grecian year of Danaus, unmistakably enforces.

The subject we have proposed to ourselves is completed: it might have been extended indefinitely. We have endeavoured to pass by petty criticisms, and to meet Chevalier Bunsen's charges against the inspiration of Bible history, on his own ground, feeling convinced that, although an inspired book may contract, in transcript, verbal errors in a greater or a less degree, and may, and indeed sometimes must, as a faithful witness,

relate to us, while giving the utterance of uninspired men, an ignorant or imperfect statement of events, it never can, as an expression of its own teaching, or as a part of its own record, bear witness to any untrue or ignorant statement of fact, whether in history or doctrine. If it be untrue in its witness of one, who shall trust its truth in its witness of the other?

W. W.

ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. xi.

(Continued from No. XVIII., p. 385.)

WE have thus altogether five, or perhaps six intervals, of which only two are defined. There is, first, the interval between the first separation of the nominally Christian community into two parts, the godly and the ungodly, and the period when the latter, gaining the ascendancy, began to trample on the former, this period being undefined: second, the period of this oppression, and the testimony of the witnesses in sackcloth defined as 1260 days: third, the period of the warfare between the beasts and the witnesses, ending in the death of the latter—undefined: fourth, the interval which elapsed between the death of the witnesses, and the period when the nations began to contemplate their dead bodies, lying in the streets of the great city; the existence of this interval being uncertain, and if it exist at all, its duration being undefined: fifth, the period during which the nations contemplate the dead bodies of the witnesses, and ending in their revival, defined as three and a half days; and, sixth, the interval between the revival of the witnesses and the termination of the divine mystery, undefined. This appears to be the stage of our investigation, at which we may, with the greatest advantage, take up the reserved question, of the meaning to be attached to the phrases, forty-two months, 1260 days, and three and a half days, which are employed to designate those of the above intervals which are defined.

Of these phrases there may be taken two leading views, the one regarding them as chronological, designed to indicate specific periods of time, the other regarding them as purely symbolical phrases.

The chronological view, again, divides itself into two branches, for these expressions may be taken, either in their literal sense, as denoting the precise periods of time, which they express, or in a prophetic sense, as denoting much longer, but still specific periods of time.

The main objection to these phrases being understood in their literal sense, is that the periods appear to be too short. There is an extreme improbability that events, made the subject of so remarkable a prediction, and in themselves so important, as are this trampling of the holy city, and the prophesying of the two witnesses in sackcloth, should endure for only forty-two literal months, or 1260 natural days. So brief a triumph of the powers of evil, and depression of the cause of Christianity, could hardly be regarded as an event standing out in such bold relief, as we have indicated by the prophecy before us. Besides, the whole of the phraseology is so obviously metaphorical, that it would be a violation of all the rules of sound criticism to pick out these phrases from the rest, and to give them a strictly literal interpretation.

Then comes the other view, that these phrases, although they are to be taken in a chronological sense, are to be understood, not literally, but as indicating longer periods, according to analogies found in other prophecies of the sacred volume. Of such extensions of the meaning, the most probable, because supported by the most distinct analogies, is that of understanding each day to mean a year. Of this mode of interpretation we have the most distinct example in the vision of Ezekiel (iv. 1—6), where it is distinctly stated, that a day is given for a year, and that for a reason which is rendered very evident by the narrative. A less distinct example occurs in the prophecy of Daniel (ix. 24), where seventy weeks are used to denote 490 years. But here the term *day* is not employed, while the word *week*, or epoch of seven, may be held to apply to seven years, as well as to seven days, there having been, under the Jewish dispensation, a week of years, as well as a week of days, the one marked by a sabbatical year, as the other was by the Sabbath day. There are strong grounds for supposing, however, that, in other parts of the prophecy of Daniel, the periods specified as 2300, 1290, and 1335 *days*, may mean these numbers of years. But the same uncertainty hangs over these, as over the periods specified in the Apocalypse.

There is another curious analogy which somewhat favours this view, namely, that, supposing the three and a half days, during which the witnesses lay dead, to be three and a half years, this period would correspond to that, during which the heavens were shut, and rain was withheld, in the days of Elijah, a coincidence which might perhaps justify our regarding the latter event as in some manner foreshadowing the period during which prayer and the divine word should be in abeyance, and when there should be a famine in the land, “not a famine of

bread, or a thirst for water, but of hearing of the word of the Lord.”—Amos viii. 11.

Were this principle of reckoning days for years, however, to be applied to the 1260 days, and three and a half days, now under consideration, it would be necessary to bear in mind that the years represented by these days cannot be solar years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days each, but must be prophetic years of only 360 days each; for in the next chapter, the 1260 days are called a time, times, and half a time, or three and a half times; and it is not $365\frac{1}{4}$, but 360 multiplied by three and a half, that gives 1260. Hence, to find the number of solar years, we must multiply 1260 by 360, and divide by $365\frac{1}{4}$, which gives nearly 1245 solar years. Again, the three and a half days would, on this principle, represent 1260 natural days, and we should err, were we, by taking three and a half solar years, to reckon 1278 days; and we should err still more, were we to reckon the number of days to be 1275 or 1276, by taking three solar years, and adding thereto only 180 days, the half of a prophetic year of 360 days. Hence, it is evident that any chronological calculations, or coincidences, founded on reckoning the three and a half days to represent either 1278, or 1276, or 1275 natural days, must be fallacious. So also must be any such calculations as would make the 1260 days represent that number of solar years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, instead of 1260 prophetic years of 360 days each.

Were this principle to be applied, it would have to be further borne in mind, that the language of the prophecy leaves it uncertain whether the entire period represented by 1260 days, during which the witnesses are to prophecy in sackcloth, must completely elapse, before the beast, ascending out of the abyss, begins to make war upon them—or whether this warfare commences before the lapse of the defined period; so as to make the death of the witnesses coincide with the termination of the 1260 days, or prophetic years—the duration of the warfare being quite undefined. There must then be a period of exactly 1260 natural days, during which the dead bodies of the witnesses lie exposed to the gaze of the nations; and thereafter a certain period has to elapse between the revival of the witnesses and the termination of the divine mystery, by the kingdoms of this world, or at least some of them, becoming our Lord's and his Christ's.

It will be observed that the only arguments in favour of this hypothesis are drawn from analogies, and these not of a very strong kind—far too weak to overcome the very formidable objection which lies against this mode of reckoning. For the

principle of unity of interpretation would require, that the same method should be applied to all the periods specified in the course of the prophecy. We should then have to reckon the five months' duration of the locust plague to be 150 prophetic years, and to interpret the hour, day, month and year of the plague symbolized by the four angels, on the same principle. But most startling of all, we should have to apply it to the 1000 years, mentioned in the twentieth chapter, as the duration of the triumphant reign of Christianity in the present world—thus extending that period to 360,000 years, of 360 days each. Now this is a prolongation of the temporal system of the world, which is in the very highest degree improbable, and it would require some very strong evidence indeed, in favour of this principle, before such an extension could be permitted. This, moreover, is a case to which the principle of unity of interpretation very clearly applies; for no possible reason could be assigned why, in one part of the prophecy, 1260 prophetic years should be called 1260 days, and in another part of the prophecy a thousand years should be called simply a thousand years. Nay more, this hypothesis would introduce into the prophecy a principle of deception, which cannot be recognized in any divine communication.

For, in the designating of the period, during which the witnesses are to prophesy in sackcloth, as only 1260 days, while the period of the triumph of Christianity on the earth is stated to be a thousand years, there is an evident design to convey the idea that the latter period greatly exceeds the former in duration—that the space of time, during which the witnesses should be doomed to prophesy in sackcloth, should be short, compared with the long period, during which Christianity is to triumph over the powers of deception and wickedness in the temporal state of the world. But were we to interpret the 1000 years literally, and the 1260 days on the principle of assigning a year to each day, we should wholly reverse the idea; for then the period during which the witnesses are to prophesy in sackcloth would exceed, by nearly a fourth part, the period of the triumph of Christianity on the earth, and we should thus be making the prophecy convey a false impression as respects the comparative lengths of these two periods.

Besides these very grave objections to each of the two branches into which the chronological hypothesis divides itself, there is another which applies generally to the principle of interpreting these phrases according to either of these chronological methods. It is this. Our Saviour declares to his disciples: "It is not given to you to know the times and the

seasons." Now this declaration renders it highly improbable that, in this prophecy, there should have been such indications of the times and the seasons as should render them capable of being ascertained by anticipation, of being exactly calculated beforehand, by a skilful application of scriptural analogies. It is plain, that the principle of taking a day for a year being based solely on the analogies furnished by the prophecies of Ezekiel and Daniel, was ascertainable, or at least might be readily conjectured; so that these periods, and all others hanging upon them, might be calculated before the events; and thus the declaration of our Saviour would be falsified.

This objection, however, applies only to such a method of interpretation as would render the epochs specified capable of being ascertained by *anticipation*; and would not affect any principle which should so connect the events with chronological epochs, as to make it clear *after* the events that the prophecy did really correctly foretell the occurrences, as respects their order and duration.

The purely chronological method of interpretation being opposed by such formidable difficulties, it remains for us to seek a more probable solution in the symbolical principle. This method of interpretation we have already recognized in the case of the locusts, where the life-time of the physical locust was shewn to symbolize the whole period of the duration of the moral disorders typified by those creatures, but without defining that period. It has been also shewn to be highly probable that the same principle applies to the hour, day, month and year of the visitations, represented by the four angels—these periods symbolizing the increasing intervals of time at which the four successive visitations, all of the same kind, should begin their action, but without defining those intervals. Now, if we could apply a similar symbolical method to the 1260 days, and the three and a half days, and also to the 1000 years, the principle of unity of interpretation would be preserved intact. With respect to the 1000 years, little difficulty would be experienced; for it is a not uncommon mode of expressing, metaphorically, a very long but indefinite period of time. About the 1260 days and three and a half days, however, there is a peculiar character which forbids our regarding them in this purely indefinite sense; and we must therefore look for some more specific symbolical meaning to be attached to them.

It cannot escape notice that both of these periods are hemi-cycles—the shorter, three and a half days, being half a week; the longer, forty-two months, or 1260 days, being half a week of years. The entire cycles, of which these are the halves—

namely, seven days and eighty-four months, involve the two apocalyptic numbers of perfection—seven and twelve,—the eighty-four months being the product of these two numbers, so making completeness in an emphatic sense. There being thus stamped on the face of these two periods a decided cyclical character, it behoves us to inquire what are the cycles here symbolized; for the specification of half cycles obviously implies the existence of the whole cycles, of which they are the halves.

Now, the symbolical principle of interpretation requires us to regard these, not as physical but as moral cycles—the intervals between two great epochs in the moral history of the human race, and more especially in the history of the Christian religion—the one cycle being of much longer duration than the other. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the one should be exactly 360 times longer than the other, according to the proportion which 1260 bear to three and a half days. It is enough that the disproportion between the two be very considerable. This principle we have already recognized in the case of the hour, day, month and year, with respect to which it has been shewn to be highly improbable that they represent the precise relative durations of four successive intervals, although the likelihood be great that they do represent four successive intervals, each longer than the preceding.

But, while the symbolical principle requires us to regard the cycles as being not physical but moral, it does not exclude the supposition that the Deity may, for a wise purpose, have established some relation between the moral and certain physical cycles. True, it is affirmed that “with God one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day;” so that He does not regulate his moral government of the world by the revolutions of the planets. Still, it is quite conceivable that, for some wise end, such, for example, as rendering the fulfilment of a prophecy more remarkable and striking, the Deity may, in some cases, make moral cycles correspond to certain physical cycles.

Thus, two suppositions arise out of the symbolical principle of interpretation. First, that the moral cycles have no connexion whatever with any physical cycles; or, second, that God has, for wise ends, and in the present case, perhaps, to render the fulfilment of the prophecy more striking, established a connexion between these moral cycles and certain physical cycles. Of these two suppositions, the former possesses the greatest amount of inherent and antecedent probability; for there is no necessary connection between moral events and the physical revolutions of the planets; so that it cannot be antecedently

presumed in any particular case. Indeed, nothing could justify our recognition, in any instance, of such a relation, save the detection *after the occurrence of the events* of a coincidence so marked as to render it evident that the Deity has, for some wise end, made a moral cycle to coincide with a physical.

On the other hand, if such a coincidence should be found in the case before us, the objection arising out of the declaration of our Saviour, "it is not given to you to know the times and the seasons," would not affect our recognition of the relation; for it is plain that the connexion between a moral and a physical cycle being inherently improbable, no calculation could be founded on the presumption that such a relation might exist; and even if it were suspected, it would be impossible to guess beforehand what particular physical cycle might in any instance correspond with the moral.

These two suppositions, then, fall to be separately considered; and the first, being the simpler, demands our earliest attention.

Now, the existence of a great moral cycle in the case before us admits of no doubt; for we have it clearly indicated in the proclamation of the angel, with respect to its termination. It is equally evident, that the moral cycle referred to is that long interval during which there was an apparent delay in the fulfilment of the promise, that the kingdoms of this world should become our Lord's and his Christ's.

In determining the commencement of this cycle, we must consider the point of time when the followers of Christ might entertain a reasonable expectation that the promise was about to be fulfilled; for it is only from that point that the apparent delay in its fulfilment could be properly regarded as a divine mystery. Now, when we examine the prophecy of our Lord (in Matt. xxiv.), on which we have already had occasion to comment, it will be perceived to contain a prediction that, immediately after the overthrow of the Jewish polity in Church and State, which he foreshadows in highly figurative language, the Son of Man should be seen coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. This prediction, which the event shews to have referred to the great development of the Christian religion that followed the overthrow of Judaism, was obviously liable to be so misunderstood by the early Christians as to lead them, from that moment, to expect that the kingdoms of this world were about to become those of our Lord and his Christ; and from that time the delay in the fulfilment of the promise would appear to them a mystery of God.

In seeking for the terminal point of the cycle, again, it will be found necessary to guard the mind against the mistake of

regarding the mere nominal adoption of Christianity, by any ruler or nation, as a fulfilment of the prophecy. The sovereign may call himself a Christian, and his kingdom Christian; yet he, personally, may remain unconverted in heart, and his kingdom may be continued to be ruled on mere worldly maxims, principles and considerations; but the prophecy would, in that case, still remain unfulfilled. Nothing could justify the song of triumph, which followed the blast of the seventh trumpet, except the public recognition of the pure and simple doctrines and principles of Christianity by several of the sovereigns and kingdoms of this world, and their making these doctrines and principles the rule and guide, not only of their private lives, but of their government in their several dominions. For the kingdoms of this world becoming those of our Lord and his Christ means that the sovereigns not only acknowledge Christ as their supreme head and ruler, but that in governing their kingdoms they apply the pure principles of genuine Christianity as maxims of state, and are guided by them in their dealings with all classes of their subjects.

In the search for this terminal epoch, we have a guide in the terms of the song of triumph; for it obviously implies that several of the kingdoms of this world became those of our Lord and his Christ about the same time. It is not necessary to suppose that *all* the kingdoms of this world had become Christian before this triumph was proclaimed. It would be enough that *several* of them at once acknowledged pure Christianity as the rule and principle of their government, for there would thus be an end put to the mystery of delay in the fulfilment of the promise; although the completion of that fulfilment might be yet further postponed. But from the mention of several kingdoms it is necessary, in searching for the period, to look beyond the time when the nominally Christian community was all embraced within one great empire, ruled by one supreme head, and to extend our research into those times when the Christian community became distributed over several separate kingdoms.

It does not fall within our province to trace out the historical epoch to which the song of triumph refers. It is enough for us to have indicated the general principles which must guide the inquirer. Let us, meanwhile, assume that the epoch is found; then the interval between the overthrow of the Jewish polity, and this epoch of several of the kingdoms of this world becoming those of our Lord and his Christ, is the great moral cycle to which the angel refers in his proclamation, and may be called "the cycle of the mystery."

Now, the principle of symbolical interpretation requires that, whatever may be the physical duration of this moral cycle, it should be that period which in the prophecy is symbolized under the metaphor of the physical cycle of a week of years, or eighty-four months—and that the half of this cycle is what is represented under the metaphor of forty-two months, or 1260 days.

What is required for the verification of this principle, then, in the case before us, is that assuming the period designated as forty-two months, during which the majority, composed of worldly-minded men in the nominally Christian community, trampled on the minority, composed of the genuine disciples of Christ, and the period designated as 1260 days, during which the two witnesses of divine truth, the written Word and public prayer fell into such discredit, that those who adhered to them mourned, as it were, in sackcloth—assuming these two periods to be concurrent, and to constitute one epoch, the historical inquirer should be able to shew that this epoch is exactly half of the great cycle of the mystery, whatever may be its physical duration; just as the forty-two months constitute one half of the week of years which symbolizes the entire cycle.

The question is thus reduced from one of dates to one of proportion; for the prophecy does not give any indication such as would enable an enquirer to discover, by *anticipation*, what is the precise position of this hemi-cycle of mourning in the great cycle of the mystery. That position can be determined only by the two limiting events. The first of these is the point of time at which the worldly-minded professors of Christianity, finding themselves superior in number to the true disciples, began to tyrannize over them, and to corrupt the pure doctrines and rituals of Christianity by superstitious traditions and practices. This marks the commencement of the hemi-cycle of mourning. Its termination, again, is less certain. It is either the point of time at which the power symbolized by the beast begins to wage open warfare against the reading and expounding of the Word of God to the people, and the offering up of public prayer in such a manner as to be understood by them; or else it is the close of that warfare, by the reduction of these two great means of grace, and witnesses for the truth of God, to mere lifeless forms—quite unavailing for the spiritual nourishment of the people called by the name of Christ.

What is required, then, is to shew that the interval between the commencement of the tyranny of the nominal over the true Christians, and either the beginning of the open warfare by the power represented by the beast, or its close in the death of the witnesses, is, in duration, one half of the interval between the

fall of the Jewish polity and the beginning of the fulfilment of the promise, by a considerable number of the kingdoms of this world becoming those of our Lord and his Christ. The cycle of mourning must be shewn to be half of the cycle of the mystery. If this can be done, the proof of the symbolical principle of interpretation, as applicable to the twenty-four months and the 1260 days, will be complete.

Then, with respect to the shorter cycle, which is symbolized by a week of seven days, its terminal point evidently coincides with the termination of the cycle of the mystery; but its commencement is not quite so evident from the terms of the prophecy; for it is left doubtful whether the space of three and a half days typifies the whole time during which the witnesses lie dead, or only the time during which the attention of the people is roused to the contemplation of their state of deadness. The latter conclusion appears the more probable of the two; for had it been intended to define the whole period of their bodies lying dead, the defining phrase would have been applied at first to the statement that their bodies lay in the streets of the great city. But the limitation of the period is applied more especially to the act of the nations—their gazing on the dead bodies—that is, their having their attention roused to this state of deadness. It is, therefore, not improbable that there may be a considerable undefined interval between the point of time at which the witnesses were reduced to lifeless forms, and the point of time at which the attention of the nations began to be attracted to this their lifeless condition.

Hence, while it is quite clear that the hemi-cycle embraces only the period of time during which the state of deadness into which the witnesses had been reduced attracted the attention of the nations, it is not so clear whether the entire cycle, of which this epoch forms the half, commences with this awakening of the nations, or with the actual death of the witnesses. If with the latter, then the second half of the cycle will fall to be divided between the period during which the dead bodies lay unobserved, and the period from the revival of the witnesses to the end of the cycle. But if the cycle commence with the awakening of the nations, then its second half will be the interval between the revival of the witnesses and the point of time when some of the kingdoms of this world became those of our Lord and his Christ; and these two periods would thus be exactly equal to each other. A careful examination of the events can alone decide which of these two views is the more correct. If, however, it should be found that the period during which the attention of the nations was called to the deadness of the witnesses was

equal either to that which intervened between their revival and the end of the great cycle—or to this latter interval united to that which intervened between the death of the witnesses and the awakening of the nations, then the proof of the symbolical principle of interpretation will be complete, and we must regard the three and a half days, or half week, to mean the half of a smaller moral cycle involved in the larger, and terminating at the same point of time. This smaller cycle we may call “the cycle of the witnesses,” and the hemi-cycle, during which the nations contemplated their lifeless forms, we may call “the hemi-cycle of contemplation.” Thus we shall have, first—“the great cycle of the mystery,” and its half, “the hemi-cycle of mourning,” so placed in it as to allow an undefined interval both before and after the hemi-cycle. We shall next have “the cycle of the witnesses” and its half, “the hemi-cycle of contemplation.” The cycle of the witnesses will terminate at the same time with the cycle of the mystery; but the position of the hemi-cycle of contemplation is left by the prophecy uncertain, seeing it does not clearly appear whether the cycle of the witnesses ought to commence coincidently with the hemi-cycle of contemplation or with the death of the witnesses at a prior date.

The proof of this method of interpretation depends entirely on the result of the historical investigation into which it is not our province to enter; suffice it to have indicated the course to be pursued. It is allowable, however, here to consider the abstract probability of this method as compared with that of reckoning a year for each day, a comparison in which we may be greatly helped by an examination of the component parts of the several cycles. Whatever view be adopted, it is evident that the 1260 and three and a half days being both hemi-cycles, the existence of the whole cycles to which they severally correspond is implied. If the principle of holding each day to mean a year, then, be correct, there must exist two cycles, the one composed of seven “*times*,” each *time* consisting of 360 years, and each year of 360 days; the other also composed of seven “*times*,” but each “*time*” consisting of only 360 natural days. In the former case we should further expect each time of 360 years to be a distinct and recognizable epoch, well defined by some remarkable events.

On the symbolical principle, again, the composition of the cycles would be different. Both cycles would be simply moral, the intervals between two remarkable eras in the religious history of the human race; each, however, would in like manner be divisible into seven periods; but these would not be of any

definite *physical* duration, or separated from each other by well-marked physical limitations. They would simply be seven distinct and clearly recognizable stages in the moral and religious history of the world.

Now the question comes before us in this shape—which is the more probable composition of these cycles, the chronological or the moral. And to this inquiry the prophecy itself furnishes a reply. We have a clear intimation of the existence of seven periods marked by particular stages in the moral and religious history of the world, but we have no indication that these periods each consisted of 360 years, each year of 360 days, or indeed that they were of any definite chronological duration whatever. On the contrary, we have fair evidence that these periods in some instances merged into one another, the peculiarities of one period subsisting after those of a succeeding period had begun to develop themselves. In those instances moreover where a specific physical duration appears to be assigned to the intervals, they are not periods of 360 years, but different physical cycles, pretty evidently used in a metaphysical sense.

With respect to the greater cycle, that of the mystery, its division into seven stages is very clearly marked by the seven trumpets. The proclamation of the angel, impersonating the spirit of prophecy, compels us to regard the sounding of the seventh trumpet as marking the close of this cycle; whence it follows that the sounding of each of the preceding trumpets in like manner marks the ending of the preceding stage. Thus the first stage will commence with the overthrow of Judaism, symbolized by the darkening of the sun, the turning of the moon into blood, and the falling of the stars, which followed the breaking of the sixth seal, and will end with the blast of the first trumpet. The second stage will end with the blast of the second trumpet, and so on to the last, which ends with the blast of the seventh trumpet.

Now it is very evident that these seven stages are *moral* epochs, each distinguished by some peculiarity in the moral and religious state of human society. There is not a particle of evidence to shew that they were of equal *physical* duration, far less to prove that each continued for exactly 360 years of 360 days. The evidence is all the other way, indicating that the physical duration of these several stages in the cycle were very unequal, while in the case of the sixth and seventh, we have evidence of no small strength that the immoralities which characterized the sixth, symbolized by the locusts, continued to subsist during the greater part of the seventh period. We are therefore warranted in concluding that these seven stages were

not physical periods of equal duration, but merely moral epochs of unequal length, yet marked by very distinct metaphysical peculiarities. The component parts of the great cycle being thus seven moral epochs, the probability that the cycle itself is a greater moral epoch becomes very strong. But if the entire cycle be moral, the hemi-cycles must also be moral, consequently the half week of years ought to be taken, not in a physical but in a metaphysical sense.

With respect to the smaller cycle, that of the witnesses, the occurrence of seven stages is quite as plainly marked; but there is a little dubiety introduced by the circumstance that the prophecy does not clearly indicate whether the cycle commences with the war waged by the beast against the witnesses, or with the death of the latter. Neither does it indicate with precision whether the hemi-cycle of contemplation embraces the whole period of their deadness, or only that portion of it during which the attention of the nations was called to their lifeless forms. This circumstance introduces some uncertainty as regards the proper method of dividing the cycle. Supposing it to commence with the war, and that the period during which the witnesses lie dead is not to be divided into two, then the seven stages would be the following:—First, the stage of warfare between the beast and the witnesses; second, that of their deadness; third, that of their revival; fourth, that of their exaltation; fifth, that of the great popular commotion typified by the earthquake; sixth, the falling away from their allegiance to the great city of one-tenth part of its former citizens, and the loss of reputation sustained by a large portion of those who had acquired a name for sanctity, and seventh, the repentance of the remnant. Suppose, again, that the period of the deadness of the witnesses is to be divided into two; then the earthquake and its consequences must be thrown into one, and this appears the more probable arrangement, seeing the fall of the tenth of the city, and the loss of reputation sustained by the seven thousand, are specified as concomitants of the earthquake. The seven stages will therefore be—first, the war; second, the death of the witnesses; third, the contemplation of their deadness by the nations; fourth, their revival; fifth, their exaltation; sixth, the earthquake and its concomitants; and seventh, the repentance of the remnant. If the cycle is to commence with the death of the witnesses, again a corresponding change must be made in the arrangement of its other divisions so as to complete the seven.

Now it is plain that these are all moral epochs, and there is a total absence of evidence to shew that they were of equal duration, far less to make it clear that each lasted for exactly

360 natural days, consequently there are the same grounds as in the former case for preferring the view that the cycle, as well as the component parts, is a *moral* rather than a *physical* epoch, and that the physical hemi-cycle specified ought therefore to be taken in a metaphysical sense.

Viewing the cycles in connexion with their seven constituent parts, there is a mode of regarding the hemi-cycles which might readily occur to the mind, but which nevertheless is inadmissible, and against which it is therefore necessary to guard. It is this; seeing the entire cycle in each case consists of seven moral epochs, might not the hemi-cycle consist of three of those epochs and half of another? This view, though plausible at first sight, is excluded in the case of the smaller cycle, because whatever view we take of the events constituting the seven epochs of the cycle, it is evident that the hemi-cycle of contemplation constitutes one of them by itself, consequently the epoch during which the nations contemplated the deadness of the witnesses must be equal in duration to all the others put together. But the principle of unity of interpretation requires that we should apply the same rule also to the larger cycle, and indeed the tenor of the symbolization renders it pretty evident that the hemi-cycle of mourning is embraced in the last of the seven epochs into which that cycle is divided, so that the duration of the seventh must be greater than the conjoined duration of all the rest. Consequently in neither case is it admissible to regard the hemi-cycle as composed of three of those epochs and half of another.

There is an advantage attending the symbolical principle of interpretation which has not yet been noticed, but which it may be well here to mark. If we here adopt the principle of reckoning a year for each day, then must we of necessity regard the forty-two months, during which the Gentiles trampled on the holy city, and the 1260 days of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, as identical and concurrent periods, both consisting of 1260 years, each year of twelve months, each month containing exactly thirty days. But from this necessity we are by the symbolical principle entirely relieved. Regarding both the forty-two months and the 1260 days as symbolical expressions, denoting the halves of great moral cycles, they may each be the same half of one cycle, or the halves of different cycles, or different halves of the same cycle. It is certainly very remarkable that resort should here have been had to a different mode of expression if the ideals were absolutely identical, and this circumstance is rendered still more striking by its repetition in the subsequent part of the vision in which the duration of the power

of the beast is denoted by forty-two months, while that of the flight of the woman is denoted by 1260 days. It can hardly be imagined that this variation of expression is adopted for no purpose whatever, and it would be difficult to discover any other reason than that it was intended to intimate some distinction between the two moral cycles thus designated. The resort to the larger units of months in the one case may be meant to indicate that the one hemi-cycle is the half of a greater cycle than is the other, or at least that the cycle whose half is thus symbolized is different in its commencement and its ending from the other.

Although the evidence is very clear that the hemi-cycle of mourning terminated with the death of the witnesses, if not before it, there is no evidence to shew that the tyranny of the nominal Christians over the true disciples terminated at the same time. On the contrary, the tendency of the symbolization is all the other way, leading to the inference that this tyranny survived not only the death but also the exaltation of the witnesses, and extended far into the ulterior period to which the symbolization of the seventh trumpet relates. Such an extension appears quite irreconcilable with any mere chronological interpretation of the forty-two months and the 1260 days. But if we regard them *symbolically* as merely modes of expressing the halves of moral cycles, then we are at liberty to view the cycles to which they severally appertain as quite distinct; that to which the 1260 days belongs commencing with the fall of Judaism, and ending with the establishment of certain of the kingdoms of this world on purely Christian principles. We have not yet before us sufficient information to determine the beginning and ending of the cycle to which the forty-two months belong. All that we can ascertain as yet is, that the hemi-cycle itself commences with the period when the false professors of Christianity began to outnumber and tyrannize over the true, but it appears to extend onward to a terminal point which we shall not be able to determine until we make further progress in our researches.

It remains that we develop the second supposition arising out of the symbolical method of interpretation, namely, that the Deity may possibly have for wise ends established a relation between the two moral cycles (those of the mystery and of the witnesses), and certain physical cycles. This supposition, as we have already said, is so inherently improbable that nothing could justify it except the detection *after the events* of such a marked coincidence as to leave little or no doubt that the moral are really related to certain physical cycles, for such a

coincidence could never be anticipated from any prior considerations.

The most remarkable of the physical cycles are the four following:—First, the cycle of the moon, nineteen years; second, the cycle of the sun, twenty-eight years; third, the cycle of the sun and moon, or Paschal cycle, found by multiplying these two numbers together, and hence consisting of 532 years. This cycle brings the Paschal feast round to the same day; fourth, the cynic cycle, or cycle of the Dog-star, embracing 1460 years. This cycle is the period during which the quarter days, whereby the solar year exceeds 365 days, accumulate into a year, so that were each year reckoned as consisting of only 365 days there would have to be added at the end of every 1460 years an extra year to rectify the calendar. This was the method of reckoning followed by the ancient Egyptians. The four most remarkable chronological cycles are therefore respectively 19, 28, 532 and 1460 years, and these present this facility for adaptation to moral cycles that they may start from any point of time, differing in this respect from purely astronomical cycles, such as those connected with particular positions of the perihelion or equinoctial points.

Now if the result of the historical investigation should be to render it evident that the termination of the cycle of the mystery took place in the 1461st year from its commencement, then it would be almost impossible to resist the conclusion, that, for the better verification of this remarkable prophecy, the Deity had brought the moral cycle of the mystery to coincide with the cynic cycle—making the beginning of the fulfilment of the promise, by several of the kingdoms of this world becoming those of our Lord and his Christ, to take place in the 1461st year from the final overthrow of the Jewish polity in Church and state.

If such a decided coincidence can be traced, then the hemi-cycle of forty-two months or 1260 days, would symbolize half of the cynic cycle, or 730 years; and it would remain to be shewn historically, that this was the length of the period during which the two witnesses prophesied in sack-cloth.

We have a remarkable example of a similar halving of a moral cycle, in the case of the interval between the date of our Saviour's birth and the fall of Jerusalem, which was divided into two nearly equal halves by his death. Indeed there is a curious cyclical character presented by the events in the life of our Lord:—the period of his ministry lasted for six years, and in the seventh he entered into his rest; while

his whole mortal career was composed of six periods, each of six years.*

Again, with respect to the shorter cycle—that of the witnesses—if the result of the historical inquiry should render it clear that at the distance of nine and a half years, before the termination of the cycle of the mystery, there happened an event which could be plainly recognized as a decided revival of the testimony of the two great means of grace, the Word of God and public prayer, in a language understood by the people, as witnesses to the pure and simple doctrines of Christianity; and if it could be further shewn, that at the distance of other nine and a half years previous to this revival, the attention of earnest men, and through them of the nations generally, began to be attracted to the condition of mere lifeless forms, into which these two witnesses had fallen, then it would be impossible to resist the conclusion, that for the better verification of this prophecy the Deity had brought the cycle of the witnesses to correspond with the lunar cycle of nineteen years. But if it should be found that these two events occurred at the respective distances of fourteen and twenty-eight years, before the termination of the cycle of the mystery, then we should conclude that the cycle of the witnesses had been made to correspond with the solar cycle. In the one case, the three and a half days or half week would represent nine and a half years, in the other case fourteen years.

This curious question is one which can be decided only by careful historical research; but it is one to which the attention of every inquirer into the historical fulfilment of this prophecy ought to be particularly directed.

This peculiar cyclical character can be expected to apply only to the intervals of 1260 and three and a half days, and not to the undefined intervals involved in the greater cycle; such as the lapse of time between the commencement of the cycle of the mystery, and that of the hemi-cycle of mourning, or the interval between the termination of the latter, and the commencement of the cycle of the witnesses; for these intervals being undefined, nothing of a cyclical character can be looked for in them.

It will be specially observed, that the symbolical method of interpretation, whether we take it in its more simple form, or with the superinduced supposition last considered, is no greater

* If the date assigned by Usher for the dedication of Solomon's temple be correct, namely B.C. 1004, the birth of Christ, which took place B.C. 4, would be exactly 1000 years distant from the former event,—so that a certain cyclical character would thus be given to the interval between the manifestation of the divine glory in the material *naos*, and its manifestation in the organic *naos*, the body of Christ.

departure from the *literal* sense, than would be the taking of the forty-two months to mean 1260 years of 360 days each, or the taking of the three and a half days to mean 1260 natural days. The one departure from the literal sense has no greater inherent probability than the other. But if it be affirmed, that the principle of taking a day to mean a year is supported by the analogies furnished in the prophecies of Ezekiel and Daniel, this circumstance ought to operate against that principle, and in favour of the symbolical. For the declaration of our Lord, "it is not given to you to know the times and the seasons," renders it highly improbable that this prophecy should furnish precise data whence the times and the seasons should be capable of exact calculation *before the events*, and such would be the case were the analogies in the prophecies of Ezekiel and Daniel followed in the prophecy before us. But by the adoption of a new principle, the specifications given in this prophecy cease to render the times and the seasons calculable before the events; for the symbolical principle of regarding the cycles whose halves are typified by the half week of days and the half week of years as being *moral* cycles, makes it impossible to guess the length of those cycles by *anticipation*; while even if the events shew that the moral cycles coincide with certain physical cycles, such a coincidence could not be anticipated by any human foresight, far less could it be foreseen with what particular physical cycles the moral would be made to correspond.

Upon the whole, therefore, if the symbolical principle of interpretation in either of its forms be found to be supported by the results of the historical investigation, there need be no hesitation in giving to it the preference over every other.

A further question, however, will remain for the historical inquirer. What is the connexion, if any, between the periods mentioned in this prophecy and those specified in the book of Daniel, and whether the two series of events referred to in the two prophecies be the same? That such a connexion may be found, is rendered probable by the circumstance of the prophetic roll which was given by the angel to John being already open, thus indicating that the prophecy contained in the roll had been, to a certain extent, already published, and that it was now to be more fully proclaimed by the apostle; for it is evident that all that part of the vision which follows the apostle's eating the roll is the substance of the prophecy contained in that document. This view is further confirmed by the circumstance, that both in this prophecy and in that of Daniel, there is a reference to the trampling of the holy place by the Gentiles; but it is not unlikely that the predictions in Daniel apply primarily to Israel,

according to the flesh, and only remotely to the spiritual Israel; whereas the predictions of John seem to apply primarily to the latter. Hence it may be found that the two series of events are not identical but merely analogous, and that the "times" specified in Daniel apply to the one series, and those in the vision of John to the other. The only expression common to the two prophecies is the peculiar phrase "time, times, and half a time." But in Daniel's prediction the expression, "half a time" appears to mean rather the dividing of a time, that is, some portion of a time, not an exact half; for there are afterwards specified two periods, one of 1290, the other of 1335 days, one or both of which seem to be embraced under the more general formula.

Nor is there any distinct ground for holding that the period or cycle indicated by the word "time" is the same both in Daniel's prophecy and in John's. On the contrary, it is a curious circumstance that the 1290 days of Daniel, if reckoned in years, amount to exactly three times the celebrated cycle of 430 years which intervened between the promise made to Abraham, and the commencement of its fulfilment by the liberation of his descendants from Egypt. This coincidence might almost justify our regarding 430 as the unit of "a time" in Daniel's prophecy, the 1290 being three times, and the 1335 three times and a portion of a time.

There is also specified in a previous part of Daniel's prophecy a period of 2300 days, whereas in John's prophecy "the time, times, and half a time" are identified with 1260 days, and no mention is made of the numbers specified in Daniel's vision; while these numbers, moreover, do not possess that peculiar cyclical character which distinguishes the 1260 and three and a half days of John. It is therefore not improbable that a totally different principle of interpretation applies to the one series of numbers from that which explains the other. The question of the relation between the times respectively specified in the prophecies of Daniel and of John is one involved in great obscurity, requiring the most careful consideration of the historical inquirer. The following curious relations may be here noted, in case they may possibly aid in elucidating this obscure subject. It is evident that the unit called "a time" in the Apocalypse is 360 days, of which periods three and a half make up 1260 days. Now, if one of these units of 360 days be added to the 2300 days of Daniel, the amount will be 2660 days, which, if reckoned in years, make exactly five Paschal cycles.^b

^b There is another coincidence affecting these 2300 days which may *possibly* exist

Again, if we take Daniel's 1290 and 1335 days, not as concurrent, but successive epochs, they make 2625 days. Now the starting point of the 1290 days is the removal of the daily sacrifice at the destruction of Jerusalem. But the fulfilment of the Paschal type by the death of Christ took place about thirty-six years previously, so that the termination of the above period, if reckoned in years, would fall in the 2661st year from the death of Christ, again corresponding to five Paschal cycles. Farther, if to the 1290 days of Daniel, reckoned as years, we add 171 years or nine lunar cycles, we obtain 1461, corresponding to the termination of the cynic cycle from the destruction of Jerusalem, which cynic cycle may possibly be found to tally in duration with the cycle of the mystery in John's prophecy.

This is perhaps the most interesting of these curious coincidences. For if the 1290 days of Daniel and John's cycle of the mystery both started from A.D. 69, the date of the fall of Jerusalem, they must be concurrent. Daniel's period seems to mark the interval between the abolition of the daily sacrifice by the destruction of the temple, and the setting up of the abomination of desolation. Reckoning the 1290 days as years, we are brought to A.D. 1359 as the date of the setting up of the abomination. Add 171 years, or nine lunar cycles, and we come to 1530, the 1461st year from the fall of Jerusalem, which would be the end of John's cycle of the mystery, supposing it to correspond to the cynic cycle. Now if the setting up of the abomination coincided with the commencement of the war waged by the beast against the witnesses, this latter event would thus be fixed in A.D. 1359. Again, if the smaller cycle of John were a lunar cycle of nineteen years, the revival of the witnesses would take place between A.D. 1520 and 1521, and the period when attention began to be called to the lifeless condition into which they had fallen A.D. 1511, and during the latter interval between 1511 and

if they be reckoned as so many years, and as starting from A.D. 69, the date of the fall of Jerusalem. The date of the vision of Daniel in which this period was revealed to him is stated to have been the third year of the reign of Belshazzar; but unfortunately there is great uncertainty as to the chronological correspondence of that date. Usher makes it about B.C. 553, while others differ by as much as nine or ten years. The year B.C. 553, according to the *civil* or *historical* mode of reckoning, corresponds to the year B.C. 552, according to the *astronomical* or *arithmetical* mode of reckoning; because the year before A.D. 1 is by historians called B.C. 1 instead of B.C. 0. Now the fall of Jerusalem took place Sept. 1, A.D. 69, or about 69½ years from the commencement of the Christian era. If then the dream of Daniel took place 550½ years before the commencement of the era or before B.C. 1, it would happen in B.C. 552, or a year later than Usher's date. We should then have this curious coincidence:—the interval between Daniel's dream and the fall of Jerusalem would be 620 years, and these added to the 2300 days mentioned in the dream, if reckoned in years, would make 2920 years, which is exactly two cynic cycles.

1520 the attention of the nations would continue to be directed to the contemplation of their lifeless forms.

These are merely thrown out as suggestive hints to the historical inquirer, who must however beware of suffering himself to be misled by them as preconceptions, or of permitting them to interfere with the main branch of his inquiry, which is simply, whether the hemi-cycle of mourning be half of the cycle of the mystery, and the hemi-cycle of contemplation be half of the cycle of the witnesses—this being all that is necessary to the establishment of the symbolical principle of interpretation. For it must be borne in mind that the coincidence of any of the moral with physical cycles is no part of that principle, but rather an excrescence upon it—an excrescence, moreover, which would require the support of the very strongest historical evidence before its existence could be admitted.

Now, with respect to the chronological position of the series of events, shadowed forth in the two visions which follow the blast of the sixth trumpet, there seems nothing to hinder our supposing that during a considerable portion of their course these two series were concurrent. The only thing rendered clear by the visions, is that the first series terminated some little time before the second. For, during the whole of the first series, the unsealed continued impenitent, and were found in the same state at the end of it.

With regard to the second series, again, while the unsealed appear to have continued impenitent, during the greater part of its duration, some of them did begin to repent before its close. The first symptom of this penitence we detect in the circumstance of their contemplating the state of deadness into which the witnesses for the truth of God had fallen, and their refusal to allow them to be buried out of sight and out of mind. The revival of the witnesses, moreover, being followed by the conversion of some of the kingdoms of this world to the pure principles of Christianity, we are led to infer that the repentance of the ungodly took place on an enlarged scale, immediately after the witnesses revived.

It is necessary to distinguish between the action of the second vision, and the prophecy contained in the roll given by the angel to the apostle. The symbolical action of the angel when he proclaims the approaching termination of the cycle of the mystery, must be understood immediately to follow the termination of the action of the four angels in the previous vision; because the very terms of the proclamation shew that the sounding of the seventh angel was close at hand. But it is quite different with the events detailed in the prophecy, relative

to the witnesses, which was evolved from the roll given by the angel to the apostle; for these events obviously occupy a large portion of the cycle of the mystery, whose approaching termination the angel had proclaimed. It is thus rendered probable that this latter series of events was, for the most part, contemporaneous with the four visitations in the previous vision. The only point which the language of the apostle renders clear is, that the cycle of the four visitations terminated some time before the cycle of the mystery, and, probably before the commencement of the period, when the attention of the nations began to be called to the state of deadness into which the two divine witnesses had fallen. It is the province of the historical inquirer, however, to ascertain the precise dates of the beginning and ending of the cycle of the four visitations, as well as of the other moral cycles involved in the vision.^c

The interesting episode of the two witnesses is brought to a close, and the general thread of the vision resumed, by the solemn announcement—"The second woe is past; behold the third woe cometh quickly." When we review all the occurrences, between the proclamation of the commencement of the second woe and this intimation of its close, it will be perceived that they present a twofold character, embracing both the divine judgments for transgression, and also fresh accumulations of guilt on the part of the earth's inhabitants, rendering it necessary that fresh judgments should follow. After the loosening of the four angels restrained by the mystic Euphrates, whose agency was obviously intended as a chastisement, we find that those who escaped the effects of these visitations did not repent of their wickedness; and if the persecution of the two witnesses followed, in the order of events, the four invasions of the 200,000,000 of horse, or was contemporaneous with them, we should be led to conclude that this impenitence was manifested by an aggravation of guilt on the part of the earth's inhabitants, involved in this warring against the witnesses and depriving them of life—an offence which entailed upon them the third woe.

In both branches of the vision we can trace the agency of the spirit of self-delusion, personified by the angel who sounded the sixth trumpet. It has already been shewn that it was by the operation of this spirit on the minds of the unsealed, that they were led to neglect their territorial defences, and those

^c It would be curious if the result of the historical inquiry should be to fix the termination of the cycle of the four visitations in A. D. 1454, and that of the cycle of the mystery in A. D. 1530; because the interval is seventy-six years, which is four lunar cycles, or one-seventh part of a Paschal cycle.

institutions, civil and military, by which they were maintained, and thus to let loose those warlike hordes whom these restraining influences had hitherto held in check. But the same self-delusion it evidently was that led the Gentiles, or men of the world, to prefer treading the outer courts of the temple to entering into the sanctuary—to mistake the outward profession of Christianity for Christianity itself—to imagine the natural superstition, inherent in the human mind, to be true religion—to substitute outward pomp and show, in the performance of rites and ceremonies, for the true spiritual worship of that God, who, being himself a spirit, desires all his servants to worship him in spirit and in truth; and, lastly, to addict themselves to the adoration of sensible images and false mediators of their own creation; so rearing up a system of modified heathenism, which they mistake for genuine Christianity. The same spirit of self-delusion would lead them to regard the true disciples of Christ, whose principles and practice differ from theirs, as heretics, and so to hate and persecute them—while, as regards the two witnesses of God finding these to bear testimony against them and their polytheistic principles, they would try to stifle their testimony by reducing them to mere lifeless forms.

It hence appears that the symbolization, thus understood, is perfectly natural throughout—presenting a connected chain of causes and effects, in the whole of which the operation of the spirit of self-delusion, in the minds of the ungodly, can be distinctly traced.

In the expression “the second woe is past,” we have in the original the same phrase of doubtful interpretation, as in the case of the first woe. It may mean either that the second woe has simply issued forth, or that it has come to an end. In this case, however, we have distinct collateral evidence that the latter interpretation is to be preferred. For it is announced that the mystery of God, which obviously embraces all the events connected with the two witnesses, should terminate when the seventh angel should begin to sound his trumpet; and we have an assurance of this termination in the proclamation and song of thanksgiving, which immediately follow the sounding of the seventh trumpet. In farther confirmation of this view, we observe that to the statement, “The second woe is past,” there is added the announcement, “and behold the third woe cometh quickly;” thus indicating that a new series of disastrous events was about to follow, immediately after the termination of the divine mystery, which was to coincide with the sounding of the seventh trumpet.

This point is very important in connexion with the chrono-

logy of the visions ; for it compels us to regard all the events symbolized by the scenic representations which follow the sounding of the seventh trumpet, as succeeding in the order of time those symbolized under the visions that follow the sounding of the sixth trumpet. The latter having been now fully considered, it is time to proceed with the apostle's narrative, which continues as follows (ver. 15): "And the seventh angel sounded ; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." The words proclaimed by these voices are somewhat differently given in the several editions of the Greek text. In those of Griesbach and Lachmann they run thus, "The kingdom of the world has become our Lord's and his Christ's : and he shall reign for ever and ever." Others again have simply, "The kingdom has become our Lord's and his Christ's," etc. Bloomfield, however, supports the reading of the received text—"The kingdoms of the world are become our Lord's and his Christ's." But if this latter reading is to be preferred, we must understand by it no more than that *some*, not *all*, of the kingdoms of the world had become our Lord's ; otherwise, the proclamation would imply the full and final triumph of Christianity ; whereas, from the circumstance of the third woe being yet to come, and from the descriptions which follow in the next and subsequent chapters, this was obviously very far from being the case. The reading of Griesbach has a much more restricted meaning. It imports no more than that the dominion of the world had been gained by our Lord and his Christ, and that his reign over it should henceforth be permanent. Heretofore, the dominion of Christ over the human mind had been too successfully resisted by the combined powers of ignorance, superstition, formalism and idolatry, which had so far succeeded in the struggle as to reduce the two witnesses of God, public prayer, and the public reading and preaching of the Word, to mere lifeless forms. But now that these two witnesses had been revived, and elevated to the sphere of influence and power, the progressive triumph of the dominion of Christ had become secure. Pure Christianity, and the freedom and civilization which it tends to promote, had acquired such a firm footing in the world that ignorance and slavish superstition could never again wholly overspread the earth ; and this chiefly because of the revival of the witnesses, and their elevation to so high a sphere of influence and power, that their testimony could never again be suppressed.

On the whole, however, the received text, if understood as implying no more than that *some* of the kingdoms of this

world had become truly Christian, appears entitled to the preference.

This announcement of the completion of the divine mystery, the approach of which was proclaimed by the angel who personified the spirit of prophecy, has been already commented on so much at large as to render it scarcely necessary to add more in this place. It may be remarked, however, that by the great voices in heaven we ought probably to understand the voices of those possessing great sway in the moral and intellectual heaven—the sphere of influence and power.

In the following verses we have the substance of a sublime hymn of thanksgiving, raised by the twenty-four elders, to celebrate this beginning of the fulfilment of the promise, that the kingdoms of this world should all ultimately become Christian, in the proper sense of the term (verses 16—18): “And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God, saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty! which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned. And the nations were angry, and thy wrath has come, and the time of the dead; that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.”

It has already been pointed out that from the repeated re-introduction of the original throne and its adjuncts, it seems probable that, as the several scenic representations evolved from the seven-sealed volume were successively withdrawn from the apostle's mental eye, the original vision of the throne, the elders, and the four living beings reappeared, until they were again superseded by fresh scenic representations; so that their reappearance may be held to indicate a pause in the scenic representations of the seven-sealed volume—consequently a succession in the order of events represented. Reasons have been already assigned why we may not infer that the throne and its adjuncts were continuously visible throughout the whole of the scenic representations.

In the offering of adoration and thanksgiving, described in the passage now under consideration, the twenty-four elders appear to act in the same representative capacity, as in offering their original hymn of thanksgiving which they sung before the Lamb—namely, as proxies for the entire body of the redeemed. Nor does this action of the elders militate against the supposition that they are impersonations of the virtues that ought to adorn the Christian character. For in raising this

hymn of thanksgiving they may be regarded as the representatives of all those in whose bosoms the virtues which they symbolize have a permanent seat. It is quite natural that every virtuous mind should thus triumphantly render thanks to God for the glorious issue of the struggle, which had been maintained in the world between the powers of light and darkness. The circumstance that the elders are thus again introduced as proxies for the redeemed in offering this thanksgiving, is a further proof that the redeemed were not at this point of time in a position to offer their thanks in their proper persons to their great Head, visibly present among them, and thus confirms the conclusion already attained that the previous scene, in which the assembled multitude of the redeemed are introduced as standing before the throne, is anticipatory, and refers to the final consummation in the future state—that it is a repetition in symbol of the prophecies already existing, in regard to the final triumph of the saints in the everlasting life. But in the symbolization before us, there is a return to the temporal state, during which the saints can render their thanks to God only through the medium of the elders—those personifications of the Christian graces and virtues; for it is only by exhibiting these graces and virtues practically in their lives and conversations, that they can evince their gratitude to God, for having thus terminated the mystery involved in the persecution of the witnesses, by the powers of the earth arrayed in opposition to the progress of divine truth.

The first reason assigned for this thanksgiving to God is, "Because thou hast taken unto thee thy great power and hast reigned." This form of expression, which refers to something already accomplished, indicates the meaning to be, that the Deity had put forth his power and asserted his sovereignty, the allusion being obviously to the immediately preceding assertion of divine sovereignty in the revival of the witnesses and their triumph over their enemies. This is farther evidenced by the next statement, "And the nations were angry," obviously referring to the warfare they had carried on against the witnesses. "But now," it is added, "thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged." The hour of retribution had arrived. "The dead," that is the *spiritually* dead, were now to be judged, their name of being alive had been taken from them, and their hypocrisy had been unmasked, so that they were now brought to righteous judgment.

The time had also arrived when reward was to be given "to the prophets and to the saints, and to all that fear the name of God, both small and great." As this statement obviously does

not refer to the final consummation of all things, and the reward of the righteous in the future state, seeing the temporal history of the world was far from being as yet brought to a close, we must understand the reward here spoken of as about to be given to the prophets and saints, as consisting in the triumph of those principles of righteousness and truth for which they had contended, and for which many of them had laid down their lives. We may not hence conclude, however, that the deceased saints had in the meantime any knowledge of this change in the state of human society, "for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave"—in *hades*, under whose restraints they lie. But at the resurrection, when they shall enter upon their future and everlasting state of existence, their joy will be enhanced when it shall be made known to them that their labour was not in vain in the Lord, but that their struggles in the cause of divine truth, although apparently fruitless at the time they were made, were long after they had been gathered to their fathers crowned with brilliant success, and that their humble efforts contributed to the final triumph of enlightened civilization and Christian truth.

There is yet another sense in which this passage may be taken. It may mean that the time had now come when the servants of the Lord should no longer have to struggle on without any apparent success and without any fruits of their labours, but that their efforts in the cause of truth should now visibly prosper, and that they should thus derive even a present reward from their exertions on behalf of the Christian faith.

The time had arrived not only for rewarding the servants of the Lord both small and great, but also "for the destruction of those who destroyed the earth." The Greek verb here employed means "to destroy by *corruption*." It may therefore signify that those who corrupted the earth by false and debasing doctrines should now be themselves corrupted, abandoned to their own corrupt doctrines and practices, and sink into still greater depths of degrading ignorance and superstition.

We are next informed by the apostle that "the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant." In Griesbach's edition the reading is "the covenant of the Lord," but the variation is not important. It is almost unnecessary to say that the temple here spoken of cannot be any material structure. It is obviously the same temple which John was commanded to measure, the *spiritual* temple, the *naos* or abode of the indwelling divinity. This temple it has already been shewn means the whole company of those whose bodies are the temples of God by reason of the

Spirit of God dwelling in them. What then are we to understand by this temple being now opened in heaven, and there being seen in it the ark of the covenant of the Lord? This statement seems to import that for some time previous to this epoch the spiritual temple had been so far closed that the ark of the covenant of the Lord which it contained could not be seen. The great mass of mankind had been content merely to tread the court of the temple. They had rested satisfied with mere outward forms and ceremonies, but the true temple, the inner sanctuary, had remained closed to them by reason of their wilful ignorance and unbelief. As they did not choose to open the door of their hearts to him that stood knocking for admission, so they could not enter by the door, which is Christ, into the company of the true believers, who constitute the spiritual temple of God, by having God dwelling in their hearts. Now, however, this spiritual temple was opened in heaven, that is, in the moral and intellectual heaven, the sphere of influence and power, and it was seen of all men to contain the ark of the covenant of the Lord, by which is obviously meant the pure gospel of Christ, which is the divine covenant or agreement entered into with mankind, whereby the Deity agrees to forgive men their trespasses, and to save them from the power and the punishment of sin on the simple condition of their yielding a willing obedience to the influence of his Spirit, inducing them to believe in Christ, to obey his precepts, and rely for their ultimate salvation purely and simply on his perfect merits alone.

During the long period of the persecution of the witnesses, this ark of the covenant, this pure doctrine of the agreement which God has made with men for their salvation by Jesus Christ, remained concealed within the spiritual temple, hidden within the bosom of that comparatively small company in whose hearts God dwelt and reigned. But now that the two witnesses have triumphed over their enemies, and been elevated to the sphere of influence and power, the temple is thrown open, the company of those who are led by the indwelling Spirit of God is greatly enlarged; they are found in the moral and intellectual heaven, and it is made manifest that the true secret of their holiness is their possession of the ark of the covenant of the Lord, the pure doctrine of the gospel of Christ.

This opening of the spiritual temple of God is followed by a great elemental strife in the moral world which is described in the following metaphorical language: "And there were lightnings and voices, and thunderings and an earthquake, and great hail." All these effects except the last are stated to have followed the casting down upon the earth of fire from the altar,

mentioned in the seventh chapter, and the same explanation of the terms employed, which was given in treating of that emblem, will apply to the present case. The lightnings spoken of are intellectual fires—the flashes of conviction darted across the minds of men, and coruscations of genius enlightening the darkness of the moral atmosphere. The voices are probably those of prayer and praise, the thunderings the preaching of the Word, and violent contentions for and against the truth, while the great earthquake seems to imply much commotion and excitement in the popular mind. But what is the great hail? In the seventh chapter the same metaphor occurs, and it was shewn probably to mean something having a chilling and destructive effect upon the green herbage, or young converts, such as prohibitory edicts showered from the political authorities. The meaning here is probably analogous. This great hail may represent the efforts of the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience and of all his sons, to chill the spiritual ardour that was now kindled, and to destroy the young wheat growing in the Lord's field. It may farther be indicated that these efforts are now to a certain extent restrained. They no longer assume the form of fire mingled with blood; but they are restricted to hail, the showering down from the seats of authority of prohibitions, anathemas, and excommunications, hurled against those who seek to leave the court of a mere formal and ceremonial religion, and to enter the true temple where God who is a Spirit is worshipped in spirit and in truth.

THE THEOLOGY OF REVELATION AND OF HEATHENISM.

No man thinks rightly until he thinks rightly of God. A man's knowledge may be varied, vast, and accurate in all other paths of human learning, but without the true knowledge of God his acquirements but resemble a star-bespangled sky which the sun's genial influence may be supposed never to cheer. The scene is brilliant and sublime, but it is chill, dark, and mysterious.

Some maintain that the knowledge of God is innate to the soul of man. If by this is meant that men almost universally agree in believing in the existence of beings far superior in power and intelligence to any known inhabitants of the earth, to this we agree; but that any individual ever attained to the knowledge of the true God except through Revelation we utterly

deny. The mind of man when left to its own unbiassed reflections rejects the thought of annihilation, and peoples the unknown world of the future with inhabitants characteristic of the climate the thinker inhabits and the education he has received. The mythologies of the northern or southern regions vividly portray the truth of these observations, and so universal is the law thus impressed upon our nature that Volney, the prince of modern Atheists, despite his astuteness, displays his own subjection to what he would doubtless in the case of others style the feebleness of our nature. The man who in the plenitude of his dogmatic philosophy sneers at the idea of a God existing independent of his own work, in an unguarded moment evokes from the mouldering ruins of some fallen city a very commonplace denizen of another world, who enveloped in some of the mysticisms of his earthly disciple, delivers sundry very trite truisms, for the utterance of which it was perfectly useless for him to have troubled himself to leave the other world. In short, the god of Volney (for he is virtually his god) falls short of the intelligence of the tamest of the genii mentioned in the stories of the Arabian Nights, nor does he possess a tithe of the wit and tact of the elves and fairies so familiarly described by the peasants of the different nations.

Polytheism is the natural offspring of the mind's aptitude to people the other world with imaginary inhabitants, and the very certain consequence of such ideas has always been a belief in the general similarity of the feelings and pursuits of such superior beings, and of those who are inhabitants of the present world; and there arises a reverence and worship based upon such similarity. The men who worshipped Krishna, Orus, or Apollo as the god of light, and music, and the arts, merely found in such worship a pleasant mode of indulging enthusiasm in reference to their favourite pursuits, and instead of seeking inspiration from heaven they attempted to fill heaven with phantoms of their own devising. So unblushingly, indeed, was this carried out, that every vice was allotted a celestial patron, and in consequence the rest of the heavenly inhabitants were represented as more debased in their practice than their earthly worshippers, because in almost every condition man's perception of right and wrong will act as a restraint upon his depravity.

Those philosophers who maintain that man was created in a savage state must admit that Polytheism is the highest advance in theological knowledge to which man can advance by his own unassisted intellect, because no instance can be given wherein a nation has advanced from Polytheism to pure Deism without the latter doctrine having been introduced from a foreign source;

and it must be admitted on all sides that the Jewish religion is the primary fountain whence this dogma has spread its influence. We mean not for a moment to assert that the Jewish religion originated the idea; but we unhesitatingly assert that the Jewish religion was the only one which retained from the great abyss of primeval truth this radical doctrine, with vital energy sufficient to spread it beyond its own circumference. Even in the obscurity of the systems of Polytheism the idea of one Supreme can be more or less dimly seen, and in particular in the Indian mythology, since we have become better acquainted with its details. But as the character of one Supreme, immaculate in nature, and consequently requiring purity in his worshippers, laid too severe a restraint upon man, the imaginative and congenial religion of Polytheism took its place without utterly destroying the idea of one Supreme.

Another principle leading to Polytheism is the eagerness with which the mind pries into secondary causes, because of the satisfaction arising from their real or supposed discovery. In the childhood of the individual and the childhood of a literature the mind rests contented with any alleged cause which may appear sufficient to produce any given effect. While, therefore, a rational consideration of secondary causes was beyond the mind's grasp, much less was the still more abstract principle of the unity and ubiquity of God capable of being conceived; and by a very natural consequence the very idea waxed fainter and fainter until it all but disappeared. On the other hand, the idea of a multiplicity of intelligent though invisible agents, to produce sensible effects, is so congenial to the social feelings of man, that it has been found among all tribes. Nor did their wisest men detect fully the irrationality of such a multiplicity of superior and often contending deities. Most true it is that it required little profound wisdom to begin to be dubious of such childish mythology; but although reason matured might even go beyond mere doubt, and unhesitatingly decide that the gods of the nations were vanity, yet unassisted reason could advance no further, but was compelled to settle down in utter recklessness and indifference, or by activity in other pursuits to divert the attention from the mysterious subject altogether.

The Greek mythology is as it were culled and selected by human genius from graver and sterner mythologies, and this happened from the fact that the Hellenistic race was never seemingly under the influence of a combined priesthood; and this occurred perhaps from the fact that colonies from other lands introduced fragments of their mythologies without any of the accompaniments of a sacerdotal caste, from whose influence

very probably they were glad enough to have escaped. The poet naturally took the place of the priest, and rejecting the disagreeable parts, modulated the whole into the joyous though sensual romance of Olympus. The freedom which poetry took with the quainter systems of mythology, philosophy her younger sister took still more freely, and as the knowledge of secondary causes advanced, so the figments of the imagination vanished from the minds of scholars, because the scholar is the regular successor to the poet in literary routine. In other words, when the enthusiasm of poetry has expended its fervour in every given cycle, scholarship and criticism follow in her footsteps. When, therefore, among the Greeks, the fervour of primeval poetry abated, Philosophy, in rejecting her assumptions and traditions, introduced her own. From the discovery of a few secondary causes she endeavoured to reason out the most extensive generalizations without being at all aware that her scanty foundation was utterly unequal to the stupendous edifice she would fain raise upon it.

But though the Grecian philosophy took a more extensive scope and a bolder range than that of other nations, particularly from the time of Socrates, yet it could never completely free itself from the consequences necessarily entailed by the supposed infallible truth of certain principles; which are, if not identical, yet so similar to corresponding axioms of Eastern, and especially Indian philosophy, that despite the opinion of some modern critics, it appears plain, in our opinion, that either one was an offshot of the other or that they both had a common origin. The modern Pantheist fails greatly in the attainment of that profundity of thought which marked the mental history of his colossal predecessors in the ancient world, and his most vigorous efforts to approach to their standard resemble the puffings of the frog in the fable to rival his neighbour the ox. Pantheism was more congenial to the East, while the Grecian philosophy, influenced perhaps in a good measure by advance in geometric science, adhered more strictly to the series of successive causation. The Eastern mode delighted in personification; the Grecian in the less fanciful but more argumentative form of cause and effect. As the latter method may be made demonstrative to a certain degree, and as the Greek philosophy has ruled the European mind, processes of thought have almost always been, amongst us, considered as legitimate, if pursued according to this model. The doctrine of sequence was clearly and vividly portrayed; another view of which is the certain connexion between cause and effect; and this appears to be an innate perception of the human understanding, without which

all knowledge would be utterly evanescent; for it would be confined to present and independent perceptions, which could afford no preference to the memory for the retainment of one more than the other. The philosophies of the ancient world have only succeeded in following the sequences afforded by creation up to what they styled the first cause; but, except this one scientific problem whose conclusion was true, on every other subject they possessed not a single point upon which they could universally agree, or give satisfactory proofs of its reality. They arrived legitimately at a first cause, but to the all-important question, What is that first cause? the doctrine of sequence could give no satisfactory answer.

The Eastern philosophies being greatly influenced by the imagination, revelled in the principle of *emanation*; which, being chiefly Pantheistic in its tendency, extended very widely from its grand source, India; whilst the dualistic theory was propagated from Persia. The Grecian philosophy was based upon the form of the Indian, modified, perhaps, not only by the Egyptian phase of it, but also by the Assyrian; but the principal change which it received was from the free spirit of inquiry so congenial to the Grecian temperament. But with whatever certainty they obtained the assurance of a great first cause, their moral estimation was utterly at fault; "Because that when they knew that there was a God, they honoured him not as God, nor praised him, but became vain in their speculations, and their foolish heart was darkened."—Rom. i. 21.

Whether the practice of Christian theologians in very generally imitating the ancient philosophers is useful, appears to us very doubtful. That which was invariably unproductive in its own soil can never succeed better in one utterly foreign to its nature. If God has revealed himself to us in the plenitude of his moral attributes as well as his infinite existence, the method of simply proving a first cause is perfectly superfluous, because contained in the very revelation; and if considered by itself it will have no tendency to coincide with the existence of the true. This appears from the fact that when the supposed demonstrations are consummated, the mind has to use a violent effort to transfer their boasted certainty to the character of the true God who scorns their impotence. But we will go further, and maintain that they become a snare to many who, satisfied with the amount of knowledge this line of reasoning supplies, rest in the mere fact of the existence of a God, and believe that such an amount of knowledge constitutes a sufficient religion, and relieves them by its classical simplicity from the ridiculous, or at least needless enthusiasm with which revelation encumbers the

subject. How numerous are those who take it for granted that the God of the Bible is the very same as the different beings or supposed beings worshipped in every tribe and nation, ancient or modern, "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord;" and that therefore every individual is perfectly free to enlarge or restrict his ideas concerning him. Hence the sum total of religion, if candidly professed by countless multitudes bearing the name of Christian, would be found to be a belief in a solitary article, to wit, the existence of a Creator perfectly separated from every peculiarity of the revelation of Scripture. The peculiarities of God's Word may not be positively denied, but they are so virtually although tacitly, because they have left no perceptible impression on the mind. The generality of men appear either ignorant of or indifferent to the peculiar doctrines of revelation, and seem perfectly content with the simple belief in one great Supreme of whom, except his extensive power, they desire to know little more. To such characters the minute examination of Scriptural delineation appears but the plodding of tiresome enthusiasm, or the trifling of an useless scholarship. How different is the sentiment of the individual whose mind is able and desirous to realize the truths which lie within the compass of God's great revelation to man! Fully aware that here alone certainty in respect to spiritual things can be obtained, his mind dwells with delight upon these glorious developments of thought which cannot deceive, provided they are simply based upon the declarations of the Lord's testimony. The mind once awakened to the certain truth of Holy Scripture, the intelligent recipient finds that the general truths possess an innate capability of amplitude, which becomes familiar by constant and regular application; and that, like the character of their great originator, they possess an infinity of progress along the series of which the mind may progress for ever.

The world has advanced in every branch of science and literature; it has grown old in every refinement of criticism; and yet the revelations of God's Word have not only remained unscathed though all the fiery trials to which they have been exposed, but their depth and sublimity have shewn themselves the more plainly unfathomable by the deepest researches of the human race. That such discoveries should be found amongst a people so little likely, not only to find them out, but even to comprehend them, as far as regards their unassisted intellect, appears to be one of the most irrefragable proofs of their divine origin. This is so well expressed by Neander, in his *Church History*, that we quote the passage with great pleasure.

"In the midst of the nations addicted to the deification of nature in

the form either of Polytheism or of Pantheism, we see a people among whom the faith in one Almighty God, the absolutely free Creator and Governor of the world, was propagated not as an esoteric doctrine of the priests, but as a common possession for all, as the central animating principle of a whole people and state. And necessarily connected with the faith in an All-holy God was the recognition of a holy law as the rule of life, a conviction of the opposition between holiness and sin—a consciousness which the æsthetic position of the old religion of Nature (though single gleams of it occasionally flashed out) was unable to evolve with the same strength, clearness and constancy. This difference between the Hebrew people and other nations is of itself sufficient to refute every attempt which may be made to ascribe a similar origin to the Jewish as to the other national religions. It is a fact that bears witness to the revelation of a living God to whom the religion owed both its existence and its progressive development, as well as to that peculiar course of discipline whereby the Jews were trained to be the instruments by which this revelation was to be preserved and propagated. A Philo might with good reason say of this people, that to them was intrusted the office of being prophets for all mankind; for it was their destination, as distinct from the nations sunk in the worship of nature, to bear witness to the living God. The revelations and providences vouchsafed to them were designed for the whole human race, over which, from the foundations here laid, the kingdom of God was in time to be extended."

The distinguished place thus allotted the children of Israel is so just that no valid objection can be raised to it; whilst to the intelligent observer such a representation accounts for and illustrates the very necessity of what, perhaps, has appeared perplexing to some minds; we mean the minute particulars of this people's history, in which God continually shewed himself a living Being interested in even the most trifling circumstance which involved their interests; in strong contrast with the mysterious, inanimate, listless *anima mundi*, the ghastly dream of a vain philosophy, which, like a gigantic sponge, absorbed the spirits of its votaries, and finally remained the only conscious being in the universe. It will be readily admitted that such views of the Deity, however they may affect the mind with wonder and dread, can have no power to rouse the affections. And this may be generally predicated of all the Pagan religions. In regard to many of their deities, the passions were engaged in their worship, but the affections which needed to be purified by moral inspiration were totally unaffected. The gods, when they were not mere lovers of pleasure, were considered rather in the light of proud governors who were to be feared more than loved, to be propitiated not to injure rather than to be sought as benevolent and holy protectors. Hence in none of these heathen gods are found characteristics of such condescend-

ing sympathy as to furnish a name indicative of them from the very depths, so to speak, of their peculiar dialects. But this the living and true God does in regard of the Jews.

To understand this in its full import, we must dwell upon a usage common amongst the primitive race of Israel, and very probably amongst the surrounding tribes which seem to have disappeared gradually through the adverse influences upon progress from within and without. We allude to the prerogatives and duties which devolved upon every head of an extensive family or clan, who was recognized as the refuge of all his followers in every case of emergency. We are acquainted with no exactly similar relationship in the course of known history. The aristocratic and democratic developments probably destroyed all such distinctions of relationship in the Greek cities, and we cannot trace it with any certainty. There is, indeed, in one of the plays of Terence, which are confessedly more or less translations from Greek comedians, a slight allusion to a custom somewhat similar, but nothing decisive can be established from such random allusion. The Romans being an agricultural people, retained their primitive customs far more tenaciously than their more gifted neighbours; and in their connexion between patron and client we possess a few distinct remains of the Hebrew prototype; although these appearances also wax dull as time advances. The clans and septs of the Celtic races seem still more vivid representations of this profoundly ancient bond of union; but the privileges and rights of the Hebrew kinsman were defined and guarded with a solicitude which not only established custom but religious feeling enforced. The duties of the superior Goël, or redeeming kinsman, were, in fact, to take care of his inferior kinsman in relation to all their well-being, so that all evil might as far as possible be warded off from them.

As was naturally to be expected, the principal parts of this protecting duty are specified in accordance with the state and customs of the Jewish nation. Firstly, the Goël had the privilege of redeeming back the property of his kinsman. Secondly, he was to redeem his kinsman from slavery and bondage; and as this very important office was not peculiar to any nation or period of history, we find in every language a word significant of this benevolent office of the Jewish chief kinsman. Thus, *Ἀντρωτής* in Greek, Redemptor in Latin, and Redeemer in English, exactly expresses this remarkable feature of character, without any allusion to any other office included in the term Goël. Thirdly, another very peculiar duty involved in this relationship was avenging the blood of a murdered kinsman;

whilst often there was appended to his first duty, mentioned above, a requisition which appears to us very singular; we refer to the circumstance of marrying the widow of the deceased, in order that his name might be preserved in Israel. To tribes amongst which no such custom can be traced, its necessity will appear highly doubtful; but where a closer connexion was hereby established with the great expected Redeemer, the matter was, to individuals of such a race, an object of no ordinary consequence. The book of Ruth is important principally from its full delineation of this historical characteristic. The word employed is a leading one, chosen by God himself in the development of his character in reference to his own church throughout the whole of the Old Testament; and the term *Goël*, translated Redeemer, will be readily recognized by even the desultory reader of the Old Testament Scriptures as one of the most frequent occurrence, and on every occasion indicative of the most peculiar blessings bestowed by the Deity upon his own people. It is very remarkable that in the first verse of the Bible in which this word occurs in conjunction with the name of the Lord, it expresses the entire circle of blessings which it is possible for a finite being to receive. In Gen. xlviii. 16, Jacob, in blessing the sons of Joseph, invoked upon them the protection of the Being who had REDEEMED HIM FROM ALL EVIL. In analyzing this prayer it will be found to contain all the main doctrines of the Gospel as displayed in the superintendence of the triune Deity. The distinct attributes of God the Father and the divine Spirit are mentioned in the fifteenth verse, while in the sixteenth verse the divine person who peculiarly bears the name and character of Redeemer in both dispensations is clearly pointed out;—"The angel who redeemed me from all evil;"—for by the grammatical construction the word Angel being placed in apposition with God, in the preceding verse, proves the identity of being with the distinction of office.

As an inference from the foregoing reasoning, we may remark how contemptible in comparison is the idea of a God as conceived in the brains of many modern philosophers. A maudlin conception compounded of the Indian and Epicurean indifferentism, modified by the caricatured principle of Christian mercy! Such views of God, when compared with God's own revelation of his character, appear like the sickly phantoms of the imagination, set side by side with the glowing realities of physical existence.

That the restricted or temporal character of the Jewish kinsman, or *Goël*, was representative or typical of the spiritual relationship under the same name claimed by Jehovah, cannot

possibly be denied by diligent readers of the Scriptures, who compare the different passages wherein the terms occur. But in the transference of the developed idea in the New Testament, the strict analogy is by no means so apparent. The accurate delineation of the primitive idea even among the Jews themselves had waxed very faint, and, as before remarked, few if any traces are to be discovered in the civilized states around, whose vocabularies supplied no words exactly similar in signification. However, human societies of every kind are perpetually influenced by kindred feelings, no matter how modified by intercommunication, commerce, climate and other causes, and therefore we have what may be called the cognate ideas as developed from the universal language of at least European civilization. We select one passage as a specimen (Col. i. 9—22). "For this cause we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might according to his glorious power unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness. Giving thanks unto the Father, which has made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." The kingdom of Christ is here contrasted in all its illimitable extent with the contracted and worldly type, namely, the inheritances of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan. The children or saints of light are literally as the stars of the firmament in comparison with the little nation which for ages represented them; but still the greater race is just as definitely distinguished as the less, and the portion of each individual as firmly secured. The spiritual head of the one was Jehovah the Redeemer; the head of the other Christ the Saviour, styled in this very context, the "head of the body, the Church;" that vast congregation which acknowledges no race, no nation, or empire, and no quarter of our globe as comprehending its kindred, but is a formation from the whole human race, and redeemed out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation (Rev. v. 9). They are constituted members of an empire not of this world, but saved, that is, separated from it. Their directing head is a Saviour whose very appellation brings home to the hearts of the weakest and most ignorant amongst them the most glorious of his characteristics, which effectually influences their destinies throughout all eternity, and establishes them a peculiar generation amid the whole of God's rational creation. The consciousness of a present salvation; of a head who now as well as at

any future opportunity is absolutely at each present moment a Redeemer, a Protector, in a word an omnipresent Saviour, with whom a constant intercourse not only can but must be kept up through the medium of his written Word, which henceforward becomes the fuel of an undying faith, and modifies every feeling of existence. The true principles of present and final existence are manifested to the understanding, and numerous mysteries of ignorance, scepticism, and heedlessness vanish in "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 6). The ever watchful providence of the "angel who redeems from all evil" is recognized more exactly by the irrefragable evidence of experience, and a confidence is thence attained which the crush of worlds could not shake. And this confidence is insured and ratified by a provision which no other religion could satisfactorily supply. We refer to the certain remission of sins upon grounds sufficient to convince the recipient that God can consistently with his justice receive him into full favour, and yet at the same time, so far from sin appearing on this account of less consequence, its intrinsic vileness becomes more painfully apparent to the enlightened conscience; and while the penalty is annihilated, the very means employed produce the greatest abhorrence of the sin. The Redeemer having taken the sins of his kindred upon himself, the safety of every such individual is completely ensured by his substitution, and all the gifts of salvation are the offspring of such interference; and thus the dependence upon him for the bounties of grace, is parallel to the dependence upon general Providence for the blessings of temporal existence. By this means the grandest moral truth in respect to Christ's people is exhibited; hereby is displayed, in the most remarkable manner, how the great Saviour of the New Testament develops in its most extensive as well as its most glorious manifestations the character of "Jehovah the Redeemer." The identification of the two characters is thus based upon no commonplace argument; for the Redeemer of the New Testament is the antitype of the Redeemer of the Old Testament. Every veil that tended to shroud the spirituality of salvation is laid aside, and "life and immortality" are exhibited in all their magnificence to God's rational creation.

C.



SLAVERY CONDEMNED BY SACRED AND PROFANE WRITERS.**I. TESTIMONY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.**

At the very hour in the world's history when slavery had reached its highest point, and began to threaten freedom with permanent subjugation; when heathenism had proved itself to possess no charm to break the spell, and philosophy rather apologized for servitude than proclaimed and defended liberty; in that the darkest hour of earth—when “the Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek God”—and lo! when every man with his brother man were “all gone aside” (Ps. xiv. 2, 3), there was born in a remote and despised corner of the Roman empire a child who, filled with the wisdom, power and grace of God, was to promulge and disseminate principles of spiritual truth which should revolutionize society, break every bond, and make freedom of mind and freedom of body universal. It is no mere outward emancipation that Jesus the only true Redeemer comes to bestow. Victories on the field of battle are not his aim; political changes he disregards; social convulsions he threatens as a punishment rather than seeks to achieve as a blessing. Established social relations he leaves in essentially the same condition as he found them; the master still a master, the slave still a slave; the Jew worshipping in the temple; the tyranny of the Herods weighing like a mountain on the heart of Judea, and the Roman procurator adding scorn and contempt to his oppression of the sons of Abraham. The forms of society he passes slightly over, not because they are unimportant, but because they are sure to change when the causes which produce them change; and because he intends to go down into the very depths of things, and originate those primordial influences which renew and reconstruct the entire frame of human life. “The redemption that is in Christ Jesus” (Rom. xiv. 4) is social only so far as it is individual, and it is certainly social because primarily it is individual. It redeems all by redeeming each; and it redeems each by removing and destroying the causes and occasions of bondage. Bestowing spiritual freedom, it secures personal freedom; and he that is free of himself is free of the universe. It lifts men out of the bondage of a world of sense into the liberty of the sons of God; where they stand in new and lofty relations as to their Creator, so to one another. With a mother's love and a nurse's care, it takes each man in the ceaseless successions of individuals and generations, and seeks by the cultivation of his highest faculties to make him all that man can be in this state,

in order to prepare him for the full measures of eternal good which it has in reserve for him in the world to come.

If, then, you wish to know with what aspect the Gospel looks upon slavery you have only to ask whether slavery is conducive to the fundamental aims of the Gospel. Yes, Christianity approves of slavery, if slavery promote the objects of Christianity. Does slavery destroy the fear of man? Does slavery throw the slave exclusively on God? Does slavery develop the intellect, form and elevate the conscience, purify the affections, enlarge the heart, abate the power of sin, foster holiness, and tend to make the man of God "perfect, thoroughly furnished into all good works?" (2 Tim. xiv. 17). If so, then slavery is compatible with Christianity, is sanctioned by Christianity; then Christ came to approve and to perpetuate slavery; and he that promotes slavery promotes the cause of Christ. But what if slavery produces the reverse of these effects? What if it dwarfs the intellect, crushes or perverts conscience, sullies the affections, narrows the heart, augments and multiplies the power of sin, destroys holiness, establishes the empire of the senses, makes the fear of man the great motive of action, and substitutes man-worship in place of the worship of God? What if it inflicts these curses on slaves and slave-masters? What if the degradation it either does not cure or actually produces is one of the chief pleas put forward for its justification? What if essentially, radically, permanently and immeasurably it is anti-Christian in its fruits? Then is it anti-Christian also in its principles. And then is it hostile equally to the purposes of Christ and to the will of God. Let it be carefully observed that in this issue there is no medium position for Christianity to hold. Jesus either condemns or approves slavery. Indifference to so grave a subject is inconceivable on the part of Christ. If he does not sanction, he reprobates slavery; if he does not reprobate slavery, he sanctions it. Does Jesus sanction slavery? What is this but to ask whether he sanctions the privation of human rights and the infliction of untold wrongs? or to leave generalities in which sophisms so often lurk, look at the man-stealer there in one of the rank vales of Africa; he creeps on a village by night; he captures and enchains men, women and children; does Jesus sanction the foray? The man-stealer sells his captive to the slave-merchant—does Jesus sanction the bargain? The slave-merchant drives his herds of human beings, chained, weeping and wailing, way-worn, hungry, thirsty and faint, to the seashore, where they are crowded into the smallest possible spaces, and consigned to foulness and suffering which bring speedy death to many: does Jesus sanction this full series of barbarous

deeds? The slave-merchant lands the survivors, conveys them to the slave-market, shuts them up in pens like sheep, oxen, pigs; feeds them to restore their strength, then puts them up to auction, describes their qualities, enlarges on their favourable points, allows their muscles to be tried, their teeth to be inspected like a horse under a dealer's hand, and at last after a tissue of exaggerations and falsehoods, knocks down each in turn to the highest bidder; does Jesus sanction the contract? It is a young girl; she is taken away, subjected to her owner's lasciviousness and lust; she becomes a mother; her child is sold away from her; she is yoked with a male, a fellow-slave, and again becomes a mother; this time he who is falsely called her husband is sold; she grieves, falls sick, and is whipped for failing to work; she takes another husband, and in the very midst of her pregnancy she is transferred to another master, and sent to a distant estate; there she becomes reckless, indifferent to life, indifferent to persons, indifferent to actions, and sinks first to the level of the brute, and then sinks below the brute, until rank in vice and worn down in energy, she dies early an object of contempt: does Jesus sanction this result? or the way in which the result has come? Imagine that holy and loving One standing by at each of the scenes which have been depicted—what are his emotions? He weeps more sorely than he wept at the tomb of Lazarus.

Why, what is his own condition? He is, you acknowledge, "the power of God and the wisdom of God" (1 Cor. i. 24). Wisdom and power are sublime realities; surely if they dwell among men, it is in regal or imperial pomp, at least they are clad in the dignified garb of philosophy. No; the Saviour of the world stands before men as a member of a poor Jewish family; he is familiarly known as "the carpenter's son," and labours for his daily bread. He goes forth to his public ministry with no display, with no glittering retinue; he begins to teach and to preach, but it is by the way-side, on the mountain-brow, on the brink of the river or the lake, under the cottage-roof; and as he teaches he draws down on himself the wrath of the great ones of the land, who conspire for his destruction; at length he is apprehended as a criminal, flogged as a slave, and finally made to undergo a slave's death, being crucified between two malefactors. And yet is he the Saviour of the world. Yes, "great is the mystery of godliness" (1 Tim. iii. 16). Being in the form of God, Jesus took upon himself the form of a slave, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow (Philip. ii. 7). Bow to a

* Matt. xiii. 35; Mark vi. 3; Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Trypho*, 88; Theodor., *Eecl. Hist.*, iii. 23; *Sozom.*, vi. 2.

slave? Then must that slave have lofty attributes. That slave is the Son of God. Jesus descended to the depths of society in order to raise the lowest to sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God. A sufferer himself, he came and ministered to the suffering. He appeared as a slave for the redemption of his fellow-slaves. Say not that the redemption is exclusively spiritual; it is spiritual indeed, but because spiritual, it is also material and social. The Gospel works for heaven through earth. Immortal life is our earthly life full-grown. He that is free in mind cannot long be a slave in body. He that is a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem will not endure the chains of any earthly bondage.

And this is one of those great emancipating doctrines which he who was at once a slave and "Lord of all" (Acts x. 36) taught in the days of his humiliation. Among his auditors were some who committed the grave but common error of identifying freedom with distinguished lineage or national independence. "We," said they, "be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man; how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?" Jesus answered them, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the slave of sin. The truth shall make men free; if the Son make men free, then are they free indeed" (John viii. 32 *seq.*). There is no freedom but freedom of soul, and freedom of soul bestows and guarantees freedom of every other kind. If "the mind is the master of the man," then the man is free whose mind is free. When Jesus delivers the soul from bondage, he gives liberty to the captive, for the body is but the instrument and the servant of the mind, and obeys and must obey the mind's behests, as the muscles execute the commands of the will. Look up, then, ye that are held in bondage by your fellow-men; look up and hope for the day of your redemption, since the Son of the most High God and the Saviour of the world has descended to your own condition, not only to minister solace, but to shew that there is no depth to which a Father's love of his children will not go down, and no humiliation to which his Son's benignity will not submit; and no darkness of evil which Father and Son are not willing and able to remedy, and no degradation out of which they will not effect a rescue. No, you are not abandoned of God as well as condemned of the world; he that was emphatically "despised and rejected of men" (Is. liii. 3) chose the form that you wear for the express purpose of breaking your chains. Like the mighty power of the volcano, the Gospel acts from the lowest parts by the elevation of which it elevates all.

The efficacy of the Gospel as a great redeeming power on

earth, is illustrated in those words of prophecy which the Messiah borrowed and applied to himself in the synagogue of Nazareth, when he read, "The Spirit of Jehovah is upon me: inasmuch as he hath anointed me to publish glad tidings to the poor; he hath sent me to declare deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those that are oppressed; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke iv. 18, compare Is. lxi. 1). "To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord,"—yes, Christianity is the great year of universal jubilee. As under the law the year of jubilee brought freedom to every Hebrew slave, so under the Gospel the year of jubilee brings freedom to every slave of every tribe, kindred, and nation.

The same view of the object of Christ's mission is found in his own description of it when he declares, "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save the lost" (Luke xix. 10). How pre-eminently this was the Saviour's purpose, let the parables of the lost piece of money, of the lost sheep, and of the prodigal son (Luke xv.) declare; thought-clusters of inimitable beauty, of unapproached pathos, a practical sympathy with which would alone suffice to abolish slavery. And how truly, how fully, how sublimely those words became living realities, in that grandest of all living realities, the life of Christ, let his journeyings, his perils, his toils, his groans and his agonies declare. Jesus going about doing good (Acts x. 38), to seek and to save the lost, offers the sublimest picture of practical benevolence, the very thought of which should make slavery blush. The lost? Yes. Your slaves are very low; ignorant, selfish, gross, and disobedient are they for the most part; such have they been made by the bondage in which you have held them. But, then, thereby are they qualified for the redemption of the Christian jubilee; these are they whom Jesus came to seek and to save: "the whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. ix. 12). You are a follower of Christ? then, like Christ, go, seek and save those who are lost in the very society in which you dwell. "They are an inferior race?" not the less have they a claim on your justice and benevolence. Again, "Looking unto Jesus" (Heb. xii. 2), you will find the needful lesson. At the time of the advent the Jews were held in universal disregard. Yet, God selected the despised Judea for the birth-place of the Saviour, who accordingly was born under the law expressly to redeem them that were under the law (Gal. iv. 5): God having "chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the earth to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught

things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence" (1 Cor. ii. 27—29). And faithful to his lowly origin on earth, the Son of God ever manifested regard and practical compassion for despised races and outcast individuals. Whom has he set forth and left as a perpetual model of pitying succour and neighbourly help? Him whom Christian reverence has designated "The Good Samaritan." Which of the ten lepers healed by him as, going to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee, which of those ten has he immortalized by setting him forth as the only one that gave glory to God? A Samaritan. Yet did there subsist between the Jews, his countrymen, and the Samaritans, a national feud of the deadliest nature. But Jesus stood above those vulgar prejudices of which national antipathies are born, and knowing that all men are children of God, felt for all the same love, but was most prompt to pity and aid those who were most in want. How truly divine such benevolence; how speedily would its prevalence put an end to slavery, and make earth a happy pathway to heaven. Indeed, there is one principle of Christ's, the observation of which would of itself exterminate slavery: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" (Matt. vii. 12). "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father is merciful. Give and it shall be given you; good measure, pushed down, and shaken together and running over, shall men give into your bosom; for with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again" (Luke vi. 31 *seq.*).

Slave owner, who callest thyself Christian, in imagination exchange condition with thy slave. What thinkest thou of slavery now? Is it a Christian institution? What! that subjection to another's will? that pandering to another's lust? that endurance of the lash? that sunderance from thy wife, thy child, thy parent? When in consultation with his ministers, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, had been advised by all to employ force in order to put down Toussaint l'Ouverture and restore slavery in Saint Domingo, he asked Gregory, Bishop of Blois, who was emphatically the black man's friend, what he thought on the matter before the council, and of the opinions that had been uttered. "I think," he replied, "that the hearing of such speeches suffices to shew that they are spoken by white men; if these gentlemen were this moment to change colour, they would talk differently."^a

^a See *The Life of Toussaint l'Ouverture, the Negro Patriot of Hayti*, by the Rev. John R. Beard, D.D., p. 154.

The law of Christian love is enforced by the law of providential reciprocity ; " it shall be measured to you again." Refuse to do as you would be done by, and you will have to endure what you have not scrupled to inflict. And so it is ; the slave-master is himself a slave—a slave to a slave-making system, a slave to his slaves ; a slave to his own ungoverned will, a slave to his own passions ; a slave to his own fears. Every tyrant is a slave.

So thoroughly is Christianity in spirit and act opposed to slavery, that you must reverse at once its chief blessings and its worst curses before you can make it compatible with slavery. Thus spake Jesus, " Blessed be ye poor ; blessed are ye that hunger now ; blessed are ye that weep now ; blessed are ye when man shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil. But woe unto you that are rich ; woe unto you that are full ; woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you ; woe unto you scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but ye yourselves will not move them with one of your fingers ; woe unto you, scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye devour widows' houses ; and for a pretence make long prayers " (Matt. xxiii.). Thus spake Jesus : slavery contradicts every word he uttered ; taking his blessings to itself, and bestowing its curses on its victims. So antagonistic are slavery and Christianity that the two cannot subsist together ; a vital Christianity must destroy slavery ; rampant slavery must destroy a vital Christianity. Nothing exists, nothing can be conceived more unlike and more mutually contradictory than the spirit of the Gospel and the spirit of slavery. What virtue is more truly evangelical than " a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price ? " (1 Pet. iii. 4). He who said, " Blessed are the meek " (Matt. v. 5), gave the command " Neither be ye called master, for one is your Master, even Christ ; but he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased ; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted " (Matt. xxiii. 10 seq.). And the same holy Being declared of himself, " I am among you as he that serveth " (Luke xxii. 27). " Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your slave " (Matt. xx. 27). And Christ himself a slave in actual service ! Then rank and condition are reversed. The slave is taken up near the host, the master is sent lower down. A new rule is introduced. Not by the outer condition, but by the heart does God judge. The last, therefore, is first, the first last (Matt. xix. 30). Such reversals are in the order of Divine Providence as administered by the Messiah. The con-

tinued progress of the Gospel is the continued realization of those reversals. Its final triumph will be the triumph of those qualities and that condition which slavery shuns, and hates, and proscribes.

Such are some of the facts and principles of the Christian religion which bear on the question of slavery. These facts and these principles have their origin in Christ. Jesus, like Moses, found slavery in existence. The two regarding it as a social observance, legislated thereon very differently, according in each case to the spirit of the age, and the object to be achieved. Moses aimed at little more than mitigating an evil which he was compelled to tolerate. Jesus sought to remove an evil which was obstructive and subversive of the good he came to bestow; but, like a wise reformer, Jesus aimed rather to uproot than to cast down; rather to replace than subvert. With this view he expounded principles whose prevalence would make slavery impossible, and he set in motion charities and sympathies which would substitute brotherly love for the lust of power, and the service of cupidity. With aims of the utmost possible extent and comprehension, he contented himself in his sojourn on earth with publishing doctrines and originating influences which left the existing forms of society untouched. He took less interest in the present, because he sought for more in the future, than any mere social, or legislative, or political reformer. His primary task was to sow the seed of the Word, well assured that in due time he should reap the harvest. He neither left existing institutions as he found them, nor did he attempt to cast them down, but took the middle course of introducing his great remedial and restorative doctrines into the domain of morals and character, whence in time they could not fail to pass into the social frame with the creative and renewing energy of their own Divine life. Working from the centre to the circumference, and from the individual to society, he implanted truths and inspired aspirations which throw off slavery as they throw off sin, and which will no more endure bondage of any kind, than the warm and kindling breath of spring will tolerate and bear the frosty bands of winter. The process may be slow, it may be too tardy for human impatience; but it is God's way, and therefore it is the readiest way. In moral as in physical recourses, haste makes waste. The greatest delays come from premature efforts; the fruit that is plucked before it is ripe perishes.

That Jesus consciously and deliberately took this view of the aims and tendencies of his efforts, is made very clear by one or two of his exquisite apologues. Thus he taught: "So is the kingdom of God as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day; and the seed should

spring and grow up, he knoweth not how ; for the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear ; but, when the grain is put forth, he straightway putteth in the sickle, because the harvest-time is come" (Mark iv. 26). "Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field ; which is, indeed, the least of all seeds, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Another parable spake he unto them : The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened" (Matt. xiii. 31—33).

The course of ministration pursued by Jesus was faithfully continued by his apostles, only in some slight degree modified by the fact that they came more closely into contact, and remained longer side by side with the institutions and observances of the day. Moreover, within the space of their lives, the Gospel already began to produce fruit, and to exert an influence on the outer forms of social life. The apostles therefore had to deal with slavery in actual presence. How did they regard and how did they treat it? Of course, they applied to slavery, as to every other social good or ill, the great powers and resources of the Gospel. In so doing they repeated and reproduced the doctrines and positions of their Master which bore on the relations, and the wants of individual and social life. Thus Paul, who summed up the self-sacrificing spirit of his Lord by declaring that the Redeemer took the form of a slave, exhibits himself in the same lowly position, when he says, "For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself a slave unto all that I might gain the more" (1 Cor. ix. 19).

Somewhat different, too, was the ministry of the apostles from that of him by whom they had been sent. They had to expound and to apply the truth which he announced ; they had to draw forth and present in principle, in duty, in admonition, the spiritual grandeur in which he lived. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit they had to administer the medicine which he gave, and to complete the salvation which he began.

What then did "the Spirit of Christ which was in them" (1 Pet. i. 11) teach regarding human relations? Let Peter himself answer : "God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean" (Acts x. 28). No man common or unclean? What, not the pagan? no ; nor the Samaritan? no ; nor the African? no ; *no man* common, *no man* unclean. That single word is the downfall of slavery. That word is God's

Word; that word is the Gospel; and if God's Word and the Gospel prevail, slavery must and will retire—retire until it is seen no more. From Peter, pass on to Paul, and hear what he announces to the self-elated Athenians, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts xvii. 26). All men of one blood? what the black and the white, with the intervening shades—all of one blood? Yes. Is there then no diversity? None; the skin is not the man; the hue is only on the surface; all men are of one blood, and all men are as to the workmanship the sons of God. What ground then has slavery to rest on? If the Bible may be believed, the sable African is as much a man as the ruddy Saxon and the fair Circassian. Skin prejudices are consequently unchristian, and unchristian is every institution which is based upon them.

Not less impartial, not less universal, is the redemption which God in Christ achieved for the world. The love of the Son resembling the love of the Father caused him "to taste death for every man" (Heb. ii. 9). Every man? What for the negro? undoubtedly no less than for "Abraham's children" or "the sons of Japhet." Hence comes another Gospel-principle which is utterly destructive of slavery, "God is no respecter of persons" (Acts x. 34). And if God respecteth not the persons of men (2 Sam. xiv. 14), can disciples of Christ be guiltless if on the most glaring respect of persons, they lay the foundation stone of social life? Let another apostle answer, and that apostle the brother of the Lord, "If ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convicted of the Lord as transgressors" (James ii. 9). Go to now, ye that make the broadest distinction between the dark skin and the white skin; ye that throw a great gulf between the dark skin and the white skin, so that the one cannot pass to the other, nor unite in brotherly communion; go to, and take heed lest the condemnation ye have incurred come like armed men upon you, and ye find "judgment without mercy."

But, if all men are one in creation and one in redemption, then are all essentially and for ever one. As such were they regarded by the apostle Paul; who, regarding men and nations in the lofty position in which they stood in virtue of the Gospel, saw them as one in Christ, members in his body, and by him united with God. Thus regarded, all disciples and eventually all men part with every minor distinction to rise into the elevated relation of sons of God and joint-heirs with Christ. Earthly diversities pass into the excellent and super-abounding glory of spiritual sonship, as the diverse hues of the prismatic beams

coalesce and blend into the pure radiance of the sun on the mountain top. Thus is it that Paul employs his glowing eloquence to describe the new spiritual relationships of the human race, and so to disallow the divulsive and narrowing distinctions, prejudices and partialities with which he found society infested. Nay, in imitation of the great Head of the church who cared most for those for whom the world cared least, the apostle labours to bring into honour the least honourable portions of the social frame. Thus he speaks: "By one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one spirit; for the body is not one member but many; if the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? and if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now God hath set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased him. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you; nay, those members of the body, which seem to be the weaker, are more necessary; and upon those parts of the body which we think to be the less honourable, we bestow the more abundant honour; and God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which needed it, that there might be no division in the body, but that all the members might have the same care for one another; so that if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it; now, ye are the body of Christ and members severally" (1 Cor. xii. 12, *seq.*). Compare this picture of a Christian community with the reality of social life which slavery produces. What a contrast! how deep and broad the hues of those diverging and opposing lines. Let the dark coloured man be the less honourable. Then ought he to receive from his Christian brethren the more abundant honour. On the contrary, dishonour is heaped on dishonour. And the suffering, instead of being shared by all, is thrown by the few on the many. The consequence is that the eye, the ear, the foot are divided one against the other; the body of Christ is torn, the covenant of grace is trampled under foot, and Jesus is again betrayed by professed friends.

It would be a grievous error to suppose that the grand and lofty principles enunciated by Paul in passages such as that which has just been cited (com. Gal. iii. 28), received from

the apostle no immediate application to the wants and duties of actual life. On the contrary, with him general truths stand in closest proximity to the great personal and social interests of those whom he endeavours to instruct. Thus, in addressing the church at Colossæ, where he has declared that in the new man of the Gospel, "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all," he forthwith adds, "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you, and above all put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness;" and with a special reference to slaves and slave-owners, he subjoins, "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord and not unto men, knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ; but he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong he doeth, and there is no respect of persons. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven" (Coloss. iii. 11—iv. 1). These words do not contemplate the immediate disruption of the bonds which held master and slave together. Rather they aim at carrying the Christian temper and the Christian life into the then forms of society. Nevertheless, that temper and that life once predominant they would of necessity mould those forms into their own likeness. Let it be supposed that masters listening to the apostolic injunction gave their slaves what was "just and equal," would they long continue an institution which is the embodiment of injustice? Just? what is there just in slavery? Is it just that a brother should hold a brother in bondage? should enforce submission to his own will? Equal? where is equality? Between the master and slave, where is equality? Yet equality is the exact term which the apostle employs. *Τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα*. Equality?—suppose a slave-owner, having become a Christian, had that thought in his heart, could he retain his brother in bondage? It only required that the soul should appropriate the elements of the new life which was in Christ Jesus, in order to put away slavery as the very opposite of that which was "just and equal."

And what would be the necessary and inevitable effect of the apostolic teaching on the minds of the slaves? The apostolic teaching could not fail to call forth in the minds of slaves

a state of feeling with which their state of servitude could not long co-exist. When the apostle Paul wrote to the church at Corinth, "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Cor. iii. 17), he proclaimed to them a general principle which would make the slave abhor his chains and long for their removal. In the mind of the slave-holder, too, it might excite a doubt whether or not he possessed the spirit of Christian liberty, seeing that he acted in conformity with the spirit of bondage. That questions of the kind did arise in the Corinthian church we know. Those questions were submitted to the apostle to the Gentiles (1 Cor. vii. 1). What was his answer? "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called" (1 Cor. vii. 20). Did the reply exclude the obtainment of freedom? By no means; freedom was to be accepted if it could be had. "Art thou called, being a slave, care not for it, but if thou mayest be made free, use it (freedom) rather" (ver. 21). The apostle in effect says, "Your earthly relations are of small moment, in comparison with your heavenly relations; therefore let not the former be an object of solicitude with you; seek rather to recommend and adorn the doctrine of Christ by faithful and obedient service; yet, freedom is a blessing which may not be disregarded, and which I advise you to make your own, if you have the opportunity." There is no sanction of slavery here. On the contrary, slavery is represented as an evil to be endured for the sake of a higher good, namely, the service which in the endurance might be rendered to "the everlasting Gospel." "But slavery is not condemned." At least, it is disallowed when it is represented as a state of endurance, and when the preference is given to freedom. And both slavery and freedom in the apostle's mind retire into the background before the grand thought of man's relations to God and Christ. On that thought the apostolic exhortations are all grounded: "For he that is called in the Lord, being a slave, is the Lord's freedman; likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's slave. Ye are bought with a price; be ye not the servants of men" (ver. 22, 23). Both masters and slaves, in becoming Christians, have entered on wholly new relations, and relations so high, so important as to cause every other relation to sink and be lost from view. The slave is free in Christ; the master is Christ's slave; the former has risen to freedom, the latter has entered into servitude; both have undergone changes which make their present condition inconsiderable, and which will conduce equally to their highest advantage; for he whom the Son makes free, is free indeed, and the service of the Lord is perfect freedom. Yet even here, when the apostle makes light of these earthly relations,

mark how he shews favour to the disqualified slave, when he intimates that while the free master becomes a slave, the slave whom he holds becomes a freeman.

It is more important, however, to remark that with principles such as these prevalent in a state of slavery, that state could not long endure. Here is a new power which upturns society from its very foundations, converting the master into a slave, and the slave into a freeman. The mere idea of such a reversal would disturb existing earthly relations. The slave would be filled with a sense of his spiritual dignity, and that sense would swell and expand his bosom until it burst his bodily chains. And the Christian master finding himself indirectly reproved by the apostle, and feeling his conscience rebuke him as one who held his brethren in bonds, would gradually come to be ashamed of possessing property in human beings, and be in time prepared to allow them to follow Paul's advice, and enjoy their liberty. The rather would he feel inclined to such a course, because in the new light he had received from the Gospel he had become aware that he could no longer consider his slaves his own, since they were "bought with a price," and were another's, belonging to the master whom they in common served, and to whose service they were both under the most solemn obligations to consecrate *body*, mind and spirit (Rom. xii. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 20). Very express is the apostle's precept, "What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." If body and spirit are God's, then are they not man's, and if not man's, then slave-masters have no right to their slaves. And if slaves as Christians are obliged to glorify God in their body, then are they equally obliged to disown and annul every relation which defiles the body, or robs the body of its divinely-given rights. But slavery takes from the body its most precious right, and slavery changes the body into a tool, and sometimes makes it an instrument of the vilest pleasures and the grossest vices. Slavery therefore is anti-Christian, for he that is a slave and he that is a slave-master are thereby prevented from glorifying God in their body as well as their spirit, which are both his.

That the acceptance of the apostolic teachings was subversive of slavery may be safely inferred from language which Paul employs in his letter to the Galatians (iii. 26; iv. 7), where after making these revolutionary announcements: "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither

male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus," he adds, "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father; wherefore thou art no more a slave but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ." Now, how could slavery long exist, at least between members of the Christian Church? If they were living members of Christ's glorious body, its permanence was impossible. The very foundations of the edifice of slavery had been struck away.—The right of property? The slave and the slave-master alike belonged to Christ. The pretexts of inequality? The slave and the slave-master were of one blood, had one father, knelt at the same seat of grace, were redeemed by the same Saviour, sojourned toward the same heaven, being both sons of God, joint heirs with Christ, brethren and fellow-workers in the same Gospel, given and surrendered as a free-will offering to the Lord, in body as well as in mind and spirit, to do those things and those things only which were well pleasing in God's sight, and promotive of the Gospel of his grace. And when the slave ruminated on the apostle's words, "no more a servant but a son," and at the same time felt "the iron enter his soul," was not the day of his redemption nigh? With such a form of words in his mind, he would not fail to follow Paul's injunction, and use the first opportunity for procuring his freedom.

The unavoidable tendency and necessary result of these disorganizing and reconstructive principles, are exemplified in fact as found in the short letter addressed by Paul to Philemon, and sent to him by the hands of Onesimus. Onesimus, Philemon's slave, had fled from his master. Being converted by Paul in Rome, he was by the apostle induced to return to Philemon. In sending him back to Philemon, Paul, sent him back not as a servant, but a brother beloved, requesting Philemon to receive Onesimus as he would receive him, Paul, himself; "having confidence in thy obedience I have written unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say;" and desirous of giving Philemon the opportunity of conferring liberty on Onesimus as an act of grace, and a free-will benefit, intimating at the same time that he might have enjoined on Philemon the manumission of Onesimus.

In these simple and unvarnished facts it is clear to see that Paul recognized in the slave-holder no absolute right of property in his slaves; that with him it was a principle that the higher relations of Christianity dissolved the lower relations of slavery, and consequently that in the apostle's mind slavery was only a temporary and provisional condition. Beyond a question is it that Paul spoke only of the hour at which he wrote, when he

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bade all remain in the condition in which they had become Christians. The very fact that his opinion on the point had been asked, shews how the new light from heaven agitated and brightened the dark atmosphere of earth. "All men brothers? Then how can any be slaves?" Questions such as these were put on every side. "The point is of less importance than you suppose," answered Paul, "for the time is short" (1 Cor. vii. 29). What time was short? Was it that the time of slavery was short? was it that the time of the life of individuals was short? Was it that the time of the world's duration was short? The last view has the sanction of very learned divines, and appears to be most consistent with the general tenor of the apostle's observations. Paul, it is said, believed the end of the world near, and so disregarded the prevalent forms of social life which were soon to vanish. Without making our argument depend on this view, we are fully justified in declaring that it was only for a short period that the apostle spoke and legislated. Not only was the existence of slavery questioned, but the propriety of circumcision, and the propriety of marriage as well. The general answer given was, Let all remain as to outer condition as they are. "Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any man called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised" (ver. 18). "Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But this I say, brethren, the time is short; it remaineth that both they that have wives be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they bought not; and they that use this world, as though they used it not, for the fashion of this world passeth away; and I would have you without anxiety" (ver. 27—32). Circumcision is nothing, marriage is nothing, slavery is nothing, about which your minds should be distracted, for the time is short, and the present state of social life passeth away; "the Lord is at hand," "new heavens and a new earth" are near; "the kingdom of God" is about to open with all its glorious principles, and all its resplendent light, and all its unutterable peace and joy; "be ye therefore ready," for in "the new Jerusalem" "they marry not, nor are given in marriage," and slave and slave-master are known no more." Such appears to be the view under which the apostle wrote. Say that his view involved the dissolution of the material and social condition then subsisting, consequently his view involved the dissolution of slavery; say that his view involved the renovated world, which the Gospel in its prevalence was in course of time to produce; still his view involved the dissolution of slavery. The apostle spoke not

for all time, but for the moment actually before him, when not without reluctance and with qualification, he submitted to tolerate slavery. In truth slavery like circumcision had been placed by the Gospel in a new light and in an altered position. Under the influence of evangelical principles, both, the apostle knew, were destined speedily to perish; and for the individuals then circumcised or enslaved, it would be better, far better, that they should work out their own salvation than disturb their minds and waste their energies in premature and nugatory efforts for change. Already has circumcision almost wholly passed away. Slavery is following circumcision. The power of the Gospel is too strong for the power of slavery. The gracious designs of the one Heavenly Father have from the earliest stages of society been going into fulfilment, withstood though they have ever been by the sinful and depraved will of man. In proportion as those designs have been accomplished, slavery has been both diminished and mitigated. With the advent of Christ a new and mighty reinforcement was given to "the armies of the living God;" and from then until now, "the glorious liberty of the sons of God" has been making inroads on slavery, and promises ere very long to extirpate slavery and every other plant not planted by the Heavenly Father's hand.

II. TESTIMONY OF PROFANE WRITERS.

The moment superior minds began to reflect and speculate on society, its origin, reasons, its actual condition, its tendencies, that moment slavery arrested attention, and occasioned profound meditation. The eye of sages, of philosophers, of poets, is on slavery, and we may now expect a just appreciation of its character. Greece and Rome produced geniuses in the world of thought that long held mankind bound to their words in admiring and reverent homage. What have those distinguished intellects to teach as respecting slavery? They are the first minds of heathenism. They have human hearts in their bosoms. What then do they say of slavery? They see the evil; it is on their right hand and on their left; they find it in their homes, and when they go abroad they everywhere meet it in their way. What judgment do they pronounce thereon? What principles touching the evil do they enunciate? In the poets we find a few scattered thoughts adverse to slavery; as—

"Even in slavery the Divine Spirit inspires the soul."^b—*Æschylus*.

"If the body is enslaved, the mind is free."^c—*Sophocles*.

^b Μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίᾳ παρὸν φρενί.—*Agam.* 1054.

^c Εἰ σῶμα δούλον, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς ἐλεύθερος.—*Ap. Stob.*

"Many slaves have a disgraceful name,
But their mind is freer than that of free men."^d—*Euripides*.

"Slavery in the spirit of a free man is not slavery."^e—*Menander*.

"A slave has the same flesh as other men,
By nature no one is born a slave;
It is fortune that enslaves the body."^f

"I am a man, and nothing belonging to man do I consider foreign to me."^g—*Terence*.

By these and similar thoughts—their entire number is small—some service was rendered to humanity. That service, however, so far as it reached slavery, was to no small extent counteracted by the degrading position which in their pages and on the stage slaves were made to hold. Ridicule and contempt were stronger than a few humane generalities. Nor indeed was even poetry likely to express anti-slavery sympathies, for the general mind unconsciously and blindly received slavery as a fact, and regarded it as a necessity. With the bulk of society the idea of its being wrong never occurred. Did men debate whether the river ought to flow? As little did slavery come in any way into question. Or if in some superior mind the putting away of slavery was for a moment entertained, it was only as a specimen of practical absurdity. Thus Crates, a writer of comedy, intending to throw ridicule on the social reformers of his day propounds a constitution in which there shall be no slaves. "What then," asks one of his speakers, "shall the old man do? he will be obliged to wait on himself." "O, not at all," is the answer, "I will make every object move without being touched. You will only have to call the table, and the table will come of its own accord."^h The highest and best philosophy indeed regarded slavery as a necessity. As such was it regarded even by Plato,ⁱ whose tendency to the ideal gave to his moral and social philosophy a loftier and wider bearing than was customary. In his speculations Plato seems to have been averse to slavery, so far as his Greek fellow-countrymen were concerned, for other men, mere barbarians in his view, lay beyond the reach of his charities; but finding slavery as a fact, and finding social

^d Πολλοῖσι δούλοις τοῦνομ' αἰσχρόν· ἡ δὲ φρὴν
τῶν οὐχὶ δούλων ἐστ' ἐλευθερωτέρα.—*Ar. Stob.*

^e Ἐλευθέρως δουλενε, δούλος οὐκ ἐσεῖ.—*Tr.* 279.

^f Καν δούλος ἢ τις σαρκα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει·
φύσει γὰρ οὐδεὶς δούλος ἐγεννήθη ποτέ,
Ἦ δ' αὖ τύχη τὸ σῶμα κατεδουλώσατο.—*Phil. Frag.*

^g Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.

^h Athen. vi. 267.

ⁱ Rep. ii. 368.

good interwoven with slavery, he acquiesces therein though aware of the evils and perils with which the institution was fraught. These are his words: "The subject of slaves is in every respect embarrassing. The reasons alleged in its support are good in one view, bad in another, for they at once prove the utility and the danger of slavery. If there is some difficulty in justifying or condemning slavery, as it is established among other nations of Greece, that difficulty is incomparably greater in regard to the Helots of Sparta. When one looks at what takes place there and in other places, one knows not what to lay down touching the possession of slaves. There is no one who denies that it is necessary to have faithful and loving slaves; and many slaves have shewn more devotedness than brothers and sons. On the other hand it is said, that a soul enslaved is capable of nothing good, and that a sensible man would never trust such an one. This is what is said by the wisest of poets:—

"Jupiter deprives of half their intelligence those who fall into slavery."

"Men treat their slaves differently according as they hold this sentiment or that. Some in no way trusting their slaves, treat them as wild beasts, and make their souls a hundred times more slave-like. Others pursue a totally opposite course. Man is an animal difficult to manage. Hence the possession of slaves is very embarrassing. The fact is exemplified in the frequent revolts of the Messenians, the brigandism of Italy, and the evils that prevail in states where there are many slaves speaking the same tongue. With these disorders before the eyes, one naturally hesitates as to what view to take. I see only two courses, the first is to avoid having slaves of one and the same nation, but so far as may be, such as speak different tongues, that they may the more easily bear their yoke; the second is to treat them well not only on their own account, but still more for your own interests."^j

Plato, you thus see, viewed slavery not in regard to the rights of the slave, but in regard to the safety and the welfare of the masters. The question with him was not how slaves should cease to be slaves, but how the security of society should be brought into accord with the retention of slavery. In his view there is no comprehensive humanity, but only a narrow patriotism; equally is it destitute of disinterested charities. Neither divine nor human love breathes there, but instead a gross and narrow utilitarianism has exclusive sway. Still more illiberal are the views held by Aristotle,^k the man of intellect, as

^j Plat. De Leg. vi.

^k Polit. i. 1, 10; i. 1, 6; i. 2, 20; iii. 2, 4, cast.

Plato was the man of imagination of the old Greek life. Aristotle regarded slavery as both natural and necessary; it was natural, for some men are born slaves as much as others are born philosophers, legislators and poets; it was necessary, since only where slaves performed the drudgery of life could free men possess the leisure requisite for the cultivation of themselves and the improvement of their condition. Slaves then were made for free men as much as free men were made for themselves. A slave was the complement of the free man, who without a slave would no more be what he ought to be than if he were without one of his hands or both his eyes. The slave is the freeman's body, the necessary accompaniment of that mind which makes him free, and gives him the rights of a master over matter. Nay, the slave has no existence as a man except in union with a master, just as a body without a mind is as good as dead. Thus was the slave delivered over to his owner bound hand and foot by philosophy. A few expressions employed by Aristotle are all that can be here added. "The slave is a living piece of property, and the first of tools." "Nature has created certain beings to command and others to obey. She has resolved that a being endowed with forethought should rule as a master, and that the being capable of bodily labour should serve as a slave; and in this way the interests of the master and those of the slave mingle together." "The free man commands his wife and his children, but they are human beings; the free man commands the slave quite in another way, for the slave is absolutely destitute of will." "Some are naturally free, others are naturally slaves; for the latter, slavery is no less useful than just." "War is in some sort a natural means of acquiring slaves, since it comprises that hunting-down which is practised on savage animals, and on men who, born to obey, refuse submission."

Thus the slave-trade as well as slavery is justified by the solemn decision of the philosophical oracle of ancient Greece. The views expounded by Plato and Aristotle found Roman expositors in Varro and Cicero. In Italy, therefore, at the advent of Christ the slave was regarded either as a necessary evil or a natural instrument. Both doctrines ministered obediently to the self-indulgences and Sybarite luxuriousness by which it was welcomed, and on whose emasculating bosom lay those who were called the free men and the masters of the world. One stern voice was heard in the midst of those syren incantations. Stoicism bade man rise out of the slough of the senses; "Those," it said, "and those only are free who are free of themselves—who by self-abnegation rise superior to the empire of matter.

Despise and deny the world, thereby you become free, whatever your condition, be you a rich man or a poor man, a master or a slave. Contempt of the pleasures of life levels all distinctions, and makes slave and slave-owner alike free." Untrue and unsound as is this philosophy, it did something to abate empty pride and to raise lowly worth. But stoicism has its weak side and there it may enter into union with the grossest epicureanism, for if the body and bodily pleasures are so vile, their indulgence may be regarded by the mind as a matter of indifference equally with their non-indulgence; nay, the true supremacy of the mind may be best exerted and displayed by maintaining its independence and dignity in the midst of corporeal delights. Voluptuousness then is the way of virtue; but society enervated by pleasure breeds the slavery which it requires and demands. Ancient philosophy then gave no ground of hope that slavery might in time be abolished. Athens and Rome were alike deaf to the voice of humanity. Earth heard the cry of its wretched children with a heart of stone. Was heaven equally obdurate? Has revelation no word of comfort? The West is dark, but in the East shines the star of Bethlehem. A new view of human relations is brought down from the bosom of God, where it had its origin. As being divine, it is not only correct and true, but large, comprehensive, loving, like the Spirit whence it sprang. It is a Father's word to his children, and consequently it is no less impartial than benign. What does it declare? The earth is inhabited by one family, and all outward distinctions are unreal and temporary. In mind as in blood all are one who wear the human form. And as all are one by nature, so emphatically are all one in Christ; who raises their natural unity into a unity which as being spiritual is not only essential but everlasting. As, then, all in "body, soul and spirit" are one, so are all equal; consequently artificial and compelled inequalities are anti-Christian, and equally anti-Christian is every condition, whether social or individual, which obstructs or retards the actual accomplishment of that at-one-ment which God has devised in Christ, and which contemplates the union with the universal Spirit of God, of the spirits of all men, of all ranks, hues, climes and ages. Such was the word that was preached by the Son of God; a great word truly, a word the significance of which we do but dimly even see yet. Scarcely was the seed cast into the ground but it began to germinate, and ere long it bore fruit. As was natural, the first operation of Christianity on slavery was in the bosom of the Church. Here the slave received as a brother soon grew into a man. If he proved to possess the requisite gifts, he became a candidate for the Chris-

tian ministry, and on being set at liberty, was ordained to the office. Eligibility to such a post abated the disesteem in which slaves were commonly held, while it encouraged and promoted manumission. Masters who had "like precious faith" with their slaves, would first experience the liberalizing tendencies of the Gospel, and when in pursuance of those tendencies, they gave freedom to one or more of their slaves, they set an example which heathen proprietors could not wholly disregard. The chain which held men in slavery was broken when it lost its first link. Scarcely had the Christian Church taken a firm position in the world when it applied its power to the mitigation of slavery among its members. This important work it wrought by the inculcation and enforcement of a spirit not only of justice, but also of humane consideration and practical benevolence. It wrought the work, too, by effectually procuring a diminution of labour. By express injunctions the church limited toil to five days in the week, requiring the seventh and the first day for religious instruction and the worship of God. The whole of Easter-week, moreover, it caused to be kept as a religious holiday. Thus slaves on becoming Christians gained for the high duties of self-improvement nearly one-third of their time. What a boon! How important a step toward the general relief of the working classes.¹

A yet more valuable boon was conferred by the primitive church so far as its influence extended. Those of its members who held slaves it taught the essential equality of all men, and enjoined on them the duty of treating their slaves well on the ground that social distinctions had no value in the sight of God, who judged men not according to their position or colour, but according to their character. In virtue of these teachings the slave ceased to be a thing, a mere chattel, a tool; and the slave-owner ceased to be a mere owner. Accordingly that eminent Christian father, Augustin, instructs masters to treat their slaves as their own children, in every way except the inheritance of property. "Do not," says another Christian father, the eloquent Chrysostom, "do not think that what is done against slaves will be pardoned, as being done against slaves; the laws of the world recognize the difference of the two classes, but the equal law of God disowns it, for God does good to all, and opens heaven to all without distinction." That great preacher went so far as to enjoin on master and slave alike mutual service; "Let there," said he, "be an exchange of service and submission, and there

¹ See *Const. Apostol.*, and Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, vol. iii.

will then be no more slavery; let masters and slaves serve one another; then, independently of servitude and freedom, there will be good service. The service of friendship is far better than the service of slavery." Nor were these maxims unfruitful. With the grand model of Jesus before their eyes, masters and mistresses became servants of their servants; women of the noblest origin practised the virtues of humility and self-denial in offices of the humblest service. Mention is made of Fabiola, of the ancient Roman family of Fabius, and of Paula, a descendant of the Scipios, who mixed with the poor and with slaves on a footing of equality, in order to minister to their wants. In this lowly and loving ministration the bishops took a full share of duty. It was, however, not possible for Christianity to produce in full its natural fruits in such a relation as that of slavery. Whatever the Gospel effected, slavery retained much of the evils which are inherent in its nature. Arbitrary power on one side, and complete subjection on the other, produced a condition so unnatural and so perverting, and so depraving, as to nullify only too largely the beneficial workings of Christian principles and Christian examples. There were, however, connected with slavery certain things which Christianity could in no way tolerate, inasmuch as they were essentially sinful, and sin, the only true slavery, was the dire foe of God and man. They were slaves who fought with each other in the gladiatorial combats. Against those brutal amusements, the Church never ceased to protest until it effected their entire cessation. Never was a faithful member of the Church seen in the circus, except as a martyr. The theatre was scarcely less impure and corrupting than the amphitheatre, and the amusements of the theatre were furnished chiefly by means of slaves. Its abuses, too, were severely reproved by Christian preachers and writers, who did their utmost to keep professors of the Gospel, whether slaves or freemen, at a distance from those foul contaminations. In thus contributing to put a stop to these demands for slaves, the Church not only set at liberty a number of persons, whose condition involved misery and degradation, but closed a channel of the vilest corruption, and so conferred on society a permanent benefit. A similar good was accomplished by it, so far as it succeeded in its efforts to reform and purify domestic manners and usages, which kept a crowd of slaves for purposes of idle display, or mere luxury, or guilty pleasures. Thus did Saint Chrysostom address his congregation on this point. "Why so many slaves? one master should be satisfied with one servant; nay, one servant ought to be sufficient for two or three masters. If that appears hard to you, think of those who have no servant. God has created us capable

of serving ourselves. Why, then, those swarms of slaves? You obtain them for show, not for charity. If you had slaves for charity you would teach them trades by which they could obtain a subsistence, and then set them free." Yes! "set them free." Freedom was the aim of the church. It bore with slavery, and strove to abate its evils while it bore with it, as a provisional and temporary institution. At the same time it laboured to prepare the public mind for its abolition. In this view of its duty, it encouraged and aided enfranchisement with all the resources it had at command. Here, too, faithful men and women set a good example to heathens and half Christians. We read of Hermes, a martyr, who in one day emancipated 250 slaves; of Ovinus, also a martyr, who gave liberty to 5000; and of a young heiress, by name Melania, who set free her slaves to the number of 8000. Such acts of justice and beneficence became frequent and customary, especially on the part of ministers of the Gospel. And that these manumissions were made from Christian motives is clear from the forms employed on the occasion, for saints, martyrs, nobles, and, in time, princes emancipated their slaves—to use the words of Gregory the Great, "in obedience to the example of the Redeemer, who came to earth in order to restore men to their original liberty." Not only did Christian teachers recommend manumission, they also enjoined the formation of a fund out of which liberty might be purchased; and while they opened their churches and monasteries as an asylum for fugitive slaves, they interposed their good offices with masters, or even aided the injured slave in flight and concealment. While the Church was thus mitigating and diminishing slavery within its own limits, and in the usages of society, it was also acting powerfully in favour of human rights and human liberties by means of pagan philosophers and princes. The philosopher Seneca, a contemporary of the apostle Paul, caught the spirit of that noble herald of Gospel liberty, and gave utterance to thoughts on the subject which recall, if they do not reproduce, the liberal and emancipatory maxims of the New Testament. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and other philosophers, too, expound doctrines on the subject which are incompatible with slavery, and which breathe the spirit of the Gospel whence they seem to have had their origin. And no sooner had Jesus and Paul published to the world their liberalizing truths, than the Roman law, previously so severe, so hard, so relentless in regard to slavery, began to take a milder tone, and admit modifications in favour of slaves. When, however, Christians took their seat on the imperial throne, they, under the impulse of the religion they professed, adopted measures

which were eminently beneficial to slaves, and wrought powerfully to undermine slavery. The Church taught the equality of men; the Christian emperors, halting far behind the Church, yet considered and treated the slave as a man; and if some special laws regulated the slave's condition as a slave, in general the State did not greatly distinguish the slave from the humbler classes of society. A spirit of justice obtained prevalence. "Who could endure," asked the Emperor Constantine, "that children should be separated from their parents, brothers from their sisters, wives from their husbands?" The person of the slave was taken under the shield of the law; the master who slew a slave was punished as guilty of homicide. Manumission was legalized, and the Church which had preached deliverance to the captives, was formally acknowledged as one means for giving it effect. Special is the merit of the Emperor Justinian in the services he rendered to freedom. The promotion of liberty became the rule of his conduct; he closed against slavery the sources which it had in the law; he facilitated emancipation; and he invested freedmen with all the privileges of citizenship.

These ameliorations in the slave law retained their effect and continued to increase under later sovereigns. The slave whose master, or whose master's wife or son, became sponsor in baptism for him, obtained his liberty by the very act. Even the imperial treasury aided emancipation. If slaves fell to the State by confiscation, they were at once set at liberty. If a man died without a will and without direct heirs, his property was divided into three portions, one of which was assigned to God; in that part his slaves were placed, who thus obtained their freedom. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in giving reasons for this law, said, "It would be an outrage to God's holiness, to the wisdom of the prince, and even to the human conscience, if we did not permit even death to break for slaves their yoke." If slaves formed the greater part, or even the whole of the property, they were all given to God, that is, were made free; "for," continued the emperor, "we will not suppress slavery for some and maintain it with all its rigours for others; we resolve that all who have in common borne the weight of that chain so hard and so cruel, shall at the same time enjoy the liberation which our law grants them as their share of the heritage." But the greatest benefit remains to be mentioned; the concubinage of slavery was elevated into marriage; the benediction of the Church legalized wedlock between slaves equally as between freemen; nay, intermarriage between the two conditions, once forbidden under the severest penalties, come to have legal permission. At

length, after improving the tenor of imperial legislation in behalf of slaves, and for the furtherance of freedom, and after struggling, not without success, against the efforts made by the cupidity of individuals to counteract the laws and promote slavery, the Church crowned its services by a declaration which was the natural result of, and a suitable commentary on the teachings of Jesus and Paul, and which runs thus:—

“Thou shalt not at all possess slaves, neither for domestic service nor for the labours of the field, for man is made in the image of God.”^m

Golden sentence! Let the Church in these days take up these words, and circulate them everywhere, especially in those lands in which slavery still subsists. We thus see that the immediate effect produced by Christianity on slavery was its mitigation and diminution. The Gospel in its workings, both within and without the Church, shewed itself hostile to slavery. The more it prevailed, whether in individuals, in society, or in legislation, the more destructive was it to slavery. At last, in one emphatic word, a divine word, if ever there was one, it forbade it—strictly forbade slavery altogether. Alas! that the prohibition should at this late period need to be repeated. But in modern times a species of slavery, the worst possible, has been called into existence. The monster has received heavy blows. But, nevertheless, he lives, and he lives in vigour. Has civilization then receded? Is a republic in the nineteenth century less liberal, less humane, less Christian in regard to slaves than the despotism of the Eastern empire in its decline? If such is its present character, such an anomaly cannot surely be permanent. No, the Lord will destroy this enemy of man with the breath of his mouth, and set master and slave alike free from the fearful and perilous bondage under which they suffer.

^m Saint Theodore Studites, who left this noble precept in his will, was the Abbot of the Monastery of Stude, at Constantinople, at the beginning of the ninth century.

CORRESPONDENCE.

. The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

REMARKS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN ANCIENT ASSYRIAN AND MEDIAN HISTORY.

SIR,—The researches of Sir Henry Rawlinson into the lately discovered Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, and Persian cuneiform tablets, and those of Sir J. G. Wilkinson into the ancient hieroglyphical records of the Egyptians, have led to the preparation and publication of a new English version of the great historical work of Herodotus. A suitable accompaniment of notes and appendices abundantly illustrate the history and geography, and contain the most important part of the historical and ethnographical information which has been obtained through recent cuneiform and hieroglyphical investigation. At the same time we are bound to add to the names of Rawlinson and Wilkinson those of their able and successful fellow-labourers, Hincks and Lepsius. To Dr. Hincks especially, Assyrian decipherment, chronology, and history are deeply indebted.

One of the periodicals of our transatlantic brethren, *The American Christian Examiner*, contains an interesting notice of this valuable and important work, which has been judiciously republished in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* (July, 1859, p. 332), under the title of *Assyrian History*. A tone of candour and good sense pervades the review; and we are happy to find a writer of ability and judgment, who is free from feelings of enthusiasm and partizanship on the subject, while saying that "we should receive with caution all statements in the cuneiform tablets in which the vanity and arrogance of the kings whose acts are commemorated may have had part," yet at the same time adding that, in his judgment, "we may accept, without hesitation, the truth of these inscriptions in their *main features*, especially when we consider to how large a degree they are corroborated by independent testimony." This is, we believe, the prevailing opinion of those who have paid the most attention to this important and interesting topic.

The subject of Assyrian and Chaldean history, as connected with the recent successful decipherment of various arrow-headed inscriptions, has been frequently and largely discussed in the pages of this Journal. And it is not without a certain degree of reluctance that we proceed to offer a few remarks in reference to some points in which we cannot fully agree with the American Reviewer, and upon which we have touched on a former occasion, in a paper which appeared during the editorship of the late lamented Dr. Kitto, *On the Scythian Dominion in Asia*. We request the candid reader's indulgence, while we pursue the task which we have here proposed to ourselves.

The Reviewer supposes Sennacherib to have succeeded his father Sargon in the year B.C. 702, and not, as had been once commonly supposed, cir. 714—12, and that his reign lasted, not according to the usually received chronology, only seven, but rather according to the cuneiform tablets, about twenty-two years, as his son and successor Esarhaddon ascended the throne of Babylon, and most likely also that of Nineveh, in B.C. 680. The latter reigned about twenty years. There are doubtless difficulties in attempting to reconcile this departure from the commonly received chronology with some of the regnal numerals in the Old Testament. But if patient and competent investigators of the arrow-headed inscriptions have deemed themselves compelled to come to the conclusion that Sennacherib did not begin to reign at Nineveh earlier than 702 B.C., we are bound to listen with respect and attention to their views and their arguments, submitting to them if they appear valid and unanswerable.

It has always been accepted that it was during the time of Esarhaddon's reign over Assyria, that Manasseh, king of Judah, was carried captive to Babylon. That these kings were contemporaries, and not unacquainted with each other, is proved from the cuneiform tablets which belong to the reign of the illustrious son of Sennacherib, in which it is recorded that workmen to assist in building his splendid palaces were furnished him by the princes of Syria, and Manasseh, king of Judah.

We cannot well doubt that Manasseh, who returned from Babylon as one released from captivity by the favour and compassion of the sovereign of Nineveh, returned also to Jerusalem as a tributary vassal, acknowledging the king of Assyria as his suzerain or liege-lord. This had unquestionably been the position of his grandfather Ahaz, who sought the assistance of Tiglath-Pileser against Rezin and Pekah, the kings of Syria and Samaria, and also of his father Hezekiah, when he ascended the throne, though he soon "rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not." There is nothing, however, in the scriptural narrative, which should lead us to suppose that either Manasseh, or his son Amon, entertained the thought of throwing off the re-imposed Assyrian yoke, which, perhaps, in their case, may not have been a very harsh one. Indeed, from the day of the return of Manasseh to Jerusalem until about the eighteenth year of the reign of his grandson Josiah, there is nothing in the records of the Old Testament, from which we could draw any inferences with regard to the adverse or prosperous state of affairs at Nineveh, or of any connexion between Assyria and Judah.

When, however, we read an account of Josiah's bold and uncompromising proceedings in the eighteenth year of his reign, we find it impossible to reconcile his actual conduct with his unquestionable duty as a loyal vassal to the king of Nineveh, or with the idea that Assyria was still a very powerful empire, whose wide-ruling monarch was able and willing to defend his remote province of Samaria, and effectually punish those who should presume to invade its borders, and desecrate and destroy its altars.

Not later, perhaps, than 624 B.C., we find Josiah carrying into Samaria a religious reformation, as searching and unsparing as that which he had wrought about six years before in Jerusalem and Judah. He

began by polluting the altar at Bethel, where Jeroboam the son of Nebat established his first idolatrous service, burning upon it the bones of dead men, and then destroying both "the altar, and the high place and the grove." As Bethel was almost on the confines of Judah, this single act might perhaps have been regarded as not utterly beyond the possibility of pardon. The zealous king, however, did not stop here, but ventured to far greater lengths; and we transcribe side by side the accounts, as severally given by the sacred chroniclers, of the daring course which he pursued:—

2 Kings xxiii. 19, 20.

"And all the houses also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke (the Lord) to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Bethel. And he slew (sacrificed) all the priests of the high places that were there upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem."

2 Chr. xxxiv. 5, 7.

"And he (Josiah) burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, and cleansed Judah and Jerusalem. And (so did he) in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, with their mattocks round about. And when he had broken down the altars and the groves, and had beaten the graven images into powder, and cut down all the idols throughout all the land of Israel, he returned to Jerusalem."

As to the desecration and destruction of the altar at Bethel, where Jeroboam had first by open idolatry provoked the Most High, we know that this was the subject of a special and remarkable prediction. On the very first occasion of Jeroboam's standing by that altar to burn incense, "there came a man of God out of Judah by the word of the Lord unto Bethel, and (in the hearing of Jeroboam), he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord; Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee."

It is plain from 2 Kings xxiii. 17, that those who accompanied Josiah in his expedition to put down idolatry at Bethel, were familiar with the prophetic denunciation which had been uttered, nearly three centuries and a half before, in the presence of Jeroboam. Nor is there any reason to suppose that it was not already well known to Josiah, when, in the twelfth year of his reign, he manifested the sincerity and earnestness of his religious zeal by resolutely purifying Jerusalem and Judah from all that was dishonourable to the law and service of his God. And that he did not then in the ardour and fervency of his religious feelings at once extend the work of desolation and destruction to Bethel, may perhaps be ascribed to that sound judgment which generally accompanies a deep and enlightened fear of the Lord. He would feel that it was his plain path of duty thoroughly to accomplish the work of a religious reformation in his own city and kingdom first, which had been deeply defiled by idolatry; and that he was not of his own will and judgment presumptuously to fulfil a prophetic denunciation, however clearly expressed, but to wait reverently until the providence of God should shew that the appointed and suitable time of fulfilment was at length come.

Can we conceive any thing more calculated to provoke the violent and implacable wrath of an Assyrian despot, than the scornful sacrilegious outrages offered by a vassal Jewish king to the altars and high places of the Assyrian province of Samaria? Is it credible that Josiah would have ventured to act as he did, had he been living in the days of Pul or Tiglath-Pileser, of Shalmaneser or Sargon, of Sennacherib or Esarhaddon? If he had ventured to do so, without the sanction of an express command from God addressed to himself, in addition to the prophetic menace addressed to Jeroboam at Bethel, he would have merited the humiliation and punishment which his selfwilled and impetuous zeal would, in all human probability, have certainly brought down upon him. But when we see no notice whatever taken by the sovereign of Nineveh, of what must have appeared to an Assyrian monarch the singularly disloyal as well as insolently outrageous proceedings of a Jewish vassal, whose grandfather had owed personal liberty and restoration to his kingdom to the grace and compassion of a sovereign of Nineveh, although that offending vassal continued to reign twelve years after his work of altar-desecration and desolation in Samaria, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that, from some unknown cause (that is, unknown so far as the scriptural records are concerned), Nineveh had already so far fallen away from her once proud imperial supremacy, that she was no longer in a condition to take cognizance of the state of affairs in the remote province of Samaria. And thus Josiah may reasonably be thought to have entered upon no task of peril to himself and his dominions when he undertook to defile and destroy the idolatrous altars of Samaria, nor to have been guilty of unprovoked rebellion against his Assyrian suzerain.

If, however, in the present discussion, we set aside, for a moment, the religious element, and refrain from taking into consideration special divine prediction and interposition, we could scarcely deem Josiah altogether guiltless of rebellion against his liege-lord, unless Nineveh had not only lost, at the time in question, her hold upon Samaria, but had also no rational prospect of ever recovering what she had thus lost. Samaria had been in itself an insignificant portion of the vast Assyrian empire; its importance was mainly derived from its position. It was the outpost from which the Assyrian forces might best watch and threaten Egypt. And the very fact that the Jewish vassal Josiah escaped without chastisement or molestation, is no light presumptive evidence that, in his eighteenth year, Nineveh was no longer in a condition to menace a Pharaoh, or even to carry fire and sword into the territories of a rebellious king of Judah. It seems impossible to come to any other conclusion, after a careful perusal of the scriptural record of Josiah's anti-idolatrous transactions in Samaria, where he appears to have conducted himself as the *bonâ fide* sovereign of the province, if we also bear in mind the perfect impunity which he appears ever after to have enjoyed, so far as any efforts of the monarchs of Nineveh are concerned, to punish him for what must have appeared to them his insolent and outrageous sacrilege.

There is a possible and probable view of the question, which would go very far to clear the character of Josiah from all stain of rebellion against his liege-lord, and even prevent our charging him with taking a

selfish and ungenerous advantage of the temporary depression of Nineveh to reunite to the kingdom of Judah a province which had formerly belonged to the house of David. We have already alluded to this view, which is, that in the eighteenth year of Josiah Nineveh had already lost all hold on Samaria, and had no rational prospect of ever recovering what had been thus lost; in fact, that when the grandson of Manasseh took upon himself to act as an independent king in Samaria, the land of Ephraim was virtually subject to no other earthly master, the sovereignty of Assyria having actually passed into a mere name and shadow, without a prospect of ever becoming a reality again.

Now there is good reason to believe, from the testimony of secular history, that not later than 630 B.C. Cyaxares, a warlike and ambitious king of Media, utterly defeated the king of Assyria, and compelled him to take refuge within the walls of Nineveh. The Medes proceeded to besiege the ancient city, with a fair prospect of finally succeeding in making themselves masters of the Assyrian metropolis, and of overthrowing the Assyrian empire. Nor is it improbable that in this case the victors would have claimed for themselves the imperial supremacy which Nineveh had previously possessed, and Cyaxares would have deemed himself entitled to number the ruler of Babylon in the list of his tributaries and dependents. While the siege, however, was in progress, a horde of Scythian barbarians suddenly appeared in the neighbourhood; a fierce conflict ensued, in which the Medes were routed, and Cyaxares found himself compelled to withdraw with his shattered forces into his own dominions. For nearly twenty-eight years the victorious Scythians remained in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris; nor does it appear that either Medes, or Assyrians, or Babylonians, once ventured, during that period, to encounter them in the field, and dispute their claim to roam at will in that part of Asia as in a conquered territory. And so far as we can gather from the venerable Father of history, before the close of the Scythian dominion the Medes had recovered from the effects of their defeat by the barbarians, Babylon had wholly thrown off all political subordination to the Assyrian monarch, and had become an independent kingdom, ready to assist in overturning the power which she had once served, while Nineveh had become weaker rather than stronger, and, ruled by a sovereign not peculiarly distinguished for military or political ability, was unable to offer any effectual resistance to the combined forces of Media and Chaldea, under such superior leaders as Cyaxares and Nabopolassar.

It would appear beyond question that, even when Cyaxares utterly routed the Assyrian army, and straightly besieged the vanquished monarch in his metropolis, all political connexion between Nineveh and her far-distant province of Samaria was in reality severed. And was it again renewed when the Scythians routed the Medes, and raised the siege of the renowned Queen of the Tigris? Certainly not. The triumphant barbarians were no friends to Nineveh, who had come to assist her in her distress, and re-open to her sons the once well-known road to Syria and Palestine. The Scythians were prepared to keep down alike Assyrians, Medes, and Chaldeans; and thus Nineveh found herself even farther than before from the hope, if she still retained it, of regaining her lost supe-

riority even over the comparatively neighbouring city and territory of Babylon. Nay, the latter power, having herself nothing to fear from the Medes, and aware that the mortal hostility of Cyaxares would prevent Assyria from regaining her lost supremacy, was doubtless intent upon seizing every advantage which might from time to time offer itself, in order to strengthen herself, and guard herself from again becoming a tributary dependency of the Assyrian Empire. Thus the rising dominion of Babylon was fast interposing itself between the waning greatness of Nineveh, and her remote provinces of Syria and Samaria. It would appear more certain every year, that kings of the declining Assyrian dynasty would never again rule Damascus and the land of Ephraim, and that these territories, having been of necessity abandoned by Nineveh from her own want of power to retain them, and being no longer in subjection to any earthly sovereign, would, probably, sooner or later, fall under the yoke of Babylon, unless the king of Judah should previously assert his own stronger claim.

There appears to be reasonable grounds for supposing that something not unlike that which we have just been describing, was the state of affairs at Nineveh, Babylon, Damascus and Samaria, about the eighteenth year of the reign of king Josiah. Samaria had virtually, and, apparently, finally, ceased to be a province of the Assyrian empire. The same course of events which had separated Samaria from Nineveh, had put an effectual end to the feudal sovereignty of the monarchs of Assyria over the kings of Judah. Josiah could only regard Nabopolassar as a revolted vassal of Assyria; and if so, what possible title in equity or justice could the rebellious ruler of Babylon have to be lord of Samaria? And if utter and hopeless defeat and disaster, in inflicting which Josiah had taken no treacherous or disloyal part whatever, had cast the supremacy of Nineveh to the ground, and rendered the very idea of her sovereignty over Samaria and suzerainty over Judah ridiculous and absurd, to whom should Samaria now of right belong, if not to Josiah, the lineal descendant and representative of David and Solomon, who had been kings of Ephraim as well as of Judah? The words of the divine denunciation addressed to Jeroboam had reference only to the altar of Bethel, which was almost on the confines of Judah. And when we read the history of Manasseh's devout and zealous grandson, and see over what an extent of territory his daring and offensive religious aggressions were carried, nothing will so satisfactorily explain what occurred, as the highly probable supposition that Josiah was well aware at the time that the swords, first of the Medes, and afterwards of the Scythians, had effectually cut asunder every tie which connected Judah and Samaria with the rulers of the remote city of Nineveh, and left them to act independently, without being guilty of acting rebelliously.

The American Reviewer writes, "Nabopolassar, towards the close of his reign, carried on war with Egypt, appointing his son Nebuchadnezzar as commander. This was the war in which Josiah, king of Judah, without waiting for his sovereign, marched hastily to repel an invasion of Necho, and was defeated and killed." By the somewhat strange expression, "Josiah, *without waiting for his sovereign*," the Reviewer can only

mean that Josiah was the tributary vassal of Nabopolassar, as Manasseh had been of Esarhaddon. But where does he learn this? Surely not from the scriptural record. Was^a Josiah the vassal of Babylon when he scornfully and indignantly desecrated and destroyed the idolatrous altars through the length and breadth of Samaria? And if not, when did he pass into the unpleasant position of the vassal of a revolted vassal of Assyria? We should naturally infer from the sacred narrative that Josiah, from the eighteenth year of his reign to its close, felt himself to be, and acted as, the independent sovereign of Judah and Samaria. The closing act of his life seems to confirm this. Pharaoh Necho, the able and powerful king of Egypt, enters Samaria with a host so formidable that he is confidently leading it to the vicinity of the Euphrates. Josiah does not scruple to encounter this mighty host in the open field, though he is defeated and slain in the conflict. Was this the act of the vassal of a revolted Assyrian vassal? or of an independent king who gloried in being the descendant and representative of the illustrious conqueror David? Is it unfair to think that if it had been Nebuchadnezzar marching against Egypt instead of Necho against Nabopolassar, Josiah would have opposed

^a We may perhaps be excused if we attempt to discuss this point somewhat more fully. We must not argue as if the Babylon of Nabopolassar had become the invincible imperial Babylon which she afterwards became under his son Nebuchadnezzar. Had the father been the mighty conqueror in 625 B.C., which the son was when he marched against Jerusalem cir. 590, and had resolved to force Josiah to submission, the latter would probably have been compelled to pay tribute and homage, as Hezekiah had formerly done to Sennacherib. But nothing like this was the case; and many years of freedom from foreign hostilities must have made the kingdom of Judah well nigh a match for any force that Nabopolassar could have sent against it during the greater part of his reign.

Again, there would be in Josiah more than the strong dislike to Babylonian vassalage natural to any high spirited young king whose earlier ancestors had been for some generations powerful and independent sovereigns, strangers to, and despisers of, a foreign yoke, even if his father and grandfather had been compelled to acknowledge the Assyrian emperor as their liege-lord. As an intelligent and sincerely devout and pious Jew, who knew that the kings of Judah were, in a more special and lofty sense than could be said of the proudest Gentile monarch, the earthly vicegerents of the Most High God, he would regard tributary subjection to a heathen liege-lord as having in it something religiously polluting, as well as personally and politically humiliating. A conscientious sense of duty, and unwillingness to involve his subjects in a dangerous and desolating war, would most probably have kept him in his allegiance to Nineveh, if the Assyrian monarch had triumphed over Scythians and Medes, and retained their supremacy, with real power to uphold and enforce it. But no tie of duty or gratitude bound Josiah to accept the successful rebel Nabopolassar as his new suzerain. The Jews must have been accustomed to look upon the Babylonians as the subjects, as well as vassals, of Nineveh, and therefore far more under the Assyrian yoke than they had themselves ever been. In fact Babylon, like Samaria, had been a mere province, which from time to time received its governors from the will of the sovereigns of Nineveh; while Judah, if tributary, had still possessed her own hereditary kings, and national laws and usages. It does not, therefore, seem credible that Josiah, with the high and royal spirit of the descendant and representative of the warrior and conqueror David, and with all a zealous and ardent Jew's religious loathing of Gentile domination, should, or rather could, have consented to stoop to become the vassal of Nabopolassar, himself a revolted vassal, unless the latter could have compelled him by force of arms to submit to the humiliation.

and attacked the Chaldeans with equal courage and determination, acting, in either case, as the independent descendant and representative of David, the renowned king of Judah and Ephraim?

The Reviewer, however, draws a very different conclusion from the last act of the reign of this Jewish king. "That Josiah," he writes, "was a vassal of Nabopolassar, is rendered probable by the fact that he resisted so stoutly the invasion of the empire by Necho, in spite of the protestations of the latter, that his arms were not directed against him." Josiah, who had reached the age of thirty-nine years, was not ignorant of the true value of such protestations^b in the mouth of an ambitious Gentile monarch, and he probably felt convinced that if Syria and the western side of the Euphrates should become provinces of the Egyptian empire, Necho would not be able to resist the temptation of attempting to add Samaria (including under this term the whole of the territory of the ten tribes to the west of the Jordan), to the list of his dependencies. For our own part we find it very difficult to believe that a ruler of Babylon became suzerain of Judah earlier than the year in which Jehoiachim, the son of Josiah, became subject to Nebuchadnezzar, after the latter had defeated Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish. This is certainly the conclusion which most obviously presents itself to us in the Old Testament records, and is doubtless most strengthened by what Herodotus has written of the position of Labynetus^c (Nabopolassar), the friend of Cyaxares, at the time of the capture of Nineveh.

The Reviewer, we presume, feels himself at greater liberty to regard Josiah as a vassal of Nabopolassar, because he is disposed to hold with Niebuhr that Nineveh was destroyed by Cyaxares in B.C. 625, though he candidly adds, that "Heeren, Grote, and most other writers, place it as late as B.C. 609 to B.C. 606." If Niebuhr be correct in his view, there was no king of Nineveh during the last fourteen or fifteen years of Josiah's reign. On the other hand, if Grote and Heeren be right, and Josiah was really a vassal of Nabopolassar, the Jewish king must have transferred his allegiance to a revolted vassal, while the Assyrian dynasty was yet reigning at Nineveh. This is certainly not impossible, but is, to say the least, not very probable, especially when we consider that in 625, the time of the formal establishment of Babylon as an independent kingdom, it is most likely that Josiah, unquestionably a king of superior ability, energy, and courage, could have raised in his dominions an army equal to any force which Nabopolassar at that early period of his reign could have sent against him. With us it is an almost insurmountable

^b We must, however, concede that Josiah, rashly trusting to a divine promise, of such a gracious character that it should have made him gentle and humble, rather than self-confident and self-willed, and which he was at the moment unconsciously misinterpreting and presumptuously abusing, remained, not without fault, ignorant that, whether Pharaoh were himself trustworthy or not, his words were in accordance with the will of God, and should have been heeded by a king of Judah.

^c Herodotus seems to represent Labynetus or Nabopolassar to have been a king of subordinate power and dignity in comparison with Cyaxares. The American Reviewer would appear to overlook this, or to think the view of the Greek historian to be erroneous.

objection to Niebuhr's notion of the destruction of Nineveh in B.C. 625, that to accept it we must almost trample under foot the testimony of Herodotus, who seems really to have taken pains to ascertain the facts connected with the fall of the Assyrian metropolis. Of course, should authentic arrow-headed inscriptions be discovered, asserting the view of Niebuhr, Herodotus must in that case give way to more competent witnesses. But nothing short of direct Assyrian testimony in Niebuhr's favour, could prevail upon us to accept the learned German's conclusions.

The following appears to us to be not an unimportant argument against Niebuhr, and in support of the opinion of Grote and Heeren. We do not ask whether the Scythians ruled twenty-five or twenty-eight years. The statements of Herodotus lead us to infer that from the day of their triumphant overthrow of the Medes near Nineveh to that of the treacherous massacre of their chiefs by Cyaxares, which terminated their rule and caused the immediate expulsion of the horde from Asia, Cyaxares never once attempted to encounter them in the open field, though he did not shrink from waging an arduous seven years' war against Alyattes, king of Lydia. This can only be ascribed to his fear that he would not be able to overcome them. And the same feeling which led him to shrink from marching against them, would induce him to refrain from leading an army against Nineveh. The crafty barbarians would rejoice to see him wasting his strength in a long and uncertain war against the Lydian king Alyattes—this would render him less willing and able to attempt to molest them. But it would have been quite another thing to look on tamely while their ambitious neighbour formally besieged Nineveh, and sought to add Assyria to his Median dominions. If they permitted Cyaxares to add the territory and population of Assyria to his hereditary dominions, would he not become too strong for them, and must they not expect that ambition and deadly thirst for revenge would impel him to attempt their destruction? It would require no profound political sagacity and wisdom to give birth to such common-place calculations as these; they would be the natural suggestions of the shrewd and selfish cunning of barbarians rendered watchful by the instinct of self-defence and self-preservation. We thus think it highly improbable that Cyaxares ventured to attempt a second siege of Nineveh, until his treachery had delivered him from all apprehension of Scythian interference. Unless, therefore, the American reviewer can shew that the Scythian horde had already been expelled from Asia in B.C. 625, we cannot receive his view of the destruction of Nineveh, in that year. The reviewer himself notices the fact that, according to the direct statement of Herodotus, Nineveh was not destroyed by the Medes until *after* the expulsion of the Scythians; and he also allows that it is a probable (though not he thinks a necessary) inference from the words of the venerable historian, that the destruction of the Assyrian metropolis took place after the conclusion of the war against Alyattes. It certainly would not be easy to draw a different conclusion from what Herodotus has written.

It may, perhaps, be asked, why did not two such able sovereigns as Nabopolassar and Cyaxares combine to crush the domineering barbarians, It is not difficult to furnish a plausible answer to this question. The city

of Babylon, the Queen of the Euphrates, could confidently defy behind her ramparts the rude and headlong valour of fierce barbarians, who were alike destitute of suitable warlike engines, needful military skill, and the steady and disciplined patience and perseverance absolutely requisite for the successful siege of a strongly fortified city. But if we are to accept the narrative of Herodotus as in the main correct, neither Assyrians, nor Medes, nor Babylonians, thought themselves able to contend on equal terms with the Scythians; had they, we cannot well doubt that they would have been provoked and exasperated into open hostilities by the insolent and oppressive conduct of the barbarians. And if these had heard, or even suspected, that a secret league was being formed between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares for their destruction, though without a hope of being able to make themselves masters of Babylon, they would have sacked and destroyed every unwallled town and village, and trampled under foot the cultivated lands throughout the realm of the Babylonian king. This consideration would of itself be enough to deter a prudent sovereign like Nabopolassar from doing anything which might bring down upon his subjects the fire, and sword, and desolation of his jealous marauding neighbours. It would accordingly be his wisdom to strengthen himself, and extend his dominions as quietly and cautiously as possible; and to conduct himself circumspectly, avoiding all unnecessary ostentation and display, which might arrest attention and excite suspicion. And it is scarcely likely that he would, even if it had been really in his power, have run the risk in the early years of his reign of awakening Scythian jealousy by sending a large army across the Euphrates to assert his royal claim to all that had belonged to Nineveh in Syria and Palestine. Even on this view it is very unlikely, or rather hardly credible, that Nabopolassar, when in 625 B.C. he declared himself the independent sovereign of Babylon, was acknowledged as liege-lord of Jerusalem and Judah, whatever may have possibly happened in Syria and at Damascus. And as the kingdom of Judah had at that very time already enjoyed more than thirty years' freedom from external warfare, its strength must have been so far recruited, and its population become once more so numerous, that Nabopolassar would hardly think, either then, or at any other period during the remainder of the reign of an able and high-spirited prince, of attempting to compel Josiah by force of arms to submit to the Babylonian supremacy. Believing with Grote and Heeren that when the father of Nebuchadnezzar proclaimed himself independent sovereign of Babylon in 625 B.C., the real suzerain of Samaria and Judah was still, and for some years afterwards, on the throne of Nineveh, on what ground could the revolted Babylonian vassal have claimed the submission and homage of a powerful, brave, and conscientious king like Josiah?^d The American Reviewer would

^d Amon is generally believed to have been born after the return of his father Manasseh from his captivity at Babylon. He was twenty-two years old at the death of his father, and reigned two years. And even if we suppose Josiah not to have ascended the throne until B.C. 638, and to have reigned only thirteen years in 625, the kingdom of Judah must have enjoyed freedom from external warfare more than thirty-five years when Nabopolassar assumed the independent sovereignty of Babylon.

Would Necho have ventured so far from his own boundaries as the banks of

have us think that the presence of Pharaoh Necho with a mighty host could not shake the allegiance of the vassal Josiah to his suzerain Nabopolassar; why should not we think that at least until the destruction of Nineveh, Nabopolassar was unable to prevail upon Josiah to act disloyally towards his liege-lord at Nineveh by submitting to a successful rebel at Babylon? And agreeing in opinion with those who think that Nineveh was not destroyed during the lifetime of the grandson of Manasseh, we cannot help thinking that in whatever way we look at the question, the idea of Josiah's vassalage to Babylon appears too improbable for belief.

In what has been advanced above in reference to the Scythian dominion in Asia, we have endeavoured to reply in some measure to the following remarks of the Reviewer:—

“Herodotus, although perfectly trustworthy when relating what he himself saw, is a less sure guide as to earlier times, and it is probable that he is wrong in supposing the Scythians to have *ruled* twenty-eight years. It is hardly possible they should not have left more traces of themselves if this were the case, and it seems likely that this period of twenty eight years was one only of occasional and destructive inroads, in the intervals of which Cyaxares could carry on his warlike operations.”

Herodotus nowhere teaches us that these fierce barbarians ruled in the fortified capitals of Nineveh, Ecbatana, and Babylon. They might perhaps from time to time have possibly demanded gifts from the sovereigns of these cities, under the threat, in case of a refusal, of laying waste the fields, and defenceless towns and cities. While they allowed Cyaxares, of whom they would of course be most jealous, to waste his strength in indecisive wars with a distant enemy, he would probably have incurred the risk of certain ruin had he attempted to besiege either Babylon or Nineveh, in order to make a formidable addition to his own dominions. And when we consider the barbarous ignorance and restless wanderings to and fro of the Scythian horde, we may ask what enduring monuments of their presence and dominion during twenty-eight years were they likely to leave behind them, unless indeed one of their chiefs had died, and they had reared an enormous artificial mound over his grave?

We will quit this part of our subject by expressing our opinion that the fragment from Abydenus, a transcriber of Berosus, which teaches that the accession of Nabopolassar immediately preceded the year of the destruction of Nineveh cannot be allowed to weigh against the direct statements of Herodotus. At the same time we may be permitted to say that we will readily surrender our opinion before any authentic Assyrian inscriptions, should such be found confirming the view of Niebuhr.

The American Reviewer notices with approbation Mr. Rawlinson's essay on the Great Median empire, and speaks of his valuable suggestion

the Euphrates, if an Esarhaddon had been on the throne of Nineveh, or a Nebuchadnezzar in the height of his power on that of Babylon? Must we not think that he took the apparently bold step in the last year of Josiah, because he believed that the ruler of Babylon was not yet sufficiently strong to meet the king of Egypt on equal terms? Nebuchadnezzar may have gained the victory at Carchemish even with inferior forces, through his own personal daring and military skill. The host of Pharaoh was a particoloured assemblage of many tribes and nations.

that Herodotus is mistaken in assigning so early a date as B.C. 708 to the independence of the Medes. Few readers of the Greek writer's account of Deioeces have failed to perceive that a certain portion of what was legendary and mythical entered into the historian's narrative. The Median chronology of Herodotus leading us to assign to the real or supposed establishment of Median independence by Deioeces, a date very slightly removed from the generally received date of the year of Sennacherib's great disaster in Judea—viz., 710 B.C.—was readily accepted by many as very nearly approximating to accuracy. Dr. Hincks, however, seems to have established from the cuneiform monuments that our received chronology is erroneous to the extent of at least ten years—that Sennacherib did not begin to reign until 702 B.C. instead of 713, and that the army of Sennacherib was destroyed in 700–699, and not in 710. If then Median independence took its rise from Sennacherib's terrible humiliation, it could not have commenced earlier than 698 B.C. But if we receive, as we must on satisfactory grounds, B.C. 580–29, as the year of the death of Cyrus, and if we also accept as correct the Medo-Persian regnal numerals of Herodotus, then we shall conclude that the reign of Deioeces commenced cir. 713 B.C. Media is said to have contained at that time various tribes independent of each other. Deioeces may have begun by exercising a judicial chief magistracy in his own tribe, gradually extending his authority over the others, until he became the acknowledged ruler over all—the pride of the nation leading them to antedate their union and establishment as one kingdom, by considering the reign of Deioeces to have commenced in the year in which he was first invested in his own tribe with judicial and magisterial authority. But this we grant is mere conjecture, and as such, worth but little. We will therefore dismiss Deioeces for the present, with the remark that in a former number of this Journal (we do not just now recollect which) is a paper by Dr. Hincks, wherein he states that he has discovered in one of the arrow-headed inscriptions a list of names, among which is one closely resembling that of the founder of the Median kingdom.

The Reviewer writes,—

“Mr. Grote has already pointed out the completely mythical character of the account given by Herodotus of Deioeces. Mr. Rawlinson thinks the reign of Phraortes equally so, and places the beginning of Median history at the accession of Cyaxares, B.C. 633. The name of Phraortes he finds in that of the usurper *Frawartish*, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, of whom we learn from the Behistun inscription, whose unsuccessful revolt Herodotus confounds with the successful revolution of the Medes of the previous century. His arguments are, first, that all the Greek writers, except Herodotus, regard Cyaxares as the founder of the

* If we are at liberty to draw any inferences from this name, one of the most obvious would surely be, that a rebellious aspirant to the Median throne would be very likely to assume, if he did not happen already to possess, a name which had previously belonged to a wearer of the crown. Hence, the fact that a Median usurper bore the name of (Frawartish) Phraortes, would be, to say the least, rather an argument for than against the idea that there had already been a Median king named Phraortes. The father of Deioeces is also said to have been named Phraortes.

empire, and secondly, that the monuments shew that the Medes continued subject to Assyria as late at least as through the reign of Esarhaddon, about B.C. 660."

With much respect for the ability and learned research of Mr. Rawlinson, we cannot assent to his opinion that the reign of Phraortes was equally mythical with that of Deioces, and are somewhat surprised that he could have brought himself to entertain such a view. According to the regnal numerals of Herodotus Phraortes died, and Cyaxares succeeded him, cir. 638 B.C. Mr. Rawlinson fixes upon B.C. 633 as the year of the accession of the latter to the throne. Be it so; it is not necessary to discuss this point; and we may assume that the real or supposed Phraortes fell in battle against the Assyrians in B.C. 633, when he was succeeded by that renowned and warlike son, whom "all the Greek writers except Herodotus regard as the founder of the Median empire."

Now if we accept the narrative of the reign of Cyaxares as it is related in Herodotus, we receive as true that somewhat early in his reign he invaded Assyria, utterly defeated its king, and compelled him to take refuge behind the ramparts of Nineveh, to which city the conqueror proceeded immediately to lay siege. But it would appear that Herodotus, on the very same authority on which he tells us all this, assures us also that in acting thus, Cyaxares was chiefly moved by an eager desire to avenge his royal father and predecessor Phraortes, who had himself also invaded Assyria, though with a different result, having been defeated and slain in encountering the sovereign of Nineveh.

Why are we to receive the testimony of Herodotus in the case of Cyaxares, and reject it as unworthy of serious regard in that of Phraortes? It would evidently be a very fair reason for such a procedure, if we could say that what is related of Cyaxares is both probable in itself, and also confirmed by other Greek writers, while that which is recorded of Phraortes is neither probable in itself, nor mentioned by any other Greek historian than Herodotus—Should the question be asked, Is it at all likely that a comparatively obscure Median chief like Phraortes, if there ever really was such a personage, who had passed his life in subduing certain petty and unknown tribes by which his country was surrounded, and whose highest achievement, according to Herodotus, was the annexation to Media of the rude and barbarous nation of the Persians, should have ventured without provocation not only on marauding incursions into Assyria, but upon such an open and formal invasion of that powerful empire which not more than thirty years before had been pre-eminently supreme under the sway of Esarhaddon, as would be sure to bring down upon him the indignant sovereign of Nineveh with all the formidable military force of his dominions? we might reply—If it be probable and credible that a king of Media, named Cyaxares, thought himself strong enough to invade Assyria and encounter its king in the open field in B.C. 632–30, then may it be fairly regarded as equally probable and credible, that a Median king named Phraortes thought himself strong enough to invade Assyria only two or three years previously, viz., in 633—unless it can be shewn, which no one pretends to do, that there was something so materially different in the relative position of Assyria and Media in 633 and 630, as to render

that which was quite possible to a Median king in the latter year, an act of almost hopeless presumption and rashness in the former.

If, for the sake of the argument, we assume that Cyaxares ascended the throne cir. 638 B.C. and invaded Assyria, and triumphed so decisively over the forces of Nineveh, cir. 630, how are we to explain the fact that within thirty years from the death of Esarhaddon, the Assyrian should as it were have fallen prostrate to the earth before the Mede, and Nineveh herself have been preserved from capture and destruction only by the unexpected interposition of a warlike Scythian horde? The account which Herodotus has given of the career of Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, appears to us to be a consistent, probable, and non-mythical explanation of the apparent difficulty. Too much stress must not be laid upon the mere silence of other writers; it would have been a very different matter had they professed to have examined the subject carefully, and to have found good reason for believing that the traditions concerning Phraortes were nothing better than idle legends.

Again, the Persians we are told were annexed to the Median dominion by the victorious arms of Phraortes. This, if a fact, and there is nothing improbable in it, would be preserved in two independent historical traditions—there would be a Persian tradition and a Median tradition on this subject, which would thus be rendered doubly probable. We are inclined to think the very fact that Herodotus should have found it a standard national tradition of the Medo-Persian empire, that Persia was conquered and annexed to Media by Phraortes, no light presumptive evidence that this established tradition was in agreement with historical truth. We once more remark that the silence of other Greek historians cannot reasonably be allowed to disprove the positive testimony of Herodotus. In this writer also, as in the others, Cyaxares is the first Median king whose conquests and renown had passed to the west of the Tigris and the Euphrates. In Herodotus Phraortes is engaged in the comparatively obscure task of mastering the tribes and clans which bordered on Media, and it was not until the very close of his life that he ventured to emerge from this more humble position, and contend with the power of Nineveh. Hence, there is nothing in the account which this writer gives us of the career of Phraortes which can fairly be considered as conflicting with the statements of those Greek historians who speak of Cyaxares as the founder of Median grandeur and supremacy.

We have already alluded to the mythical character of the venerable historian's account of the steps by which Deioces attained to sovereign power, and the more attentively we read it, perhaps the more legendary will some of its details appear. There is, however, one point connected with it not wholly undeserving of attention. It seems, indeed, rather strange that so fierce and martial a people as the Medes should have constructed or accepted so thoroughly pacific and unwarlike a tradition of more than fifty years' duration, as that which Herodotus relates of the real or supposed founder of Median union and independence, unless there had been some sort of foundation for it in historical truth. Deioces is judge, legislator, magistrate, builder of cities and palaces, but not warrior. Now if such a personage really lived at the time indicated by Herodotus,

he must have been contemporary during his long career successively with Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, sovereigns much too powerful to be encountered in warfare by a Mede of the character, and under the circumstances, of Deioces. Such an individual may have begun his career of ambition in a distant part of Media, remote from Assyrian observation and interference. His influence, aided by a wary and cautious demeanour, may not improbably have gradually extended itself over the various tribes which then possessed the land, and he may have eventually become a kind of supreme judge and magistrate over them all. Still we cannot but think that he must have felt the need of habitual watchfulness and circumspection, and that craft and policy were the only weapons to which he would have recourse. Nor is it likely that he would venture to throw off even a nominal subjection to the sovereigns of Nineveh, or that Media became really independent of Assyria before the death of Esarhaddon, even if Deioces really began his official career even earlier than 708 B.C.

It may perhaps appear to be too wide a digression from the subject before us, yet we feel strongly inclined to make one or two remarks on the sudden and wholly unexpected inroad of the Scythian horde into the vicinity of Nineveh, and their defeat and humiliation of Cyaxares, when flushed with his recent victory he was intent upon the siege of that city, expecting that its successful termination would add the Assyrian metropolis and dominion to his own hereditary kingdom. At that time Babylon had not yet openly renounced the supremacy of Nineveh, and Cyaxares, in the grasping and impetuous ambition of his early career, would have felt justified, after overthrowing the Assyrian dynasty, in sternly claiming for himself the submission and fealty of those cities, rulers, and tribes, which had previously acknowledged the feudal sovereignty of that dynasty. A mighty Medo-Assyrian dominion would thus have been established; Nabopolassar, instead of being the independent king of Babylon, would have been the vassal of Cyaxares. Pharaoh Necho would have feared to advance to the banks of the Euphrates, Nebuchadnezzar would have failed to become the conqueror and scourge of the nations, and Syria, Samaria, and probably Jerusalem, would have humbly submitted to the irresistible Medo-Assyrian supremacy. Thus, too, according to human judgment, the fulfilment of those Hebrew prophecies would have been seriously imperilled, which foretold, through Isaiah, the overshadowing greatness of Babylon, her triumphs over Jerusalem and the house of David, and the subsequent humiliation of the Mistress of the Euphrates, and the delivery of captive Judah from her yoke by the instrumentality of the Medes and their confederates. But the unlooked for interposition of the barbarous Scythians, who dreamed not whose special providential instruments they were, removed the danger which seemed to threaten the name and honour of the Jewish prophet, by casting down the Mede from his high elevation, and thus unconsciously opening the way first for Chaldean independence under Nabopolassar, and then for the proud imperial supremacy of Babylon under his son Nebuchadnezzar, which was finally to be overthrown by a powerful Medo-Persian confederacy.

It is well for sincere and earnest students of the Old Testament to be aware of all such difficult questions as may arise from time to time, in

consequence of any real or apparent discrepancies between the statements of the cuneiform tablets and those of the Sacred Scriptures. One of the results of Dr. Hincks' researches is, that Sennacherib began to reign 702 B.C., and not in 713-12, as the commonly received chronology has it. Another is that Sargon, whom some had identified with Shalmaneser, followed the latter, and preceded Sennacherib on the throne of Nineveh. Dr. Hincks also shews that it was certainly Sargon who took Samaria, whereas the sacred historian seems, at first sight, to teach that this was done by his predecessor Shalmaneser. A satisfactory answer to an objector is supplied to us in the statement that, while the Hebrew writers say that Shalmaneser advanced against and attacked Samaria, they merely assert in general terms that *the Assyrians* made themselves masters of the city in the sixth of Hezekiah. It is thus not at all inconsistent with the sacred narrative to say that Sargon brought to a successful termination the siege which Shalmaneser commenced.

There is, however, another unexpected difficulty which is not quite so easily disposed of as that to which we have just alluded. After a careful examination of the subject, Dr. Hincks has felt himself compelled to come to the conclusion, that the *first* year of Sargon, as counted by that monarch in his annals, must be regarded as the *fifth* of Hezekiah. Consequently the *tenth* of Sargon (who reigned nineteen years), would nearly correspond to the fourteenth of Hezekiah. The following is the learned writer's statement and proposed solution of the difficulty which results from this discovery:—

"The text of Scripture, *as it now stands*, places Sennacherib's invasion in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, which would be, according to the system here explained, the tenth year of Sargon. Here is a manifest inconsistency; and we must suppose that the text of Scripture has undergone some change. It seems as if a displacement of a portion of the text had taken place, and as if the verses preceding and following the passage displaced had been thrown into one. The text, as it originally stood, was probably to this effect: 2 Kings xviii. 13. 'Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, the king of Assyria came up (xx. 1—19). In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death, etc. (xviii. 13). And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them (xviii. 14—19, 37).' In the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sargon actually went to Palestine, as his annals of the tenth year shew; but they mention no conquests made from Hezekiah. His only act of hostility seems to have been the capture of Asdud, and he seems to have been chiefly occupied with visiting mines, among which is specified the great copper mine of Baalzephon, probably Sarabut-el-kadim, in the Sinaitic peninsula. In the following year, Merodach Baladan was still in possession of Babylon; but being apprehensive of an attack from Sargon, he would be likely to look about for assistance. Hence his embassy to Hezekiah.

"If then, the Hebrew text originally stood as is above supposed, it would be in perfect harmony with the cotemporary records of Assyria; whereas, if the fourteenth year of Hezekiah be equalled to the third year of Sennacherib, in which that monarch places his expedition against Hezekiah, it is utterly impossible to reconcile with Scripture the capture of Samaria, which was in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and nineteen years previous to this expedition."—*J. S. L.*, October, 1858, p. 136.

On the strength of certain important discoveries of ancient Egyptian monuments, the well-known Egyptologist, Dr. Lepsius, proposes to reduce the reign of the Jewish king Manasseh by twenty years; but Dr. Hincks seems to consider this proposal as wholly unnecessary and inadmissible.

We make the following extract from the American Reviewer's paper :

"Esarhaddon built several palaces, among them the south-west palace at Nimroud, of materials taken from the palaces of former monarchs. Another at *Nebbi Yunus*, near Kouyunjik, he claims to have been 'such as the kings his fathers, who went before him, had never made.' . . . It is interesting to observe, as signs of his wide sway, such names among the artists employed in building his palaces as these,—Ægisthus of Idalium, Pythagoras of Citium, Ithodagon of Paphos, Euryalus of Soli, as well as the mention of many workmen furnished him by the princes of Syria, and Manasseh, king of Jerusalem."

The Reviewer would seem to have fallen here into a strange mistake. If we consult the *Annals of Esarhaddon*, as translated by Mr. H. F. Talbot in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for April, 1859, we find, at pp. 75, 77, that the personages here mentioned were not architects and artists, but the kings or princes of those several countries. Still it is not improbable, as Esarhaddon built a palace which far exceeded any that had been erected by his predecessors, that he may have taken advantage of the skill and taste of architects from among the insular and Asiatic Greeks; and one or two interesting inferences will follow from this supposition.

If the Greek artists introduced into permanent use among the Assyrians any curious and refined working tools, and architectural models and ornaments, these would probably retain among the Ninevites their original Greek names, slightly Assyrianized, so to speak; but still plainly distinguishable under their partial Assyrian garb. And should we happen to discover a cuneiform inscription of a date corresponding, say to 650 B.C., containing manifest Greek names of architectural tools and ornaments, ill disguised perhaps by the addition of an Assyrian termination, would it be the part of sound criticism to ignore Esarhaddon's previous importation

✓ The following is an extract from Mr. Talbot's confessedly imperfect version of the *Annals of Esarhaddon*.

"I began to build a lofty palace for my royal dwelling; it was a great building of 95 measures in length, and 31 in breadth. What none of the kings, my fathers, who went before me, ever did, that I accomplished. A lofty roof of cedar-wood I raised over it. Columns of Shurman-wood, which men *had carved* (?) excellently inlaid with silver and copper, I completed them and placed them at the gates. This palace of wrought stone and cedar-wood, with a large park around it, for my royal residence I grandly constructed.

"Ornaments of silver, ivory, and polished brass I added thereto. An *image* (?) of Ashur my lord, which in foreign countries. . . . skilful artificers. . . . I made its porticoes of Sarmaklu trees from the land of Khamana.

"This palace, from its foundation to its summit, I built, and I completed it. . . . and I called it the Palace of the pleasures of all the Year."—*J. S. L.*, April, 1859, p. 77.

Josephus tells us from the Tyrian annals, that an Assyrian king, probably Shalmaneser (or perhaps Sargon), made himself master of Sidon and all the other Phœnician towns except Tyre, which was blockaded unsuccessfully by the Assyrians for five years, the enterprise being abandoned at the death of Shalmaneser. We cannot doubt that the intercourse of Phœnician trades had become, much sooner than 700 B.C., frequent and familiar with the cities of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as with the insular and Asiatic Greeks; and that therefore, cir. 580 B.C. is rather a comparatively late, than a suspiciously early, date for the first known occurrence of Greek names of musical or other instruments in a royal proclamation at Babylon.

of western artists, and to pronounce the cuneiform tablet an undoubted forgery, on the strength of the occurrence of these Assyrianized Greek terms? Surely not; the fair and candid critic would not refuse to allow that the existence of such foreign words on the tablet could not, under all the circumstances of the case, be regarded as a valid ground for denying the monument in question to be a genuine production of Assyrian antiquity.

What should reasonably prevent us from supposing, or rather believing, that Assyrian and Babylonian luxury and refinement (for Babylon would not be unlikely to copy the example of Nineveh even in the days of Esarhaddon, who is supposed to have occasionally made the Chaldean city his royal residence), may have borrowed the assistance of the musical skill and instruments of the Asiatics and insular Greeks, before the destruction of Nineveh and the commencement of the career of Nebuchadnezzar? No one can doubt that such commercial marts as Tyre and Sidon must, as early as the time of Esarhaddon, have held constant intercourse towards the east, with Babylon and Nineveh, and towards the west, with the Greek States on the coasts of Asia Minor. Thus the Babylonians and Assyrians would hear through Phœnician merchants of the superiority of Greek architects and musicians, and, through Phœnician channels, Greek artists and artisans of high reputation could be brought to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. Thus even earlier than 600 B.C., we might expect to find in the musical bands of the sovereigns of Babylon, as well as earlier still in those of the kings of Nineveh, Greek instruments of music bearing scarcely disguised Greek names. When then, on looking into the book of Daniel, we find a Chaldee proclamation of, perhaps, the date of 580 B.C., in which such Greek names of musical instruments as *κιθάρις*, *σαμβύκη*, *ψαλτήριον*, and *συμφωνία* occur under the Chaldee forms of *ܟܝܬܐܪܝܫ*, *ܫܡܒܘܟܝܐ*, *ܦܫܠܬܝܪܝܐ*, and *ܫܡܦܘܢܝܐ*, why should we impatiently overlook the unquestionably probable arguments in favour of an opposite conclusion, and contemptuously stigmatize both the proclamation, and the book which contains it, as forgeries unworthy of our serious regard? Auberlen writes on this subject, "Among the *historical* arguments (against the book of Daniel), there is one of real historical importance, namely, the occurrence of Greek names for musical instruments (Dan. iii. 5—7). But we may look upon this very point as given up by our opponents. At least De Wette says (p. 386), 'It is possible, we must grant, that such instruments and their names were known at the time to the Babylonians,' a possibility, moreover, which Hitzig is unable to impugn." We may feel tolerably certain that nothing short of a sincere conviction would have induced De Wette to have made the concession cited above.

But it is now high time to bring this paper to a conclusion. After all that has been done by the able and indefatigable decipherers and interpreters of the arrow-headed inscriptions, not a little yet remains to be accomplished (if indeed we may expect that it will ever be satisfactorily accomplished), before we can resolve some of the difficulties which belong to the mutual relations of Assyrian, Chaldean, and Median history. Yet, setting aside the apparently mythical career of Deioces as an obscure and uncertain topic, we cannot help believing the probability to be great that

what is related of Phraortes by Herodotus is in its leading features according to historical truth, and the probability to be still greater that the truly religious and courageous king Josiah was never the vassal of Nabopolassar, and that Nineveh was not taken by Cyaxares until after his treacherous massacre of the Scythian chiefs, and the consequent expulsion of the barbarian horde from Asia.

G. B.

July 15th, 1858.

ON THE MEANING OF THE WORDS ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ
WHICH ARE PREFIXED TO THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW IN THE
CURETONIAN SYRIAC VERSION.

SIR,—Dr. Cureton's translation of the above words, and also that of Dr. Bernstein, may be found at p. vi. of Dr. C.'s preface. The former scholar states that there is a small defect in the vellum of the MS. before the word ܡܬܪܝܢ, where he imagines that the letter ܕ originally stood; and he translates the words ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ by "*the distinct Gospel of St. Matthew*," a rendering which, as has been remarked, the Syriac language does not admit. The latter savant gives the translation "*evangelium per anni circulum dispositum*," referring in justification to Assemani's *Biblioth. Orient.*, ii., p. 230. Of the admissibility of this translation there can be no doubt, for the phrase ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ is equivalent to ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ, elliptic for ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ, "*evangelium lectionum selectarum*," but unfortunately, as Dr. Cureton himself states, the MS. "is not so arranged, nor are there any indications whatever of such lections, written at the same period at which this title, with the rest of the volume, was copied."

A third explanation is that of Dr. C.'s reviewer, Dr. Land (*J. S. L.*, Oct. 1858, p. 160), who in his rather coarse style remarks: "Had Dr. C. not been blinded by his unhappy hypothesis, he would have read so much quite clearly in the inscription of the first Gospel: *Evangelion DAMPARSHO dē Mathai*, THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW EXPLAINED, or revised to render it easier, more intelligible." Here we have again the particle ܕ arbitrarily supplied, on account of the small damaged spot in the vellum.

A fourth explanation is that of Ewald in a recent number of the *Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeig.* He conceives ܡܬܪܝܢ to mean here "*die bunte oder abweichende, VARIATA*," in contradistinction to the ordinary SIMPLEX, ܡܬܪܝܢ. Whether the word ܡܬܪܝܢ can bear this meaning is extremely doubtful; and, even if it can, we should naturally expect ܡܬܪܝܢ in the feminine, agreeing, like ܡܬܪܝܢ, with the word ܡܬܪܝܢ, edition, understood.

It has been reserved for Dr. Gildemeister of Marburg to find the correct explanation of this heading, and he has inserted an article upon it

in the thirteenth volume of the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, p. 472—5. The word ܡܬܬܬܝܒ is, according to him, an honorary epithet of the apostle Matthew, *the Chosen, Selected, or Elected*, ܡܬܬܬܝܒ ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒ, ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ (Rom. i. 1). Why this epithet came to be specially applied by the early Church to the Apostle Matthew above all his fellows is not clear; but, as Gilde-meister shews, it is frequently attached to his name in Arabic and Ethiopic MSS. Such being the case, we can of course draw no conclusions from this heading as to the origin or state of the Curetonian Syriac Version of the Gospels.

I am yours, etc.,

Dublin, Aug. 1859.

W. W.

JEWISH COMMENTS ON THE GOSPELS.

To the Editor of "*The Journal of Sacred Literature.*"

SIR,—Permit me to make a few remarks on a paper from the *Jewish Chronicle*, which appeared in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* of April in the present year, extracted from a work on the doctrinal difference between Judaism and Primitive Christianity, with particular reference to the gospel of St. Matthew, by the Rev. Isidore Kalisch, Rabbi and Preacher of the Congregation, Bene Yeshuran, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

It is justly remarked in the introductory notice to this publication that, "a commentary on the gospels from a Jewish point of view was a desideratum long felt both by serious minded co-religionists anxious to see the arguments stated on which they refuse credence to Christian doctrines, and by thoughtful and conscientious Christians equally desirous of hearing the grounds on which the believers in the Hebrew object to the Greek scriptures." Such a work, if well executed, would be important on more accounts than one, especially with reference to our Lord's teaching. It is certainly both important and interesting to the Christian Biblical student, as the objections of opponents, if ably stated, frequently lead to clearer views of divine truth and a more decided confirmation of the true faith. We are so naturally and insensibly inclined to regard the Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testament as "one book," that there is almost an unconscious difficulty in realizing the fact that it contains the collected writings of the two dispensations, the validity of each of which we equally acknowledge though we esteem the one the completion of the other. The teaching of the Hebrew prophets and the teaching of our Lord speak so much the same language, and are so inseparably connected in our thoughts, that to us they form, as it were, one homogeneous whole. Nor, hitherto, has this view been disturbed by any controversial works from the adherents of the older dispensation calculated to call forth the energy of the Christian mind. It is true, as the writer in the *Jewish Chronicle* observes, "there are several works in existence the object of

which is the defence of Judaism against attacks from Christianity—but these were not exactly the productions wished for.” The work to which reference will be made in this letter, *The Jewish Commentary on the Gospel*, commencing with St. Matthew, appears to be an attempt on the part of the professors of that faith to supply such a desideratum. Judging from the extracts which he makes from the Rabbi Kalisch’s work, I should not think it to be a very successful one. There is an endeavour to shew that our Lord’s sermon on the Mount, “though it abounds with important lessons for all conditions of life, yet contains nothing more than what the prophets had, long before, many times said and taught.” Of course, in this view of the question the excellency and authority of our Lord’s teaching as a divine person is at once nullified. The extracts which the commentator gives from Isaiah and the Psalms are the sources from which the Beatitudes are supposed to derive the whole of their force and efficacy; in fact, that the former are the original of which the latter are imitations. If such be really the case, the advocate of Judaism will be somewhat perplexed to answer the question why, when our Lord had ended the Beatitudes and the Sermon on the Mount, the people, as we learn from St. Matthew, “were astonished at his doctrine,” accustomed as they must have been to hear the Psalms and the Prophets constantly read and, perhaps, expounded in the synagogue. But, supposing for the moment that Christ had not been a divine teacher, there was that in the then Jewish world which to us, at least, will prove a satisfactory answer to the question. The records of the time present to us a picture such as is only seen when a nation is hastening to its ruin. The imperious Roman looked with cold contempt and undisguised aversion on the enslaved nation of the Jews, which, on the other hand, adhered the more closely, from a spirit of opposition, to its forms and traditions. An exclusive cultivation of these to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law, judgment, justice and mercy had, as naturally might be expected, infected its teachers and expounders. No wonder, therefore, that the people were astonished at our Lord’s doctrine, because He taught them *as one having authority* and *not* as the scribes. He was *in earnest*, which their spiritual guides were not.

Again, though the predictions of the prophets and the moral precepts in various parts of the Old Testament, are couched in language of the highest sublimity, yet the mere fact itself is no bar to the supposition that these might be brought to bear *still more powerfully* on the mind and the conscience, so as to influence more thoroughly the individual man. And such in truth we find to be our Lord’s teaching in the Sermon on the Mount. In the conceptions of Judaism the several precepts may be termed “imitations,” but only imitations in such a sense as when a great writer of later date imbues his mind with the sentiments and language of an earlier, and by giving them, as it were, an increased condensation and vigour, heightens their effect, and by universal consent “makes them his own.”

Again, I think it may be safely said that the very terse and condensed language in which each of the Beatitudes is clothed, must have been calculated to produce a powerful impression on auditors who were accus-

tomed to the sophistry and perversions by which the scribes and Pharisees "travestied," as it were, the law of Moses. It was not to be wondered therefore that He who came to fulfill and perfect that law expressed such strong indignation against them.

Let us now reverse the arrangement of the Jewish commentator and place the passages from the Old Testament first in order, and then the Beatitudes, which are supposed to be merely the echo of them.

"I dwell in the high and holy place with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to quicken the spirit of the humble and to revive the heart of the contrite one" (Isaiah lvii. 15).

"The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart and saveth such as are of a contrite spirit" (Ps. xxxiv. 19).

Every Christian must feel the full force of these cheering promises, but yet there is a mightier promise contained in the first Beatitude. The Lord not only looks graciously "upon," and imparts consolation "to" the poor in spirit, but the Son of God does still more, He assures them of an *eternal reward*. "Blessed are the poor in spirit for *their's is the kingdom of heaven*."

"Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord; and who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart," etc. (Ps. xxiv. iii).

Here is a promise that the pure in heart shall serve God acceptably in His tabernacle, but there is still a greater promise under the New Dispensation, "Blessed are the pure in heart *for they shall see God*,"—be admitted not merely to worship Him in his earthly courts, but to see Him as He is in the courts of Heaven.

"As a father pitieth his children so the Lord pitieth those who fear Him" (Ps. ciii. 13). "Who, however, may render himself worthy the above name," as the commentator says, "may be seen from Zech. viii. 19, where we read: 'Love, truth and peace;' and ver, 16, 'These are the things which ye shall do; speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour, execute the judgment of truth and peace at your gates.'"

These texts teach us that if we speak love, truth and peace, with our neighbour, and fear the Lord He will pity us as a father pitieth his children. But how great is the reward of those who not only love peace, but endeavour to promote it. "Blessed are the peace-makers for *they shall be called the Children of God*."

"The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom and his tongue teacheth wisdom. The law of his God in is his heart and none of his steps shall slide. The wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him. But the Lord will not leave him in his hand" (Ps. xxxvii).

This last promise which relates to a "temporal" deliverance is by our Lord extended to an "eternal." "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for *their's is the kingdom of Heaven*."

"Hearken unto me, ye who know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law. Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings. For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them as wool; but my righteousness shall be for ever and my salvation from generation to generation (Isaiah cli. 7—9).

The language of the prophet pronounces the destruction of the wicked who oppress the righteous. Our Lord proceeding further, bids the latter rejoice on account of the happiness which awaits them in a future state. "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for *great is your reward in heaven*, for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

These more direct references to a future state, which characterize the Beatitudes, may be said to pervade equally the whole of the Sermon on the Mount, and serve to shew that it was the commencement of a more perfect dispensation. Strange, then, appears to us the observation of Rabbi Kalisch that "in reading the exhortations contained in the Sermon on the Mount, we are involuntarily reminded of the blessings pronounced upon Mount Gerizim, and the curses held forth on Ebal" (Deut. xxvii. 28). Considering that these blessings and denunciations had reference to "this life only," we may marvel how, even abnegating Christianity, he could have failed to see the marked difference.

That the Mosaic law gives no countenance to the hatred of our enemies is quite true; on the contrary, as the Rabbi truly says, doing so stands in diametrical contradiction to both its spirit and its doctrine. But he is totally mistaken when he affirms that St. Matthew v. 5, 43 was "a barefaced misrepresentation intended to cry down and disgrace Mosaism in the eyes of the Gentiles who were unacquainted with the Hebrew Bible." Our Lord makes no reference to the moral precepts of the law in this passage. He speaks of it merely as a "proverbial saying" current among the people *Ye have heard that it hath been said*, thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy." Nor are we at all warranted in rejecting the belief that a great dislike to other nations *was* to be found among the Jews at the period Christ came among them and even previously. The deadly feud which existed with the Samaritans fostered a spirit of intolerance which was not likely to be lessened or softened when it extended to foreign nations, and especially to that under whose sway they lived. A German writer, quoted in a former number of this journal, has well expressed this. "All these foreign rulers vied with one another in cold contempt and deadly hatred of the disgracefully enslaved nation; and the Jews on their part retaliated with the same contempt and the same hate known as the *odium generis humani*," stuck to their stiff exclusive forms and traditions, from which, however, the spirit and life had long departed, and planned one insurrection after another, every one only plunging them into deeper wretchedness. It well then became Him who came not merely to perfect the moral law, but to recommend that love which freely embraces even our own most deadly enemies, in opposition to the baser passions then undoubtedly prevalent in Judea.

May we not then be allowed to say in the language of Dean Alford that "our Lord pours upon the letter of the law the fuller light of the spirit of the Gospel; thus lifting and expanding (not destroying) every jot and tittle of that precursory dispensation into its full meaning in the

life and practice of the Christian who, by the indwelling of the Divine Teacher, God's Holy Spirit, is led into all truth and purity."

Lastly the Rabbi speaks (as is fitting) in glowing language of the prophet Isaiah, who with "clear perception and correct judgment develops and exhibits the means for imitating divine mercy, joy and peace, love and grace, benevolence and goodness." Yet how marvellous that He should be unacknowledged who exhibits in Himself the "faultless pattern" of Divine mercy, whom that same prophet predicts as anointed by the Spirit of the Lord "to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." But, alas! Israel knows not the voice of the prophets nor of the Redeemer proclaimed by them.

H. P.

August 27, 1859.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

‘Η ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ· κ.τ.λ. *Vetus Testamentum Græce juxta LXX. Interpretes, Recensionem Grabianam ad fidem Codicis Alexandrini aliorumque denuo recognovit, Græca secundum ordinem Textus Hebræi reformavit, libros Apocryphos a Canonicis segregavit* FRIDERICUS FIELD, A.A.M. Coll. SS. Trin. Cantab. olim Socius. Sumtibus Societatis de Promovenda Doctrina Christiana. Oxonii: Excudebat Jacobus Wright, Academiæ Typographus. 1859. 8vo, pp. 1090.

It is now somewhat about 2000 years since (to use the words of our English translators of the Bible), “it pleased the Lord to stir up the spirit of a great Prince, even Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to procure the translating of the Book of God out of Hebrew into Greek. This is the translation of the LXX. interpreters, commonly so called, which prepared the way for our Saviour among the Gentiles by written preaching, as St. John Baptist did among the Jews by vocal. For the Grecians, being desirous of learning, were not wont to suffer books of worth to lie mouldering in king’s libraries, but had many of their servants, ready scribes, to copy them out, and so they were dispersed and made common. Again, the Greek tongue was well known and made familiar to most inhabitants in Asia, by reason of the conquests that there the Grecians had made, as also by the colonies which thither they had sent. For the same causes also it was well understood in many places of Europe, yea, and of Africk too. Therefore the Word of God being set forth in Greek, becometh hereby like a candle set upon a candlestick, which giveth light to all that are in the house, or like a proclamation sounded forth in the market-place, which most men presently take knowledge of, and therefore that language was fittest to contain the Scriptures, both for the first preachers of the Gospel to appeal unto for witness, and for the learners also of those times to make search and trial by.” Such is the memorable tribute of respect paid by our Translators to this *Porta Gentilium*. Yet, however providentially ordained, or however intrinsically valuable, the Greek version of the LXX. has been allowed to remain, from its earliest dawn to the present day, in the utmost state of disorder and confusion. With numerous chapters and verses misplaced, with large chasms and gross interpolations, it has in vain invited the labours of the learned to attempt its restoration. In vain were the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge solicited to undertake its recension. It has remained for “The Christian Knowledge Society” to achieve that, which more properly belonged to these wealthy and learned Institutions. We deem it a high honour to this Society, that it has ventured, even somewhat out of its road, to confer this great benefit on the Chris-

tian Church. Whether we regard the plan or execution, this undertaking will form an epoch in the annals of Biblical literature.

The plan, as presented by "The Foreign Translation Committee" of the Society, was this: first, to follow the Alexandrian Text of Grabe, as set forth in the Authorized Moscow Edition, 1821: secondly, to separate the Canonical books from the Apocryphal: thirdly, to rectify all the mislocations of chapter and verse, by bringing them into the order of the Hebrew: and, fourthly, to fill up all the chasms or *lacunæ*, so far as they could be supplied by MSS. The execution of this arduous enterprise was committed to Mr. Field, who had already distinguished himself as an Editor of *Chrysostom's Homilies*. A more faithful and judicious Editor could not have been chosen. Not content with a servile copy of the Grabian Moscow Edition, he has revised it by an accurate collation with the MS. *facsimile* of Baber, and occasionally with the original MS., and thus he exhibits the Alexandrian Text in its utmost purity. In numberless instances he has amended the punctuation and orthography. But the chief distinction of this Edition consists in the rectification of numerous mislocations, and still more in supplying the numerous *lacunæ*. Of these there are now few remaining, and none of any signal importance.

To estimate the value and magnitude of Mr. Field's editorial labours, it is only necessary to turn to the celebrated Polyglott of Bishop Walton. There are no less than thirty or forty pages of that boast of English typography, in which the corresponding columns of the Greek and the Hebrew are left in undulating variations! The same censure will apply to the minor Polyglott of Bagster, though edited by such a profound scholar as Professor Lee. These defects are indeed the more remarkable, because they were previously remedied in the Complutensian, the Antwerp, and the Paris Polyglotts.

As to the numerous Editions of the Septuagint, from that of Aldus, 1518, to that of Tischendorf, 1850, not one of them has ever attempted to fill up these chasms, or to correct these anomalies. Nay, the very idea of bringing the version into the same order as the original, was by some first represented as impracticable, and by others derided as absurd. It has been urged that dislocations so ancient should not be rectified, and that such venerable chasms should not be obliterated! We rejoice to think that we live in an age and country where antiquity can no longer be pleaded as an apology for error.

If there be any proposition which carries its own evidence, it is this; that a Greek version of the Ancient Scriptures, made by Jews, must have originally followed the order of the Hebrew text. No subsequent difficulties respecting the date and origin of these mislocations and *lacunæ* can invalidate the force of this axiom. Nor is it less self-evident that it was the duty of the Christian Church to rectify these aberrations, and to bring back the order of the version to the Hebrew standard. Yet these plain and undeniable facts have never been successfully carried out since the days of Ximenes. It was deemed quite sufficient to print "*Juxta Exemplar Vaticanum*" on the title-page, to

justify every offence against Cocker and arithmetic. Nay, it was objected to some editions, superintended by Bishop Pearson, that they had deviated from the Roman edition, and endeavoured to conform to the Hebrew order, and had ventured to supply some defective verses from the Aldine and Complutensian!

Now we adduce these facts, not to exult over the shortcomings of our forefathers, but to shew the wretched condition in which this celebrated version has been hitherto printed, both at home and abroad. What classic author has been treated with similar neglect and ignominy? And yet this is the book which Christ and the Apostles delighted to honour. There is a mass of Septuagintal citation in the New Testament, which is equal in compass to the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel. In the speech of Stephen before the Jewish Sanhedrim, there are more than fifty minute quotations from the LXX. Nor is there a single verse in the New Testament in which some illustration of thought or language may not be taken from this sacred treasury.

We feel convinced that the time has come, however late, when justice will be done to this deuterocanonical version. Ever since the days of Luther and Calvin, there has existed a narrow-minded class of critics who have endeavoured to exalt the Hebrew, by the depreciation of the Greek text. They find, as they surmise, certain traces of the Trinity in Hebrew words and names, to which the Greek version does not respond. It might have been thought a sufficient reply to such precarious criticisms, that they derive no support from any citations in the New Testament. The doctrine of the Trinity has not been left to depend on such Hebraic derivations. There is no trace of these Hutchinsonian fantasies in the numerous quotations from Moses and the Prophets. On the contrary, they delight in giving the *ipsissima verba* of the Greek version, even occasionally when they differ from the original. And yet the prejudices of this School still embolden them to question the value of the Septuagint.

Now, though we are far from wishing to see that high exclusive reverence for the LXX. restored, which was prevalent in the early Church, we think that this ultra-Hebraic spirit is mischievous and unbecoming. It is mischievous, because it leads to the most visionary interpretations. It is unbecoming, because it seeks to undervalue the version, which was sanctioned by Christ, the Evangelists and the Apostles, and by all the primitive Fathers. It was the sole Bible of the Church during the first 400 years, and that is sufficient to entitle it to the utmost reverence and esteem.

Nor has it been treated fairly as a version by modern critics and divines. They have tested it as they would a close, literal, schoolboy translation, and they have found it frequently incorrect and defective. But it was never intended for schoolboy purposes. Its main object was to render the Jewish Scriptures, as much as possible, useful and intelligible to the Gentiles. To this end, it often deviates from the strict letter, and imparts a more general and indefinite expression. Had it been intended for Scribes and Pharisees, and Doctors of the

Law, its language would have been more academic and rabbinical; but it was primarily meant for the Hellenistic Jews, and then for the Publicans and sinners amongst the Gentiles. Hence it is adapted rather to the synagogue, than the temple worship. And thus, even in what critics esteem its faults and defects, we may discover "the power and wisdom of God." Had it not been written in this strange, amorphous, barbaric Greek, it could not have been prevalent amongst the Jewish proselytes. Nor could it have accorded with the style of the New Testament, which is written in the same Greek, somewhat modernized.

But the principal importance of the Hellenistic version consists in its vocabulary of doctrinal terms, the same as that which is adopted by the writers of the New Testament. Whoever will call to mind the peculiar meaning of *faith*, *righteousness*, *justification*, *salvation*, etc., in the Christian system, will find the very same words are previously used in the Greek version. Now, had we been left to translate these terms directly from the Hebrew, we never could have possessed any fixed doctrinal vocabulary, and consequently their meaning would have been vague and uncertain. Let those who carp at the Septuagint, as a loose translation from the Hebrew in matters of minor importance, consider how accurately and uniformly it has ratified and attested the doctrinal language of Christ and his Apostles. It is this previous attestation which gave it such a high value in their esteem. It is this concord which induced them generally to prefer the received words of the version, to any original translation of their own. It is this identity which should persuade critics, and more especially divines, to forego puny and unimportant objections, in the consideration that, apart from the Hellenistic terminology of the Old Testament, we could not have accurately investigated, or ascertained, the peculiar doctrines of the Christian Faith.

Nor is it just to undervalue the comparative importance of the Apocryphal Books, however we may approve of their separation from the Canonical. It is of the greatest moment that we should possess these historical and ethical writings in the same style and phraseology as that of the Greek version. Whoever will accurately study this Apocryphal appendix, may soon discover that its language still more resembles the style of the New Testament, than the more antique forms of the Macedonic dialect. As original composition, it is less fettered than the version, and partakes more of oral familiarity. There is very little difference between the Maccabees and the Acts in style and phraseology. Nor is it of less importance that we should possess the current morality of the Jews, as exhibited in the Books of Sirach and Wisdom, without the stereotype of Inspiration. It can demand no great expansion of thought to perceive how much influence such quasi-canonical writings confer on the general credibility and authenticity of the sacred Scriptures.

We think it deserves the consideration of the directors of our Public Schools, whether it would not be proper to introduce the occa-

sional reading of the Greek Version, as introductory to the Greek Testament. We believe that Dr. Arnold at Rugby heretofore sanctioned this suggestion, and certain it is that Dr. Blair's *Dissertation on the Septuagint Version* (London, 1785), was delivered before the Westminster scholars in compliance with a statute of the Foundress, which is still in force. It is far better that the boys should become acquainted with the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek, by some practical acquaintance with the LXX., than that they should distinguish them as *barbarisms* by the aid of grammars. Indeed, the gentlemen who write such Hellenistic grammars, seem quite ashamed of their vocation, for they are always endeavouring to wipe off the reproach of such "unlicensed Greek," by hunting out some classic writer who has used a similar expression. They little reflect, that if they could classify all these anomalies, and bring Evangelists and Apostles to write in the style of Xenophon or Plato, they would abolish the characteristics of verbal inspiration, and well-nigh demonstrate the New Testament an imposture. *Hoc Ithacus velit.*

We must once more revert to the high obligation which we owe to "The Christian Knowledge Society," as the promoter, and to Mr. Field as the editor, of this incomparable edition of the Septuagint. It has appeared at the period it was exactly wanted. It is much to the credit of the University of Oxford, that it has recently established a Public Terminal Lecture on this Greek version. As it had previously required some knowledge of the LXX. from those who aspire to the highest honours, it was only consonant that a public Chair should be dedicated expressly to its study. We augur much good from this addition to our theological *curriculum*. It will chastise an exclusive attachment to Attic Greek. It will shew the candidate for holy orders, that the Hellenistics of the New Testament are not beneath his attention as a scholar, whilst they are indispensable to him as an incipient cleric. Let him read and study the *Præfatio Parænetica* of Bishop Pearson,* *In nuce Ilias*. He will need no more to convince him of the value of the Septuagint.

We add the Society's own account of this work, as given in their Report:—

"The labours of the Foreign Translation Committee have now extended over a quarter of a century; and in presenting this, their Twenty-fifth Annual Report, the Committee have the satisfaction of being able to mark such an epoch in the history of their proceedings, by laying before the Board a work of so important a character as their new edition of the *Greek Septuagint*, just published. When they presented their Report this time last year to the Board, the Committee expressed a hope that this work might have appeared before Christmas. And that object might, indeed, have been effected if they had been able to satisfy themselves with publishing merely the Greek text alone. But considering that this edition of the Septuagint differs, in some respects very materially, from all that have preceded it, while it had required no ordinary amount of learning and of critical skill and care, to revise and arrange and carry through the press such a text as was contemplated by the Committee, it was thought that it would be neither satisfactory to the public, nor fair to the learned and

* Lately republished by Professor Selwyn, with notes of Archdeacon Churton.

conscientious editor, Mr. Field, to put forth a work of such importance without some explanation of the objects for which it was undertaken, and of the principle and plan on which it has been conducted and accomplished, together with some sufficient indication of the careful and judicious criticism which had been brought to bear upon it. And the Committee feel confident that when the 'Prolegomena' prefixed to the text, and the 'Collatio' which forms an appendix to the volume, come to be examined, it will be allowed that it was well worth while to have delayed the publication, for the sake of inserting such valuable and satisfactory documents.

"This edition of the Septuagint, it will be remembered, was undertaken with the sanction of the Board, five years ago, when the Foreign Translation Committee stated that their object should be to produce such a text, as might be both serviceable to Biblical students at home, and also acceptable, at the same time, to the Greek Church, for whose benefit they had already printed one edition of the Septuagint at Athens. The Athens edition, in four volumes, was printed from the Moscow edition of the Bible, which was the one in common use in the East, and might consequently be considered as exhibiting the authorized text of the Greek Church; and with the ready and entire approval of the Synod of Attica, in this reprint of the text under their own superintendence, the apocryphal were separated from the canonical books, and formed the fourth volume of the work. The apocryphal parts of the books of Esther and Daniel were, however, inadvertently left where they were found in the Moscow edition, and although these portions were, in some instances, easily detected by not being divided into verses at all, and in other cases were marked by a separate numbering of verses of their own, which distinguished them from the canonical portions of the chapters to which they were attached, yet those interpolations were considered sufficient cause for not placing that edition on the Society's Catalogue for sale in this country.

"The Codex Alexandrinus is the basis of the Moscow text, which is, in fact, nothing else than a creditably accurate reprint of Grabe's, or rather of Breitinger's revision of Grabe's edition of the Septuagint. To accomplish the double object, therefore, proposed by the Committee, it was necessary to adopt this text; and it was determined, in this newly-revised edition, not only to separate all the apocryphal matter from the canonical books, but also to remove the inconveniences arising from the unaccountable dislocations of chapters and verses which occur in certain books of the Septuagint, by re-arranging them according to the order of the Hebrew text. This desideratum the Committee trust it will be found that Mr. Field has skilfully and successfully accomplished. And he has so accomplished it as still to shew what the previous arrangement of the Greek text was. For while, for the manifest convenience of Biblical students, the text of this edition reads, chapter and verse, side by side with the Hebrew, and with all translations from it, an additional and collateral numbering of chapters and verses, where necessary, in brackets, shews what was before the order of the Greek. In one case, that of the thirty-sixth and following three chapters of Exodus, where the confusion of the Greek text is so great that the two separate arrangements could not be distinctly marked in that manner, the text *in extenso*, just as it stands in the Septuagints hitherto in use, is printed in a smaller type, below the arranged text of this edition. The additions to the books of Esther and Daniel are removed, and placed with the apocryphal books, as in our English Bibles: and all those shorter apocryphal interpolations in other books which could not be conveniently removed and printed by themselves, such, for instance, as the allusion to the bee in the sixth chapter of Proverbs, are in this edition marked with inverted commas.

"With regard to the text itself, no pains have been spared to render it as satisfactory as possible. Mr. Field's character, as a learned, judicious, and accurate editor, was already established by his valuable labours upon the Homilies of St. Chrysostom; and in his late editorial labours in the service of this Society he was well supplied with all needful means and appliances for the satisfactory accomplishment of the task imposed upon him. Besides his own resources, the University library and the library of Trinity College, Cambridge,

afforded him important helps. Through the very liberal kindness of the Trustees of the British Museum, the Committee were enabled, without cost, to provide him with a copy of Mr. Baber's facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus; and wherever, in the course of his labours, there appeared to be any reason to question the accuracy of Mr. Baber's work, the original Codex was carefully examined. And the Foreign Translation Committee feel themselves bound to take this opportunity of acknowledging, with gratitude, the ready courtesy with which every facility of reference to that precious manuscript was at all times afforded them. It is only just also to add, at the same time, that, as the use which has been made of Mr. Baber's fac-simile, in preparing this edition of the Septuagint, has tested, so also has it confirmed the claim of his work to the character of remarkable accuracy.

"An early copy of Cardinal Mai's Transcript of the Codex Vaticanus was also procured for the use of this edition, and is now first applied to the improvement of the text of Ezekiel and following Canonical books, as well as of nearly the whole of the Apocrypha. In the earlier books, which had been previously printed off, constant reference has been made to the same authority in constructing the Appendix."

The Revised Edition of the Vatican New Testament. (Novum Testamentum ex vetustissimo codice Vaticano, secundis curis editum studio Angeli Maii, S.R.E. Card. Romæ; anno MDCCCLIX, 8vo.)

CARDINAL MAI was born in 1782, and died in 1854. In the course of his life he was engaged in many learned works, and won for himself great and deserved reputation. Several years before his decease he was commissioned by the Pope to edit the celebrated manuscript known as the Codex Vaticanus; the New Testament portion of which had never been published, nor even satisfactorily collated. He entered upon this great undertaking more than thirty years ago, and the text of his edition was printed long before he died. Owing, however, to the numerous errors discovered, the volumes were not published until 1858, and after correction; and, it may be observed, without the expected prolegomena. This work was welcomed by Biblical scholars everywhere, but it was soon discovered to abound in mistakes which detracted very much from its value. In the meantime a new and revised edition of the New Testament alone was promised; the promise has been fulfilled, and the result is now in our hands. Respecting it the editor (or publisher) makes the following statement: "When the first edition was finished, and collated afresh with the Vatican Codex, Mai detected some things, which seemed to require either complete alteration or a more accurate representation, and when he had resolved, for the reason given (tom. i., p. 11), to make it literally conformed to the Codex, he began to think of preparing a new edition, but being overtaken by death he only left the New Testament printed after revision. Therefore, this second edition of the New Testament, excels on more accounts than one, as we think it may be well to prove by a few examples."

It is clear from this statement, that the Cardinal intended to republish the whole of the Old and New Testaments, but actually lived to execute only the latter portion, which was printed before he died. It is his revision, therefore, which we now have, and we may infer from it what we have lost by his non-completion of the work,

what we should have gained by his execution of it. To shew the superiority of this edition over the former, the editor in his preface goes on to say: "When the Codex has in *secunda manu* a reading different from that which the original scribe had given, Mai often neglected to make a note of it in the first edition, of which Tischendorf has not unjustly complained." "But in this new edition you will find it noted in the margin in innumerable places. Compare Matt. i. 8, 10; v. 16; vi. 32; vii. 9; viii. 3, and elsewhere often." In Acts vii. 47, therefore, we are now informed that the original reading was *οικοδόμησεν*, for which the corrector substituted *ὑποδόμησεν*; in 1 Cor. xi. 3; also, we learn that *ὁ* before *Χριστός* has been supplied by a later hand. In this respect, then, the new edition is much to be preferred, since without the indication of the changes alluded to, we could never certainly know the real value and character of the readings given. The neglect of this precaution to such an extent in the first edition is not only inexcusable, but inexplicable. We should have supposed that among the first rules laid down by an editor for his guidance in the execution of such a work, would have been this, to distinguish between the readings by the first and subsequent hands, and wherever practicable, to state what was originally written.

A second class of errors which existed in the original edition, consisted of cases in which the printed text differed altogether from the manuscript. Many of these, but not all, were pointed out in a list of errata. The following cases are pointed out by the actual editor Vercellone: in Acts vii. 51, *τῆς* was given before *καρδίας*, although absent from the manuscript; in Jude verse 4, for *παρεισέδυσαν* we must read *παρεισεδήσαν*; in Rom. xi. 21, we should read *φείσεται* and not *φείσεται*; in 1 Cor. vii. 22, *καὶ* must be erased after *ομοίως* since the Codex does not contain it; in verse 37 of the same chapter for *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ* we are to read *ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ*; in 1 Cor. xiii. 3, *ψαύω* must be corrected into *ψαύωμαι*, and in the margin for *κavχῆσθαι* we are to read *κavχῆσθαι*. To the specimens thus given others might be added, but these are sufficient to shew the character and extent of the errors in question.

There is another respect in which alterations have been introduced into this edition. The sections of the original are indicated by Greek numerals, but in his first edition Mai gave some of these incorrectly, and where there was a double series the second was omitted altogether, as in the Acts of the Apostles. Although this does not affect the integrity of the text, it prevents us from having a correct appreciation of an important literary feature of the manuscript, and we are glad to have the mistake rectified in the new edition.

One of the noticeable features of the Codex Vaticanus is the very frequent omission of words, phrases, and entire verses which occur in the received text. By a singular error of judgment as we think, the Cardinal supplied many of these in his first edition either in the text or in the margin. In the new edition he has gone yet

further, and generally introduced the supposed omissions into his text where they occur. True he has placed a note before and after what he has added, but we must regard the whole as superfluous, and we wish none of them had been inserted. As far as we can judge, the exceptions to this rule are as inexplicable as the compliances with it; but it will probably be found to have originated in a desire to reduce the Vatican text to a certain conformity with the Latin Vulgate. We are quite disposed to repeat a recommendation already given elsewhere, that the possessor of this volume should draw his pen through every one of these interpolations, to prevent the possibility of mistake or confusion.

Further, it is admitted that this edition is not immaculate, and some examples of erroneous readings are pointed out by the editor who gives the required corrections. Thus in Matt. vii. 22, the first edition had in the margin "2 M. προφητεύσαμεν," and the second has "1 M. ἐπροφητεύσαμεν," but neither is accurate, the true reading is "2 M. προφητεύσαμεν." So also in 1 Peter i. 7, the first has in the text *τειμώτερον*, and the second the same, whereas we should read *τειμότερον*. In chap. iii. 6, of the same epistle, the correct reading is *ὑπήκουεν*. In Jude, verse 12, *εἰσιν οἱ ἐν* is the reading of the Codex. In 1 Cor. xiv. 16, for *τῷ πνεύματι*, we must read *ἐν πνεύματι* since *τῷ* is not in the manuscript. In 2 Cor. v. 13, *εἰ* is to be expunged; and in chapter vii. verse 4, *ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ* is the reading of the manuscript. Nor must it be forgotten that the errata pointed out in the former edition, have not in every case been corrected. These confessions are calculated to leave a measure of doubt still in our minds as to the thoroughness of the revision which has been undertaken, not to say that they engender the suspicion that more remains to be done before we can be certain that we have an accurate transcript of the original manuscript.

There are two places in reference to which a remark is made on the readings given by Mai, and it may be useful to note them. The first, is the reading *ἐν ἀκύνδων* in Acts xxvii. 14, which Vercellone says is really to be found in the manuscript, contrary to the suspicion of Tischendorf. The second is 1 Cor. vii. 17, where Bentley says the words *οὕτως περιπατεῖτω καὶ* are omitted, which is not the case, as they form part of the text.

The preceding observations upon the preface to this edition will, we hope, be acceptable to the possessors of the first. It is apparent that Vercellone deserves a measure of commendation for the honesty of his statements, although we wish he had presented us with a complete list of passages in which this reprint deviates from the original. This is what was required, and a new and thorough collation of the present revision with the Codex Vaticanus, would have been gratefully accepted. As it is, we have the unsatisfactory satisfaction of knowing that after all the manuscript in question is not perfectly represented by either of the editions which have issued from the press.

To return to the peculiarities of the revised edition of the Vatican

New Testament. The alterations pointed out in the preface, are not the only ones which have been made. Readings which were at first placed in the margin are now frequently restored to the text, and *vice versa*. But here again the editor has failed to carry out one uniform rule. Nothing would have been easier for him to determine than a principle upon which to proceed. Two courses were open to him. He might have always preserved in the text the readings which the Codex now exhibits, and have inserted in the margin the readings of the original penman as far as they could be ascertained. Wherever an alteration had been made he should on all accounts have made a note of it. This would have been a comparatively simple and easy course to pursue, but it was not the only one possible. The editor could have endeavoured to restore the original readings in the text, and placed the corrections in the margin. At the same time this would have been more difficult, and in its results probably more unsatisfactory than the other method, as will be perceived in a moment by those who have any experience in reading ancient manuscripts. As it is Mai seems to have had no rule at all, he went on with his work and finished it after a fashion, but so as not to merit the laurels which would otherwise have been awarded him.

We shall not stop to dwell on some other points, although we feel strongly tempted to say what is in our heart. Yet we cannot altogether overlook the fact that the revised edition very often presents us with readings of which no account is given, although they deviate considerably from those before published. In some cases we really fear the alterations are not improvements, and this remark applies both to the text and to the margin. It is admitted there are errors, and if it had not been admitted, they would have been discovered by those who took the trouble to compare the two books. As if to make matters worse, the new edition is printed in separate verses like the common English Bibles, and in double columns in a very small type on third rate paper. It should not be forgotten, however, that the editor has throughout supplied the pagination of the manuscript, so that if ever an opportunity for collation presents itself, the task will be facilitated.

Scholars will be satisfied with nothing short of a verbal and literal transcript of this famous Codex. They have a right to expect it, if not to demand it, and we hope they will knock at the doors of the Vatican till the ancient gentlemen who have taken three centuries to deliberate about this matter, wake up in real earnest to give them what they want. The readings of the Codex may be often false, its spelling may be erroneous, but an editor is required who shall give the world a fair copy of the book, and leave it to the critics to pronounce their opinion upon it. Perhaps we shall be reminded that the theological principles which now prevail in the Eternal City have something to do with it, but we do not see why, be they what they may, they should prevent the publication *as it is*, of the text of the Codex B. For ourselves, our present object is not to criticise the text in question, but to describe this new edition of it, to make

an observation or two upon its editorship, and to express our deep conviction that valuable as it is when compared with, or when added to the other, it cannot and it ought not to satisfy the just expectation of the learned world. The Pope himself promised them an accurate copy, and they must not be put off with any thing less, whether it cost two *scudi* like this, or twenty.

A Grammar of the New Testament Diction, intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament. By Dr. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Translated from the sixth enlarged and improved edition of the original by EDWARD MASSON, M.A., formerly Professor in the University of Athens. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1859. 8vo, pp. 730.

WE noticed the First Part of this very valuable contribution to the English apparatus for the study of the Greek Testament, and are happy to inform our readers that the work is now complete. It forms a bulky volume for the low charge of ten shillings, about one-third of the price at which such a work is generally issued from the press. The printing and paper are excellent, and the translation, as far as we have been able to examine it, is correct and perspicuous. The value of the original work of Winer is too well known, and has been too long conceded, to need any eulogy from us. We can only express a hope that the book may now be more generally used, and that its introduction to the English reader may conduce to a more close and discriminating use of the New Testament.

Prefixed to the volume are what are called the "Translator's Prolegomena." These are somewhat novel, for "their main object is to shew that, in connexion with a critical study of the Scriptures, a knowledge of the living language and literature of the Greeks is of far greater importance than Biblical philologists are, as yet, generally aware." We cannot say that we think much of these remarks. They treat of accentuation, and the pronunciation of letters, and what is called "dialectology," and are good as far as they go; but they do not seem to extend so far as to throw much light on the Greek New Testament. There are some interesting facts brought before us on the Hellenic dialect. We will quote one passage:—

"The diction of the New Testament is the plain and unaffected Hellenic of the apostolic age, as employed by Greek-speaking Christians when discoursing on religious subjects.

"It cannot be shewn that New Testament writers introduced any word or expression peculiar to themselves. The Septuagint furnished them with most of the religious terms they required; and, as the history and doctrines of Christianity had been for some years discussed in Greek before any part of the New Testament was written, the oral or written phraseology of the Greek-speaking Christian community supplied the rest.

"The style of the New Testament writers is, even in a *linguistic* point of view, peculiarly interesting. Perfectly natural and unaffected, it is free from all tinge of vulgarity, on the one hand, and from every trace of studied finery on the other. Apart from the Hebraisms—the number of which have, for the most part, been

grossly exaggerated—the New Testament may be considered as exhibiting the only *genuine fac-simile* of the colloquial diction employed by *unsophisticated* Grecian gentlemen of the first century, who spoke without pedantry, as *ἰδιῶται*, and not as *σοφιστᾶι*.

“Neither the translators of the Old Testament, nor the writers of the New, affected to reach the *artistic* diction of Plato or Demosthenes; but they all unquestionably have a full command of the current Hellenic of their times.

“The idiom of the Greek fathers is a literary and *composite* diction. Having for its basis the select Hellenic of the time, it contains a more or less copious infusion of *standard Attic* of the best age, according to the taste, attainments, and character of the writer, with a certain admixture of Biblical Greek, and of phraseology originating in Christian modes of thought and ecclesiastical institutions.”

There are some observations at the close of the Prolegomena which we think would have been better away. Their tendency is to make the mind of the student the arbiter of what the Bible teaches, to the neglect of *testimony*. There is a method of talking of depending on the Holy Ghost which *sounds* pious, but is really calculated to lead to fanaticism. If there were no aids to the interpretation of Holy Scripture, then it would be quite legitimate to expect God to throw direct light upon it; but if His Providence has given us numerous external aids, *then* we should pray for grace to use them properly. To reject the testimonies of the Church in its whole extent, and with the proper safeguards is presumption. We will give the passage to which we refer:—

“While urging the duty of free enquiry, we beg, in conclusion, to recommend to the solemn attention of young persons engaged in the study of the Holy Scripture, the following striking words of one of the most acute divines and eloquent orators of the present day (Dr. Candlish):—

“What is your religion? The Bible. But is it the Bible interpreted by the Church, or the Bible interpreted by your own reason? The *Rationalist* will answer, I am competent to judge of the meaning of Scripture for myself; not so the spiritual man. He knows he must have the Bible interpreted to him by the Holy Spirit. Jesus, he knows, has not merely left His Word. The Spirit who inspired the Word is ever at hand to interpret it. This is not pretending to inspiration, or infallibility, or a right to dictate to other men’s consciences. It is not the guidance of the Spirit, apart from the Word, or over and above the Word, that such a one claims, which would really be fanaticism; but the guidance of the Spirit *in, through, and by* the Word, which is sober sense, and a security of freedom.”

“God is alone Lord of the conscience. The will of Christ is the only rule his people are to follow. His will is revealed exclusively in his Word. The Spirit is the sole interpreter of the Word. This is the glorious principle of the right of private judgment. This is the only true Protestantism.”

The Translator here pronounces a dictum which seems to us, to say the least, out of place. We are also sorry to find he has introduced his own subjective views into the work. He says that he has “felt compelled to record his dissent, and utter a caution to junior readers, where Dr. Winer’s doctrinal views appeared to have unduly influenced his grammatical conclusions.” But who is to decide whether Mr. Masson or Dr. Winer is most worthy of credit? We thank the publishers for this welcome volume.

Hefele's History of Councils. (Conciliengeschichte. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Dr. CARL JOSEPH HEFELE. Vol. iii., 8vo. 1858.)

WE are unwilling to allow this volume to pass without some notice, interesting as it does so deeply every student of Church history. The name of the editor has been long known in connexion with the early literature of the Church, but in our judgment his past services have been far inferior to that which he is now rendering. Works on the councils are numerous enough, and some of them very large and costly: but there was a manifest want of one which should give a fair outline of their history, and which should contain a summary of their more important decisions. This is what Dr. Hefele has undertaken; and before us is the third of the volumes which he has published. As a member of the Romish communion, he is in many respects, as we think, partial and undecided; but he is free from the ignorant and Pharisaical Ultramontaniam which outrages at once historic truth and common sense. A Romish writer on the history of councils or of the Church, must be an apologist and the defender of his system, but it is not requisite that he should set at defiance all the laws of evidence, and heap up and send forth as genuine all the apocryphal rubbish he can have access to. Hence there are some Romish writers of history who deservedly rank very high for their veracity and critical acumen, as well as for learning and industry. Every reader is aware to what an extent, formerly much more than at present, authors of no mean pretensions published as genuine whatever subserved the interests of their party, and suppressed what went against them, and both without regard to questions of spuriousness and genuineness. A large work on councils now before us, under the head of *Synods of the Old Testament*, commences with the "Synod of the Most Holy Trinity on the Salvation of Man by Christ the Redeemer, from eternity in the mind of God." This is followed by the "Council of Angels, celebrated in the year of the World, 2399, in Ausitis, a region of Asia, on the affairs of Holy Job, under the presidency of a Hierarch of the superior Angels." These are followed by an account of eleven other Old Testament Synods, one of which is, "The Synod of Jesus Christ in Casarea Philippi, to designate St. Peter as his Vicar, and Pontifex of the whole Church, in A.D. 33." All such puerile attempts to magnify the number and importance of councils have been prudently avoided by Dr. Hefele, and he has chiefly confined himself to the genuine councils of the Church.

The first volume brings us down to about the year 380 of the Christian era, and the second to the middle of the sixth century. The third volume continues the record to the death of Charlemagne, in A.D. 814, and is not inferior in interest and execution to its predecessors. It contains valuable information as to the synodical action of the Church on the subjects of monothelitism, image-worship, adoptionism, and other questions more or less debated during the

period over which it extends. Nor is it merely the general and other well-known councils alone which are enumerated; accounts more or less detailed are given of all the synodal assemblies of which traces have been found. Some of these councils relate to questions of present interest. Many may be all but ignorant of the merits of the discussions which waxed so violent on such abstruse questions as monothelitism and adoptionism: the monophysites and many other heterodox disputants trouble us little now-a-days; but it is some concern of ours whether the worship of images forms an integral part of the Christian religion, since the largest section of Christ's professed followers upholds the doctrine, and maintains the practice. Resting upon the Bible, and upon the genuine records of the Church, we repudiate image-worship, as a vestige of idolatry; but it will not be in vain for us to read and ponder the narrative of the fierce conflicts which were carried on for many years in the eighth century on this very question. There is, therefore, a present and a practical value in such works as that before us, and this alone is sufficient to recommend them.

We can attempt no analysis of Dr. Hefele's book. It abounds in details which are derived from all available sources, and the author reasons upon the evidence which he adduces. It is needless for us to disclaim all sympathy with his Romish prejudices, but the fact that he is not without them is one reason why we recommend his book. There can be no doubt that he says all he honestly can in favour of his own system, but we have felt that neither he, nor any one else can discover a good foundation for doctrines and practices, of which not a vestige can be found in the New Testament, nor in the Church of the first three centuries.

Brotherly Counsels to Students. Four Sermons preached in the Chapel of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. By the Rev. FRANCIS J. JAMESON, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of St. Catharine's College, late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Cambridge and London: Macmillan. 1859.

These discourses have an interest beyond their intrinsic excellence in the fact that they are the first products of a movement in the University of Cambridge, by which her efforts to promote the highest interests of her *alumni* are extended. Whatever advantages of another kind may be supposed to belong to other universities, whether at home or abroad, our two English Universities are the only institutions of the kind among Protestants whose system is mainly directed to the mental and moral training of young men just entering upon the battle of life. During the three, or at most four, *short* years which are spent at any university by the majority of students, it is absurd to suppose that they can be *furnished* with knowledge even in a selected group of studies. Either they have come up with minds already prepared with the elements of such knowledge as has

been deemed most important in the seminaries through which they have passed, or it must be in after life, when special tastes or interests have given a special direction to their pursuits, that their intellect can be stored with ripe attainments. We believe it would be found by those who have the means of making a fair comparison that the system of our two English universities, where the studies of the men are under the direction of a united body, working harmoniously, is more favourable to *intellectual* results than in other institutions of the kind, where a more imposing array of professors are each offering and recommending his intellectual wares to the taste of purchasers.

It is, however, in the *training* of the youth committed to their care that our universities are quite unrivalled. It is this which enables them to point with thankfulness—not to individuals who were specially endowed, and whose eminence has been self-created—but to a mass of men who have been the ornaments and the stay of the community—among the gentry, the magistrates, and the various professions—whose united influence has given its acknowledged character of eminence to the upper portion of British society.

It is the tutorial element of our universities which has secured to them these advantages. Each particular college is a *family* of which the Tutor is *in loco parentis*, and in which those of his brother Fellows who are best qualified aid in carrying out his plans. But it is a parish of which he or they are the ministers. The college chapel is the place of meeting for family prayer, and it is the parish church of the college as a congregation. It is therefore quite in the spirit of these arrangements and of the entire system that all the means of grace should be there dispensed. The sermons preached at the University Church have, at least of late years, been excellent in their way; but they can be no adequate substitute for those *pastoral* ministrations which are specially required by undergraduates, and which none are so qualified to afford as those who are in daily intercourse with their hearers, and have a paternal interest in their welfare. These college sermons, however, will probably be so arranged as not to interfere with the university exercises, and if they are judiciously adapted to the audience may be attended with blessed results. Mr. Jameson says:—

“There is a large number of young men who come up to the university from our public schools and from many a religiously conducted home; and among these, I believe, that there are many who desire and value some such spiritual guidance amidst the peculiar difficulties and temptations which they have to encounter when they commence their academic course, as they have been accustomed to receive in previous stages of their life. I know of no persons to whom they may more naturally look for such guidance than the Master and Fellows of their college, and of no opportunity more suitable for offering the counsel needed than when all the members of the society assemble (and may the day be far distant when they shall cease to do so!) as one Christian brotherhood in the chapel, which, attached to each college, is a witness of its holy character and purpose.”

Such ministrations we may remark are even more important for

those who have not been religiously reared, and by God's blessing the college chapel may to such become the birth-place of a religious life. We can open this volume nowhere without finding matter which shews the kindly earnestness of the preacher's heart. Without selection we give the following:—

"Let one take the subject of Advent Sunday, the future appearance of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, as the ground of exhortation to greater vigour and earnestness in present and future duty. Is there not room for an increase of vigour and earnestness as regards the present? Oh, my brothers, that I could persuade you all to look upon the stage of life through which you are now passing in the light of your Lord's coming. When He shall come, it may be that He will institute a stricter search into this period of your existence than into any other, that He will deal with it as the time of greatest privileges, the time of most special probation. Then deem it so now yourselves. When term after term has slipped past, and the final intellectual trial has come, let not that trial merely waken useless regrets that you had not made better preparation for it, and cause you to look back upon years of opportunity never to be recalled, and as you feel that in them you have made no intellectual or moral improvement, to sigh over them as "the confusions of a wasted youth." And when these few years of college life are over, supposing them to have been spent conscientiously and profitably, and you have to enter on other and more practical spheres, still let the thought of your Maker's coming be a motive to activity; let it make you gird up your loins for any task that may be before you, and keep ever burning those lamps, whether of mental culture or of spiritual knowledge, which you lighted here. As you say farewell to this your temporary home, ere you leave the quiet walls within which you and the friends of perhaps all your future life have studied together, where you have watched the characters of others and formed your own, oh, make a vow before God whose servant you are, and whose eye of scrutiny you will have to meet, that the life on which you are entering shall not be a useless idle life, that you will not pass off from the world and the world be no better for your presence on it, that you will not live for self merely, but for God and your fellow man, that you will not bear the name of Christ, and yet do nothing to adorn his truth, to maintain his honour, to exalt his kingdom; that you will labour diligently in the duties of your post, nor weary of your task, whatever it be, till he shall bid you cease who appoints your work, and who holds in his right hand the crown of faithful service."

What is Revelation? A series of Sermons on the Epiphany; to which are added Letters to a Student of Theology on the Bampton Lectures of Mr. Mansell. By the Rev. FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Cambridge and London: Macmillan. 1859.

WE have endeavoured to gather from the sermons which form the first part of this volume what Mr. Maurice's answer positively is to the question, "What is Revelation?" But on this as on most subjects about which Mr. Maurice's eloquence ranges, he avoids everything like definition so as to make it extremely difficult to put his theory into any form of words. The most which can be clearly made out is, that what the theological world has ever meant by Revelation is not the revelation of Mr. Maurice. At least from the time when the Canon of Scripture was determined, which the church has regarded as a depository of truths which eye had not seen, nor ear heard, nor man's heart

devised, but which God had revealed to His apostles and prophets; the church and all who have followed her teaching have been in error on this subject. And now, in this matter and all others which depend upon it, the old foundations are giving way, to vanish soon like the "baseless fabric of a vision," while Mr. Maurice declares the existence of something which has not been and cannot be communicated to ears of flesh and blood,—of ἀρρήτα ῥήματα,—to be the only true revelation, and which is more copious in its communications and more certain in its truths than all the πεπληροφορημένα of former times. Until, however, it can be shewn that this professed revelation is capable of being revealed—until it "can be distinctly apprehended as existing in any man's own consciousness, or can be communicated to others by means of language," it is beyond the reach of direct criticism, and cannot "be available for the purposes of religious criticism."

Indeed the question "What is Revelation," ceases to be Mr. Maurice's real subject after the first of these sermons. Mr. Mansel's Bampton Lectures had been preached in the mean time, and the remaining sermons are chiefly directed against what *Mr. Maurice has represented* as Mr. Mansel's teaching. And as this is the professed subject of the "Letters to a Student of Theology," we shall dismiss the sermons and attend Mr. Maurice through a portion of his strictures on the Bampton Lectures.

We remind those of our readers who may not have examined these Lectures that the declared object of inquiry is, "Does there exist in the human mind any direct faculty of religious knowledge by which in *its speculative exercise* (the italics are ours) we are enabled to decide *independently of all external Revelation*, what is the true nature of God, and the manner in which *He must manifest Himself* to the world, and by which in its critical exercise we are entitled authoritatively to decide for or against the claims of any professed revelation, as containing a true or a false representation of the Divine nature and attributes?" Now it is obvious that Mr. Mansel means by revelation what is commonly understood by that term, viz., a knowledge of Divine things which has been imparted to men otherwise than by the deductions of human reason,—which may affirm authoritatively some of those deductions and correct others, more or less diverging from the truth, but which contains at least some things which had not entered into the heart of man.

The Grecian philosophy with all its claims⁷ to be called 'Divine,' did not profess to be a revelation; it desiderated just that which Mr. Mansel here speaks of under that term. The German philosophy, with still greater pretensions, distinguishes itself from all such revelation, and sometimes denies the possibility of it.

Now the question which Mr. Mansel proposes as the subject of his inquiry has been confidently answered so as to *affirm* the power of the human mind to solve all problems relating to the Deity, His attributes and His relations to the human nature; and since the time of

Kant a whole literature has arisen founded on this assumption. A degree of reaction indeed has, it appears, taken place in Germany, and rationalism—to use that word in its widest sense—“is not the predominant phase of theological speculation;” but it still underlies the speculations of many writers who do not formally assume it as a principle, and in our own country the effect of it has lately become increasingly apparent.

To those who are at all acquainted with the history of such speculations it is obvious that, whatever philosophy may ultimately achieve, the powers of the human mind have in fact never yet succeeded, by their speculative exercise, in solving the great problems relating to the Divine Nature, or in reducing the difficulties which have always belonged to that subject. The history of this philosophy exhibits “a vast variety of contradictory attempts destructive of each other, and this *does* most naturally discourage the very idea of the possibility of a satisfactory solution of the problems proposed” by the methods which have been thus pursued. What then would be more natural than to criticise these methods themselves, and to consider on what account it is that they have failed? To ordinary minds it might seem a matter of wonder that any man should ever have supposed that the finite could comprehend the Infinite. “Who by searching can find out God—to perfection,” implies, if not a Divine caution, at least the common conviction of ordinary men. But among ourselves at least those who have most considered the powers of the human mind and have been foremost in the exercise of them, are those who have most earnestly insisted on the necessity of recognizing the limitation of them, and some, like Bishop Butler, have regarded it as one of the most important objects of true philosophy to demonstrate those limits. We believe that most people who have examined Mr. Mansel’s *Bampton Lectures* have recognized the identity of his object with that of Bishop Butler, while many have rejoiced to have the subject so ably revived and discussed by methods more adapted to the wants of the age.

Now, Mr. Maurice declares that what Mr. Mansel means by Revelation is in accordance with him; he professes to be in harmony with the church of which he is a minister; he professes to be a disciple of Butler, and yet he has felt himself called upon to denounce these lectures with a vehemence for which no rational account can be given.

His criticisms, such as they are, are contained in *Letters to a Student on Theology*, and he very naturally says, “I could not hope that learned doctors would listen if these questions were proposed to them. I have some confidence in proposing them to young men who are entering upon the battle of life.” But we think the most inexperienced of his pupils must be led to suspect from these very addresses to them that he is anything but a safe guide. They can hardly fail to perceive the gross misconceptions which pervade his book and vitiate all he says. For instance, Mr. Mansel had said that man cannot by the

speculative exercise of his faculties invent a philosophy of the Infinite; he had said to Mr. Maurice himself, in terms which there was no excuse for misunderstanding, "We must at any rate admit that man does not know God as God knows himself, and hence that he does not know Him *in the fulness of His absolute nature.*" And yet Mr. Maurice everywhere represents the *Bampton Lectures* as maintaining that neither by reason nor Revelation is it possible for man to obtain any *knowledge at all* of the Deity. In the very first page of Mr. Maurice's book we have a specimen of this strange misapprehension. In referring to Mr. Mansel's words, that he had never maintained "that Revelation is or can be a direct manifestation of the *Infinite Nature of God,*" Mr. Maurice says, I have understood him to maintain *just as he states* the very reverse of the doctrine that Revelation means a direct manifestation of the *Nature of God!* where by dropping the word *Infinite*, as though it were merely otiose, he has excluded the whole question in dispute. This might have been an inadvertency just there, to be corrected afterwards; but we find that Mr. Maurice has persisted in this misrepresentation, putting it in every variety of form without once betraying the least consciousness of his blunder and injustice. Thus in speaking of Jesus Christ as the manifestation of God he exclaims, "Do our Doctors admit that He came into the world in very deed to *shew man of the Father?* Alas! in the very highest quarters of English theology we are taught a doctrine the *very reverse of this.* The only way, we are told, to confute Rationalism, to establish Christianity, is to affirm that God *cannot be known*; that man is prohibited by his constitution from seeking such knowledge!"

On this ground Mr. Maurice opens his argument with attempting to scare his young friend by creating a violent prejudice, setting before him the sacrifices which must be made if this doctrine of Mr. Mansel is to be received. Thomas à Kempis is "a victim who must at once be sacrificed." "His *crime* consists in his assuming that there is a Divine Teacher of man's spirit." "The Jansenists must give up all their great authors, the Puritans the best of theirs." We must give up Leighton, St. Augustine, the Schoolmen, Luther; we must give up the creeds, the prayer-book, and the like; for the authors referred to all taught that the knowledge of God was possible, while the "creeds profess to tell us something certain about the nature of God," and the prayer-book contains such phrases as these, "We who know thee now by faith," "in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life;" and Mr. Maurice exclaims, "How much must the lecturer tremble at the thought of our using such phrases as these; what hypocrisy must be involved in such language—what hypocrisy must be propagated in our congregations—if we have thoroughly persuaded ourselves that to know the Infinite and Eternal is impossible!" It is quite unnecessary to characterize by a single word this way of talking.

The second letter relates to Sir W. Hamilton, to whose writings Mr. Mansel had referred as containing the true theory of the limits of human thought. Mr. Maurice charges his young friend "at all events

not to study Sir William Hamilton in the pages of his *Oxford Disciple*." But Mr. Maurice does not attempt to shew that Mr. Mansel has in any way misrepresented Sir William—and we really cannot find for what reason this caution is given unless it be that according to Mr. Mansel's estimate of that philosopher he is not contemptible; accordingly, after talking about Sir William with his usual vagueness, in the midst of which, however, one thing is plain, that by Mr. Maurice's own shewing Sir William's principles are exactly those which the Bampton lecturer has stated and developed, he proceeds to *explode* Sir William by the merest clap-trap. Referring to Sir W. Hamilton's account of what he regarded as the failure of Cousin, and citing his principle that "the unconditioned is incognizable and inconceivable, its notion being only negative of the conditioned," Mr. Maurice talks as follows:—

"The mere statement of so eminent a man as Sir William Hamilton, that these experiments are utterly unreasonable, would of course carry great weight with ignorant people like you and me. But, moreover, how much there is in our minds which seconds his decision! He appeals directly to our common sense. He asks whether the notion of thought passing beyond the boundaries of thought is not absurd upon the face of it—whether we can conceive the inconceivable—whether we can know that which we do not conceive? Set such questions before any number of civilized persons—say in a London drawing-room—and what answer would you expect but just as much laughter as the courtesies of society permitted? What need, as Sir W. Hamilton sometimes asks himself—and Mr. Mansel *frequently echoes him*—of debating the point? Is it not like entering into controversy with lunatics?"

Without having Sir W. Hamilton's Essay on this subject at hand, we do not give the slightest credence to the existence in it of any appeal like this to the apprehensions of the vulgar; it would be inconsistent with the gravity with which he has entertained the question as proposed by him, and the elaborate reasoning with which he has discussed it; and with regard to Mr. Mansel, we *know* that there is not a word in his *Lectures* which affords the slightest excuse for Mr. Maurice's representation. But when Mr. Maurice is capable of interpreting men's words in the following way we have lost all confidence in him as an interpreter. Sir William, in giving the history of philosophy, remarks, as cited by Mr. Maurice, "From Xenophanes to Leibnitz, the Infinite, the Absolute, the Unconditioned, formed the highest principle of speculation;" "in *other words*," says Mr. Maurice, "from the beginning of the most earnest Greek philosophy, the most thoughtful and vigorous minds were devoting themselves to that pursuit which it would seem that only madmen can engage in!" Again, "the kind of *ridicule which Sir William Hamilton has poured* upon such inquiries, was poured upon them in every age. Schelling knew such jokes from his boyhood; Hegel must have learnt them from doctors and jesters, old and new." He speaks of the *fierceness of Sir W. Hamilton's contempt* for some scientific men, of these being the *victims of his scorn*, and the like. We strongly suspect that all this "madness," "lunacy," "ridicule," "fierce contempt," etc., are the mere creations of Mr. Maurice's own brain, suggested by no single expression to be found

in Hamilton; as we know is the case with regard to similar things which Mr. Maurice has said about Mr. Mansel.

The subject of the third Letter is Bishop Butler. He is mentioned with warm encomium by Mr. Mansel, and Mr. Maurice feels himself called upon to qualify this estimate. But it would really appear from what he says about the Analogy, that he has never perceived the drift of it, and that his objections to it arise from those misconceptions to which he has shewn himself so liable. He denies that Butler has anywhere alluded to the limits of thought of which Mr. Mansel speaks; and he enumerates various objections to it which must stand in the way of its reception at Oxford. From his own experience he tells us what a man who begins to think seriously is likely to feel on recurring to Butler:—

“He feels what can only be described as a bitter disappointment; he may pursue the study as a school task; he may prepare himself for an examination in the Analogy; but all sympathy with it is gone. He does not understand its nomenclature. The religion which it speaks of does not look like the religion with which he is occupied in his closet. He begins to regard it as an outward thing which has acquired, unfortunately, the same name with it. The Analogy appeals to himself; and yet it talks about nature, and a constitution of nature, with which he, the sinner, can recognize no fellowship in which he has the least possible interest. It merely introduces the Bible as containing certain difficulties like those in this constitution of Nature.”

But while the Analogy is thus no book for the serious thinker, it is hailed with delight, according to Mr. Maurice, by sceptics. “See, say they, what Butler teaches us respecting probability as the guide of human life; see how he admonishes us that we ought to take the safer course, *even if the arguments in favour of a more dangerous one actually predominate!* Wise and excellent counsellor! What can we do better than apply his maxim in determining whether we shall accept or reject any of the traditions of our fathers?

We will not waste words in shewing how frivolous all such objections are; they have never been advanced by any one who has in the slightest degree *attended* to the aims and arguments of Bishop Butler; and in fact all which Mr. Maurice says on this subject exhibits the same misapprehension or unfairness which everywhere appears to vitiate his statements.

In coming to the Bampton Lecturer himself in the fourth Letter, Mr. Maurice incontinently resorts to the dodge of gross misrepresentation. He declares that Mr. Mansel's first Lecture is a “*denunciation of two evils*, to which he supposed that his hearers were exposed.” The fact is, Mr. Mansel commences with a lucid statement, in which he classifies various systems of religious thought under the two denominations of Rationalism and Dogmatism, pointing out a principle which is common to both. There is nothing in the use of these terms which would be objected to even on the part of those who recognized their own systems as ranged under one or other of these denominations. And Mr. Mansel, in this classification, is so far from using these terms as *terms of reproach*, that he does not pass any critical judgment on

either till he comes to discuss them. Yet Mr. Maurice has chosen to make out of this a "*denunciation of two evils*," a *condemnation*, a *theological proscription*! And as Mr. Mansel has given in his notes the names of some who have been distinguished as belonging to one or other of these divisions, with illustrations from their writings: Mr. Maurice has been at the pains to collect these names and array them before his reader, for the sake of declaiming as follows:—

"I have collected it (this list), that I may suggest the question which most concerns us: How are you and I to be delivered from *these curses* of Dogmatism and Rationalism which we know, upon such high authority, are always threatening us? Suppose you agree that all those whom the Bampton Lecturer cuts off as exceeding on this side or that, or as mixing the two evils in one, are *guilty of the charges* brought against them; supposing you had the opportunity which he possessed, of telling a large congregation that such and such men were Dogmatists, such and such Rationalists, and that neither were in the least free from the *enormities* of the other,—would that be an absolute security against any taint of Dogmatism in yourself?"

And for Mr. Mansel's own admonition he cites the text, "Cast first the beam out of thine own eye; then shalt thou see clearly to take the mote out of thy brother's eye!" There is, however, a good sense, it appears, in which a man may be a dogmatist, viz., "whenever he swears with deliberate purpose that something is, and that from that no *man or devil* shall tear him away;" whether in a good or a bad sense, however, Mr. Maurice confesses that he is thinking of something quite different from what Mr. Mansel means by Dogmatism. "I know," he says, "that Mr. Mansel's account of Dogmatism must strike every one as far more profound and philosophical than mine; but I am thinking of it as a great sin which I have to avoid for the sake of my own being,—as a great moral habit which I must preserve for the sake of my own being."

"Well and with regard to Rationalism!" Mr. Maurice has his own peculiar notion of this, and a curious one it is. It is an evil habit of mind which Mr. Maurice illustrates from his own experience:

"I have listened to the words of some wise man, a lecturer on Moral Science, it might be, or on physical. I have been asking myself the reason of his statements; *I have not had my ears open to listen to what he said*, just because I was busy with that question. I have looked at a picture which other people admired, which it would have done me good to admire, and have asked for *the reason why I should admire*, and that occupation of mind made it impossible for me to receive any blessing from the picture."

That is, Mr. Maurice has been in the habit of *wool-gathering*, when he ought to have been attending; or of "*looking into vacancy*," as he himself allows, when his thoughts and his senses ought to have been intent upon what was before him. This is just as rational as if a man who had a good repast set before him were to turn his stomach by puzzling himself about the reasons why he should enjoy it like other people. And yet he believes this account of Rationalism would have been pronounced the honest and reasonable one by Butler and Hamilton! To us it suggests a medical definition which we have lately seen of *hallucination*.

It appears, however, that Mr. Maurice feels himself rationally justified in thus withdrawing his thoughts, not only when matters of science or objects of taste are set before him: that it is rational thus to shut his ears when a lecturer is demonstrating, or his eyes when a picture is wooing his admiration: but also that it is rational and right to do the same when heavenly truths are declared by Divine authority. Is not this too much like the case described by the prophet of those whose ears and eyes were closed so that they understood not with the heart? On this ground, however, Mr. Maurice enters into a long justification of his rejection of Scripture authority in regard to the "revealed doctrine of Christ's Atonement for the sins of men," to which Mr. Mansel had referred in these terms in illustration of the Dogmatic and Rationalistic methods. He treats the direct statements of Scripture on that subject as an "opinion" which God had taught him to doubt, while his own one-sided scheme is what he swears never to relinquish. "Is this heterodox doctrine?" says he; "because if it is, it is what I mean, so help me God, to live and die in declaring to those to whom I minister."

Hitherto Mr. Maurice has been entirely occupied in endeavouring to damage Mr. Mansel by misrepresenting him in matters which have no immediate connexion with the subject of the Lectures. In his fifth Letter he professedly enters upon what he calls the objects of the second Lecture. But here again we have exactly the same disregard of what the Lecturer means, and of what he distinctly says, as we have already been pestered with. The terms "philosophy of religion" are no invention of Mr. Mansel; they are perfectly familiar to those in reference to whom, and to those for whose sake his subject was undertaken, and their meaning well understood. But this meaning is, in fact, immediately given by Mr. Mansel, when he says such a philosophy may be attempted in two methods; either by a *scientific exposition* of the nature of God, which is the method of Rationalism; or by a scientific inquiry into the constitution of the human mind, so far as it receives and deals with religious ideas. And here Mr. Maurice has no sooner heard the words "philosophy of religion," than he begins to boggle in his usual way; his "ears are no longer open to what the Lecturer is saying." "What is philosophy?" "What is religion?" are questions on which he fixes, and becomes quite unconscious of all explanations on the subject which the Lecturer is giving. But when Mr. Maurice somehow catches the words which convey the idea that the phenomena of our own minds, our thoughts, may be studied; when he hears the Lecturer say, "We are compelled in the first instance to inquire into the origin and value of those thoughts themselves," he laughs outright at the idea of a man's *thinking about his own thoughts!* What will our readers think about the following piece of criticism from the "Lecturer of Lincoln's Inn?"

"The religious philosophy which is announced in this programme is expressly designed to deliver us from the absurdities and ravings of Mystics and Rationalists. Now I ask you to make this experiment with any English gentleman you know. Set before him Mr. Mansel's purpose, not in my words but his; choose

the *most educated man you could find*, in the English sense of the word 'educated;' try him with Mr. Mansel's account of his religious philosophy, and tell me if he does not make some such observations as these upon it, 'Why, my good Sir, you know that this is just what I abominate in those Teutonic doctors and divines. They seem to me to be always thinking about their own thoughts. I cannot open one of their books without finding something about the *Begriff* of this, or the *Begriff* of that; most of all, they torment me with their *Begriff* of Religion. What do we want of any *Begriff*? We who are tossed about in the world want a God. Tell us of Him if you can. If you cannot, hold your peace. The other thing, or nothing, we do not need at all.'

If Mr. Maurice thus laughs to scorn the very idea of our thinking about our own thoughts, *i. e.*, of the phenomena of the mind being an object of the mind's observation,—without which how shall conscience pass its judgments on crimes of the heart?—we cannot expect from him any attempt to listen when Mr. Mansel is engaged in investigations of such phenomena which are necessarily abstruse, and especially in endeavouring to exhibit the confusion of thought which arises when thought is *unnaturally* exercised.

In the philosophy, the claims of which Mr. Mansel is investigating, "there are," he says, "three terms 'familiar as household words,'" which must be taken into account in every system of metaphysical theology. To conceive the Deity as He is, we must conceive Him as First Cause, as Absolute, and as Infinite. These terms he *proceeds to define* according to an acceptance of them conventional in that philosophy, and then to argue upon this definition of them. It is really quite amusing to see how Mr. Maurice starts off at the first words of this statement, *there are three terms*, without stopping to listen to what follows. He talks about this paragraph after citing it as follows:

"Will you read over to yourself the first line of this passage? 'there are three terms "familiar as household words" in the vocabulary of this Philosophy.' These are key words to the after discourse. It is with the *terms*, First Cause, Absolute and Infinite, that Mr. Mansel deals here and throughout his volume. Terms are all in all to him. To get beyond terms is with him impossible. 'Words, words, words,' do not drive him mad as they did poor Hamlet; they entirely satisfy him. He does not deny that there is something beyond them, something which they express. There is a region of mist and darkness, what he considers the region of faith, which cannot be put into formulas of logic, and therefore *about which nothing can be known*, which we have no criterion for judging of. But within this circle lies his world, and any one who tries to find a ground for his feet outside of that world, is for him a fool if he can reduce him under the notion of a Dogmatist, a dangerous disturber of men's serenity if he can bring him under the notion of a Rationalist."

We think our readers will by this time perceive that Mr. Maurice has himself afforded the means of accounting for his strange obliquities of judgment,—for the fact that he never seems to understand, or always misrepresents, not only his author, but every one of whose sentiments he speaks—in the very peculiar kind of Rationalism which he acknowledges. No matter who is talking, or on what subject; no matter whether it be the voice of an earthly teacher, to whom all others listen with respect, if not with approbation; or a voice from heaven, which demands his attention; that attention he cannot give. The first words he hears sends his thoughts elsewhere; he closes his

eyes, he stops his ears, or he looks into vacancy; and then he pours forth a stream of language which has no relation to the matter in hand, and which shews by its vague obscurity that he has not understood himself; that he has in fact been the subject of a state of mind which can "neither be distinctly apprehended nor intelligibly communicated." To call this mysticism is an abuse of terms. The mystics had clear ideas, ideas derived from the Spirit of God; but as He had caused them to be written for our learning, they uttered what they had been taught by the Bible and the Church, only they dwelt too exclusively on favorite aspects of that teaching, and they did not *sufficiently* acknowledge the immediate source from which their instruction had been derived; they referred it to the direct influence of the Spirit of God. But their mysticism was not characterized by dense obscurity. What revelation Mr. Maurice may have received of this immediate kind no mortal but himself can say. But one thing we are sure of, that "God is not the author of confusion," and the *animus* which this work of his displays does not savour of heavenly origin. Without having been personally much acquainted with the writings of Mr. Maurice before, we entered upon the perusal of this work with a degree of respect for one who had exercised considerable influence; but, we say it with sorrow, that respect, either for his mind or his spirit, has quite departed by our examination of this volume, and we shall be much surprised if it do not seriously damage him in the estimation of the most thoughtful and earnest of his admirers.

Memoir of the Rev. E. Henderson, D.D., Ph.D. Including his labours in Denmark, Iceland, Russia, etc., etc. By THULIA S. HENDERSON. London: Knight and Son; Hamilton and Co. pp. vi., 476.

DR. HENDERSON, from his first entrance into public life, was brought into circumstances so congenial with his own qualifications of heart and mind, and into scenes in themselves so exciting, that the most active part of his career belongs to a history which cannot fail of being deeply interesting. Though we might feel disposed to make some exception to the style of his biographer, as being too romantic, and to her method of gathering round the portrait of her beloved parent materials which are sometimes very distantly related to it. We can strongly recommend this volume to our readers as a spirited narrative and description of events and scenes which well deserve to be recalled to the public regard, and in which Dr. Henderson was conspicuously distinguished.

Mr. Henderson's advantages of mental culture in early life were unusually small, and, considering what his attainments afterwards became, we cannot but think that there must have been mental efforts in his early youth of which his daughter has given no account, perhaps for want of any record of them. However this may be, we find young Henderson, after a two years' course in an Academy for missionary students, in which private study was much interrupted by itinerating

labours, designated, in company with Mr. Paterson, as a missionary to India in 1805. He was then of the age of twenty-one. Not being permitted to proceed to British India, these two missionaries sought a passage to Serampore, then in the hands of the Danes, by Danish means, and for that purpose proceeded to Copenhagen. Here they were detained for a considerable time; but, impressed with the religious destitution of Denmark, they soon became actively engaged in procuring the translation and circulation of religious publications; these efforts of theirs were so well received, and the sphere for missionary exertions of this kind in Denmark and other Northern regions appeared to them so important, that, with the concurrence of the Edinburgh Society, which sent them out, they abandoned their Indian mission, and resolved to cultivate the field immediately before them.

The Danes themselves had instituted an Evangelical Society, which had proposed to supply to the utmost of its means the great lack of copies of the Scripture among their people, and our two English emissaries gladly promoted this object by procuring the aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This brought Messrs. Paterson and Henderson into official connexion with the London Society, to which connexion they were indebted probably in a considerable degree for the commanding influence they afterwards exercised. But it is evident that both these men were highly qualified by their energy and tact to avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded them.

The testimony of Dr. Steinkopff, who joined them at Gottenburg in 1812, and afterwards stood in intimate relation with them, gives the conviction of his mind respecting them, and especially the feelings with which he regarded the subject of this memoir. Some extracts from his *Reminiscences of Dr. Henderson* will succinctly convey an idea as to what Dr. Henderson was and did in this period of his active labours. After referring to facts which we have stated, he says,—

“Their attention was drawn to the printing and circulation of the Scriptures in the Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Lapland, and Icelandic languages. The latter attracted the special interest of Dr. Henderson, who took up, for a considerable time, his abode at Copenhagen in order to acquaint himself with that interesting language, to lend his friendly aid in the publication of a fresh edition of the entire Icelandic Bible then carrying on under the able superintendence of a learned Icelandic scholar, and to prepare himself for undertaking a personal visit to the interesting people of that island. Owing to the war which was unhappily disturbing the friendly relations of the Danish and British Governments, Dr. Henderson was, ere long, compelled to retire from his peaceful occupations in Copenhagen, and at Gottenburg to wait for the return of more favourable circumstances. When I arrived in that Swedish town, I met with Dr. Henderson; and from our very first interview, I felt attracted to him by the intelligence and cultivation of his mind, and the Christian graces of his spirit. He reminded me of the Latin saying, ‘Sana mens in corpore sano;’ there was something noble and dignified in his person; manliness and firmness were expressed in his countenance,—his eye beamed with benevolence,—his conversation shewed him to be possessed of enlarged views and extensive information. The more I saw of him, while travelling with him from Gottenburg to Helsingburg, a Swedish fortress opposite the Danish fortification of Elsinore, the more was I confirmed in my conviction, that he was endowed with those very physical and intellectual powers, and those moral and religious qualifications, which

were specially required in the sphere of action to which the providence and grace of God had called him. At Helsingburg we were joined by Dr. Paterson, and spent six days together at a Swedish inn, calmly and maturely surveying the vast field for spiritual cultivation presenting itself to our view in the three northern kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and still more extensively in the dominions of the Emperor of Russia. . . .

"We determined that Drs. Paterson and Henderson should resume their labours in that part of Sweden and Finland which they had already so successfully occupied, by the important aid rendered by them to our Swedish and Finnish brethren in the printing and circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the languages of their respective countries. The pleasing hope was also entertained, that the Danish Government would allow Dr. Henderson to return to its capital with a view to his continuing his simple, peaceful, and benevolent labours in the completion of the printing of the Icelandic Bible. This hope was happily realized soon after my arrival in Copenhagen. A full and free permission was granted him to reside in that city for so simple and benevolent a purpose. Here he very soon, by his talents, learning, amiable conduct, genuine piety, and active benevolence, conciliated such respect and confidence among all,—even the superior classes of society, especially the bishops and the clergy,—that not only were measures adopted for the establishment of a Danish Bible Society, but he was also encouraged to undertake a personal visit to that highly interesting portion of the Danish dominions—Iceland,—his friends furnishing him with all requisite official introductions to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the island; while the 5000 copies of the Icelandic Bible, and extra copies of the New Testament which had to a considerable extent been printed by the benevolent aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, were forwarded in merchant vessels, free of expense, to the sea-ports and factories of the island most conveniently situated for insuring a due and suitable distribution of the requisite number of copies to the various parishes and districts in exact proportion to their wants and necessities. Thus sanctioned and equipped, he set out on the 8th of June, 1814, on board the 'Syen,' a vessel belonging to Westy Peträus, an Icelandic merchant, resident in Copenhagen, and commanded by his brother, who did everything in his power to provide for his accommodation and comfort. In this vessel were conveyed no less than 1183 Bibles, and 1668 New Testaments in the Icelandic language."

The main object of Dr. Henderson was, of course, that stated by Dr. Steinkopff, to visit all parts of the island, and to make himself acquainted with all classes of its people, with a view to ascertaining their wants in regard to the Scriptures, and to settle the best means of supplying those wants. In this survey, occupying the greater part of the years 1814 and 1815, though he had to encounter much "toil, fatigue and danger," he found everything to encourage him, and to furnish the best reward of his labours.

But he took this opportunity of making himself acquainted with the very remarkable natural phenomena of the island, in pursuit of which, in fact, his greatest toils and dangers were encountered; the result of his observations was given to the public in two volumes on Iceland, which Dr. Steinkopff speaks of as a "truly valuable addition to those works previously published by men distinguished for their talents and learning, some of whom were natives of Iceland, others Danes, Norwegians and Britons."

The development which Miss Henderson has given of this compendium of that portion of her father's labours, is full of exciting incidents, and is graphically written. After various subsequent journeyings in the Danish provinces, Mr. Henderson, at the instance of the

London Bible Society, went, in 1817, to St. Petersburg, to take advantage of the tide of Imperial favour with which the Bible Society was then regarded. At this time, among other literary honours, the title of Ph.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Kiel. The energy with which the Emperor Alexander promoted the objects of the Russian Bible Society at that time bore down all opposition, and it vied with the British and Foreign Society in the largeness of its views and the energy of its measures. Dr. Henderson was officially connected with these proceedings, and rejoiced at the prosperity which everywhere appeared connected with his labours. Unhappily, a difference of opinion between him and the London Society respecting the Turkish New Testament which they had published, led to a severance of the connexion of Drs. Henderson and Paterson with that Society. And not long after this the Emperor either cooled in his own feelings respecting the objects of the Bible Society, or found it impossible to bear up against the opposition of the religious functionaries of his own people; so that in 1825 "the Society's operations had become so limited that there was little or nothing to do, and no prospect of more to be done." The death of Alexander was the signal for a complete revolution in Russia as regards the objects of the Bible Society.

Dr. Henderson returned to his own country to occupy an important post in the instruction of the rising ministry among the congregationalists at Hoxton and afterwards at Highbury. New arrangements on the part of the body to which he belonged led to his being shelved in his declining years; a result to which he bowed with Christian resignation, though it took him and his immediate friends by surprise. His works on Biblical subjects were highly respectable, and few men have been more happy than he was in the chief engagements of his life, which came to a peaceful close at the age of seventy-four.

Ismael; or, A Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity. By the Rev. Dr. J. MUEHLEISEN ARNOLD, formerly Church Missionary in Asia and Africa, and late Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, London. London: Rivingtons. 1859. 8vo. pp. 532.

THE writer of this volume is qualified by his residence in Mohammedan countries to speak about his subject with some authority. Many years ago, he tells us, he commenced gathering information during a sojourn in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, East Africa, Abyssinia, and more especially in India. The immediate object of the publication is said to be "to cherish, if possible, the missionary spirit which has been called forth by recent events, and to place some of the leading truths of Christianity antithetically to the falsities and perversions of the Koran, so as to render the comparison available for actual missionary operations among the numerous posterity of Ishmael." And we are told in the title-page that "the entire proceeds will be given towards founding a Society for propagating the

Gospel among the Mohammedans." These aims propitiate favour to the work, but we do not think it needs such an argument, but that it can well stand on its own merits. The book is not free from that partizanship which ministers of Christianity are almost sure to exhibit in their controversies with opponents, nor is it always satisfactory in its reasonings, nor perfectly correct in its statements. But it is a valuable work notwithstanding, and cannot but be read with deep interest.

This work is divided into two parts, the first being the Natural History of Islamism, the second, the contrast between it and Christianity. The first part contains eight chapters—three on Mohammed himself, one on the Koran, two on its plagiarisms from Judaism and Christianity, and two on the spread and the character of Islamism. Part second has six chapters, in which the deficiencies of the Koran, as compared with the Holy Scriptures, are exhibited.

In the first chapter, on the "Forerunners of Mohammed," are some valuable remarks on the relation of Islamism to heretical Christian sects. From this we will give a few sentences.

"That the creed of Mohammed absorbed the various heresies which denied the Divinity of Christ is evident from the fact that they vanish from the church on the rise of Islamism; and it is not less remarkable that they remained dormant till the thirteenth century, when Islamism sustained a fatal blow by the dissolution of the Kaliphate in the year A.D. 1258. Abdallah had been proclaimed Kaliph with these words: 'The Kaliphate is reserved to one family by virtue of the divine decree, and shall remain in it for ever till the end of time,' and we argue from this alleged prediction, that the dissolution of the Kaliphate must be considered a remarkable epoch in the history of Islamism: and it will confirm our opinion of an internal connection subsisting between the heresies of the church and the character of Islamism; for it was at the breaking up of the Kaliphate as a politico-religious power that we recognise the first revival of the Arian heresy in the church. Islamism was not indeed *destroyed* at that period, although in losing its Kaliph it loses its *head*.

"After the days of St. John many antichrists went out into the world, who for the space of seven centuries denied that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. As they served merely as forerunners to a still more fatal error, they naturally retired when Mohammed and his successors arose and presided over that system of error which destroys the very foundation of our holy faith and brands the confession of Christ being the Son of God as idolatry and blasphemy.

"Islamism is originally *connected* with the worst kinds of Christian heresy, but to assume it to be a Christian heresy, as some writers have done, is to take for granted that it sprang up within the church, and that Mohammed himself was an apostate from the Christian faith. The fact that Islamism served as an outlet or receptacle for those heterodox and anti-Christian elements which occasionally arose within the church does not by any means establish the creed of Mohammed to be a Christian sect, heresy according to its etymological signification implying a separation or departure from *orthodox* faith and practice."

A good deal is said about the recent Indian revolt, but we think it is scarcely fair to attribute the cruelties practised by the Sepoys to Mohammedism. The most horrid atrocities have been committed by Christians when in a state of civil warfare and excitement, as in France during the revolution of 1848. But we will let the author speak for himself:—

"If any doubts had remained as to the sentiments of Mohammedans towards

Christians, the recent occurrences in India, Arabia, Syria, and Morocco must have removed it for ever. Lest it should, however, be thought that the Indian Sepoys simply strove to recover their national freedom, and as patriots were carried beyond the point of a just resistance against foreign oppression, let us notice a few passages from the Koran, from which it will appear that they simply carried out its precepts when perpetrating the most barbarous atrocities ever recorded in the annals of rebellion or warfare. 'But the recompense of those who fight against God and his apostle, and study to act corruptly in the earth, shall be, that they shall be *slain*, or *crucified*, or *have their hands and their feet cut off on the opposite sides*, or be banished the land. This shall be their disgrace in this world, and in the next world they shall suffer a grievous punishment.' Again: 'I will *cut off your hands* and your *feet* on the opposite sides, and I will *crucify* you all.' Again: 'I will cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off their *heads*, and strike off all the ends of their *fingers*. This shall they suffer, because they resisted God and his apostle; verily God will be severe in punishing. This is your part, taste it therefore, and the infidels shall also suffer the torment of hell fire.' In various parts of the Koran, war is enjoined against all non-Moslemites or Kaffers; but what we now wish to establish is this, that the book in question taught and commanded those very atrocities which were committed against *Christians* in the recent rebellion in India. Nor is it probable that the history of the original spread of Islamism and its marvellous successes, after the death of its founder, will afford us more favourable impressions touching the spirit of this terrible and wide-spread scourge."

A great many good hints are thrown out as to the best methods of getting access to the Mohammedan mind, and in this respect the volume is a valuable companion to the recent one of Dr. Macbride. Allusion is made to the dislike of controversy among the disciples of Islam:—

"Although arguments are frequently provoked by the cavils and objections of the Mohammedans, yet Islamism is not the creed to court inquiry, or encourage a free discussion upon religious subjects. The Arab prophet repeatedly enjoins his followers to abstain from discussions, and he makes Allah require him to recede from those who dispute about the Koran (Sur. vi. 65). Arguments with the Scripturalists are especially discountenanced (Sur. xix. 46); disputes are to be settled by imprecations on those invited to meet for argumental inquiry (Sur. iii. 59); discussion is postponed upon the grounds that God would decide differences on the day of judgment (Sur. xxii. 65); a term certainly too late for those in the wrong. Again we read, 'as to those who dispute concerning God, after obedience hath been paid him, their disputing shall be vain in the sight of their Lord, and wrath shall fall upon them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment' (Sur. xlii. 14).

"The Christian missionary is not to *seek* for arguments; but where they cannot be avoided, he is not to shun the contest, remembering the example of St. Paul, who frequently 'reasoned out of the Scripture, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.' Where discussion is entered upon in the like spirit of love and zeal for the salvation of souls, we shall be guarded against a display of vanity in gaining a victory which may simply prove a superiority in education or philosophical acumen. The main point at issue will never be forgotten in the heat of contest, and controversial disputations will always on that account be as *short*, as *kind*, and as *seldom* as possible (1-Pet. iii. 15). We shall never be drawn aside to non-essential or frivolous discussion; neither shall we be tempted to excite or wound our opponents by using harsh, satirical, and unbecoming expressions. Missionaries are frequently exposed to the most wanton insult purely with a view of provoking resentment; but to fall into the snare thus laid is to inflict an irretrievable injury to our cause."

We conclude with an account of the compilation of the Koran—

"The Koran, as we now have it, is confessedly not the work of Mohammed, but of his followers. On his death, his alleged revelations were found scattered in fragments here and there, some in the hands of Hafsa, one of his numerous widows, others remained only in the memory of believers. Mohammed not only omitted to compile these written fragments, but, with the exception of a few, he never encouraged their general circulation; this would have precluded the possibility of his adding, altering, modifying, and recalling previous revelations, as occasion might require. That it was a common practice of the prophet to revoke and alter his phrenetic productions is proved by the Koran itself, as well as by tradition. On one occasion a verse having been recited by Mohammed to a friend, who immediately wrote it down, it was the next morning discovered to have been effaced; the prophet on being told of the disappearance of the verse replied that it had been taken back to heaven; in other words, that he himself had obliterated the writing. As Mohammed was not always able to destroy a condemned or recalled Sura, or any part of such, the many contradictions and abrogations which are to be met with in the Koran are easily accounted for. Commentators, indeed, seek to explain away many of these discrepancies; yet, in spite of their ingenuity, they are compelled to admit no less than 225 passages containing laws and dogmas which have been abrogated by subsequent Suras. Mohammed frequently made experiments with his heaven-sent commands, not scrupling to alter his inspired directions according to circumstances; thus we have seen that when his faith was greater in the Jews and Christians than in his Pagan countrymen, he fixed the Kebra at Jerusalem, and made other similar concessions; but when the former disappointed his expectations, he altered it for Mecca, hoping to conciliate the latter. The law which Mohammed had made on behalf of the Moslem fraternity of emigrants at Medina excluding their kindred from inheritance, was repealed when they had acquired property and had taken root among the original inhabitants. Originally Mohammed required two believers as witnesses in special cases; but afterwards when his power increased, he declared one to be sufficient. Again, at an earlier period, toleration was recommended towards non-Moslem communities, but it was abolished in Suras of a latter date; so long as his cause remains weak, the false prophet preaches gentleness and patience under persecution, but no sooner does he obtain a firm footing than he proclaims death and destruction to all nonconformists. Such being Mohammed's mode of enacting and revoking laws and precepts throughout his prophetic career, we can easily understand that it would have been contrary to his uniform policy to collect all the manuscripts of his alleged revelations and to give them to the world. The following circumstance will serve as a proof that the posthumous collection of the scattered Suras depended much upon the *memory* of Mohammed's followers. In the engagement between the Moslem troops and the army of the rival prophet, Musilama, the most celebrated mnemonical reciters of the still uncollected Suras were slain, and Abubeker, fearing lest they should all be cut off, requested Zaid Ebn Thabat to compile the book, whose history we are now to consider. Zaid therefore collected all the pseudo-revelations that could be found, written upon parchment, leather, palm-leaves, shoulder-blades of mutton, stones, and other materials, and collated these with the Suras which the survivors knew by heart. It was not to be expected that this compilation would be acceptable to all parties, many of whom professed to be in possession of verses which were either altogether omitted or differently worded in the collection; the consequent discord increased to such a degree, under Kaliph Othman, that he determined to remedy it by a *coup d'état*. Zaid was now charged to revise his former collection, to omit the *varia lectiones* which had been retained in the first, and to make several copies of this new edition. These were sent to the chief cities of the empire, with a command to *burn* all others then existing. It will be seen that the object of Othman was to establish for future ages the unity rather than the purity of the text; and, in removing these discrepancies which Mohammed had suffered to exist, he not only compiled but reformed the Koran. As, however, the vowels and inter-punctuations were

not introduced before the second century of the Hedgra, when fresh differences had already crept into the manuscripts, the unity enforced by Othman was of very short duration. We soon meet with seven different editions, possibly to accommodate Mohammed's assertion that the Koran was revealed in seven different readings. The perplexity arising from these various editions is naturally heightened by the confusion prevailing in the Koran itself, and serves not only as an apple of discord among Moslem divines, but also baffles the most acute criticism of European *savants*.

A Choice of Pearls; embracing a collection of the most genuine ethical sentences, maxims, and salutary reflections, originally compiled in the Arabic, by the father of poets and renowned philosopher, Rabbi Salomon Ibn Gabirol, and Translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Jehuda Ibn Tibbon; the Hebrew Text carefully revised and corrected by the aid of five MSS. Accompanied by a faithful English Translation, with explanatory notes and illustrative parallels selected from ancient, mediæval, and modern authors. By the Rev. B. H. ASCHER. London: Trubner and Co., Paternoster Row.

THE translation of this work has evidently been a labour of love with the author. Nothing but love for his task could have inspired him with the patience which its performance required, and the research connected with it which it demanded. The marks of the file are discernible in every sentence. The advice of the poet, *novem prematur in annum*, has clearly been followed in this work. A superficial glance at the original and the version will suffice to convince the reader of the extraordinary difficulties the translator had to encounter. Not only are the two idioms marked by characteristics which have but little in common, but the language of Ibn Tibbon is in many places very obscure, and the reverend gentleman was quite right when he said that the Hebrew "will occasionally be found somewhat harsh in its phraseology, owing to the employment of Biblical words in a sense different from the original meaning." Indeed, our translator would have been justified had he, instead of "occasionally," said "frequently." This, at least, is the opinion we arrived at after the perusal of a considerable portion of the work. We will quote, as a specimen of the manner in which the labour has been performed, the second chapter, recommending itself by its shortness:—

"THE UNITY.

"76. The wise man was asked, Who is the Creator? He replied, To discuss a subject which cannot be comprehended is folly, and to dispute on matters beyond the power of conception is sinful. 77. He used to say, A wise man, chancing to enter an assembly of disputants, addressed them as follows: Your argument will never lead to a satisfactory result. On being asked, Wherefore? he replied, A successful result would imply unanimity of opinion."

It will therefore not be surprising that, however felicitous the renderings of the translator in general are, there are yet some pas-

sages in the version with which we do not agree. We will quote one or two. The 78th maxim runs thus :

אמר החכם ' קץ המשיכל ענה ' קץ כסל ענה ' וקץ כל ענה שלום :

Which is rendered by Mr. Ascher :—"The wise man says, Diffidence is the diadem of the intelligent; the characteristic of the fool is boldness; and the result of all diffidence is peace." Now we are much more inclined to translate the passage thus : "The sage said, The weapon of the intelligent is meekness; the weapon of the fool is insolence; and the consequence of all meekness is peace." It is, of course, for scholars to decide whether קץ (literally horn), in this instance, means diadem, as the reverend gentleman translates, or weapon, as we suggest. The 372nd runs thus :—

אמר החכם מנחת החכמים במצא החזק ' מנחת החללים במצא השקר :

and is translated in the work before us :—"The sage observes, The wise find tranquillity in discovering the truth, the tranquillity of the ignorant is folly." We should, however, prefer the following rendering :—"The sage said, The wise rest content when they discover the truth; but the fools when they meet with a falsehood."

But the reverend gentleman has not rested satisfied with merely translating the work; he has carefully edited it, and furnished it with a body of notes which most aptly illustrate the text by parallels drawn from other Hebrew, classic, and modern authors. The nature and object of this labour are thus propounded in the preface :—

"The English translation was made from '*Editio Princeps*,' which edition, though the best that came under my notice, is still replete with errors and omissions. I have, however, laboured to restore the text as far as possible to correctness, by carefully collating it with five MSS. from public and private libraries, by which I have been enabled to insert omissions and correct errors, which, through the negligence or ignorance of transcribers or printers, have crept into the published editions, and by which many passages, despite the ingenuity of the commentators remained obscure and unintelligible. But although I carefully compared and copied the various readings, I have made no alterations in the edition, except where the errors were of a palpable nature. The readings of the various MSS. I have appended in foot notes to each page, thus rendering the Hebrew text more intelligible to the reader than I found it. In translating this work, my chief care has been to make myself acquainted with Tibbon's style, and to familiarize myself with his phraseology, which, from the diversity of his style, was by no means an easy task. I likewise collected every procurable edition, some translated; I derived, however, from them but little assistance. Without descending into particulars, I have only to state that, as far as the idiom of the English language would permit, a faithful version has been my principal aim. I laboured to avoid obscurity, and to render each sentence clear, perspicuous, and brief, and to avoid a dry translation, by illustrating the work with parallels. Many authors are quoted that now-a-days are but little studied, and some, perhaps, whose very names are hardly known. 'There is to be found a pleasure,' says the learned author of the *Hermes*, 'in the contemplation of ancient sentences as in the view of ancient architecture, and which, though in ruins, has yet something venerable. The identity of ideas, and smiles of poets and philosophers, separated by space and time, must afford to the psychologist and historian important and interesting matter. In such notes and parallels lie hidden the history of poetical and philosophical views, the germ and data to the history of literature.'

"The notes and parallels in my appendix, which do not constitute an incon-

siderable part in the present publication, were collected in the following manner. When engaged in the perusal and in the study of these venerable remains of antiquity, it was my system to note down every passage in ancient, mediæval, and even in modern authors, that bore some relation or analogy to Gabirol's maxims, or which might conduce to render any passage more lucid. And a hope is cherished that those passages, illustrative of ancient wisdom, as well as those of the mediæval Spanish-Moorish school, will not prove uninteresting to the general reader only, but even to the learned. 'Lord Bacon,' says the learned D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, has justly observed, that 'men of learning require inventories of their knowledge, as rich men have schedules of their estates.' . . . Men of renown have followed the same course, and their names are still hallowed by posterity. They collected the sweets as lively bees hovering over the beautiful and fragrant flowers, 'stealing and giving sweets.' My task, as a translator and commentator, though laborious, was still pleasing. I only regret that the arduous duties of my office would not allow me leisure to avail myself more largely of the treasures which the British Museum contains, which would have enabled me, by application and research, to trace the origin of many obscure passages. The proof-sheets have been carefully read and corrected; but I regret that, during my unavoidable absence, some sheets went to press, and a few errors were overlooked, and I therefore refer the reader to the errata at the beginning of the work."

From these notes a good deal of information may be derived. We were particularly pleased by the remarks made in the 14th:—

אמר ל' סוד הנסלים 'אמר המזל' ודעו מאיכסם ברכמה:

"He used to say, It is peculiar to the ignorant to be fettered by death,—wisdom must loosen the shackles." Which is illustrated thus:—

"14.—The M. and O. MSS. read *לסוד*. The Michael collection MS. in the Bodleian *לסוד*. The noun *סוד* and the verb *לסוד* are generally used by the translators from Arabic into Hebrew for *סוד* and *סוד*, namely, an 'attribute,' or to ascribe attributes. Compare Jehudah Ibn Tibbon's translation of the *Book Bikmah*, p. 48, where we meet with the phrase *סוד לנב*. See also his translation of *Hobat Halebaboth*: 'סודו הנבאם והסודים בסודים סודן דומין זה לזה' (Sec. i., chap. x.). Compare also Algazali's *Ethics*: 'הוא אשר יקבץ שלשה הסודים האלה' (p. 129). I am indebted for the above references to the kindness of Mr. L. Dukes. I will refer the reader also to a passage in *Ben-hamelech Vehanazir*, where we read: *על כן נסמיה*: 'Hence the Creator (blessed be He) can only be described negatively and not affirmatively' (chap. xxii.). The Talmudic and Chaldaic word *סוד*, 'boundary,' seems to convey the same meaning. The Cabalistic term *סודות* might probably be derived from the same radix, and may correctly be rendered 'attributes.' Alcharisi, in his translation of the *Moreh Nebuchim*, by Maimonides, uses this term very frequently in the same sense we have given it. Compare also *Emunoth Vedeoth*, by Saadyah Gaon, book ii., at the conclusion."

We have now brought to a close our notice of a production which we consider a most valuable accession to the Anglo-Jewish literature, and which deserves to rank with the best similar productions, enriching from time to time the Germano-Jewish literature.—(From the *Jewish Chronicle*.)

Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews; with an Introductory Essay on Civil Society and Government. By E. C. WINES, D.D., Professor of Greek in Washington College, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Martien. London: Nisbet. 1859. 8vo, pp. 640.

ALTHOUGH little known hitherto in this country, the work before us has gained a good reputation in America, where it has passed through three editions. Dr. Woods, of Andover, pronounces the following eulogium on the lectures:—

“I have heard all Professor Wines’s lectures in the Mosaic institutions, and have wished that they might be extended much farther. From the beginning to the end, they exhibit marks of extensive patient study, and of profound discriminating thought. They are, I think, sound in principle, and strong and conclusive in argument. The style in which they are written is perspicuous and forcible, and often rises to animation and eloquence. The lectures cannot fail to be profitable to any who love to think, but they are especially adapted to be interesting to men engaged in the profession of law and theology, to the different classes of students, and most of all to those who are seeking for a clear insight into the Mosaic Scriptures, and who wish to see the various principles involved in them clearly stated, and triumphantly vindicated against the subtle objections and profane sneers of infidel philosophy.”

That there is much room for such a work will be admitted by all who are acquainted with sacred literature. The work of Michaelis is a monument of erudition; but it has defects of principle, and falls short of the knowledge and requirements of the present time. It will not be easily superseded, yet it does not occupy the field.

The origin of the work is thus described by the author:—

“The basis of the following inquiries into the polity and laws of the ancient Hebrews was a course of lectures, delivered in several theological seminaries, and in many of the principal cities of the Union. Ten years ago the author was invited to deliver one of a course of lectures before the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia. Archbishop Hughes had already given a lecture of the same course on Pope Pius VII. As the learned prelate had selected for eulogy a dignitary of the Romish Church, that circumstance led me to choose, for the theme of my discourse, a dignitary of the Church universal. Accordingly, I took “Moses and his Laws.” The lecture was well received by the public, and brought a formal invitation from many of the leading citizens of Philadelphia—divines, lawyers, savans, and others—that I would extend the discussion, and give a series of discourses on the same subject. In making the necessary preparation to comply with this invitation, I became enamoured of the theme. The investigation became a labour of love with me. The increasing light afforded by my researches led me, at different times, to rewrite and enlarge the discussion; till, at length, it came to be embodied in a very extended series of lectures. The substance of these lectures, in courses more or less comprehensive, was given, as above stated, in various theological seminaries, by invitation from the trustees and professors, and in many other places, at the request of citizens of the highest respectability. In this form, the author’s illustrations of the constitution and laws of Israel had the good fortune to meet the approbation of gentlemen, both in Church and State, whose good opinion might well be an object of pride to persons of literary pretensions far higher than his.”

What is contemplated in the lectures we are told in the following passage:—

“The following treatise is an attempt to analyse, and to develope systemati-

cally the civil polity of the inspired Hebrew lawgiver. The civil government of the ancient Hebrews was the government of a free people; it was a government of laws; it was a system of self-government. It was not only the first, but the only government of antiquity to which this description is fully applicable. To Moses, a man of the most direct, firm, and positive spirit, belongs the honour of being the founder of this sort of government. This constitution was pervaded with popular sympathies and the spirit of liberty. The best wisdom of modern times in the difficult science of legislation was anticipated by Moses. The moderns are not real discoverers; they have but propagated and applied truths and principles established by the first, the wisest, and the ablest of legislators. In an age of barbarism and tyranny, Moses solved the problem how a people could be self-governed, and yet well governed; how men could be kept in order and still be free; and how the liberty of the individual could be reconciled with the welfare of the community."

An "Essay on Civil Government" occupies almost ninety pages of the work. The remainder of it is divided into two books, of which the first is preliminary, treating of various topics inferior to the principal, yet necessary for its elucidation. In this book Moses is considered both as a man and a lawgiver. Profane history, of the time of Moses, is contrasted with his, as to credibility. His divine legation is discussed and maintained. One chapter is devoted to an inquiry as to the influence of the laws and writings of Moses on the subsequent civilization of the world; another to a review of the leading constitutions of Gentile antiquity, with special reference to their power of securing civil liberty; and a third is on the geographical limits and population of Palestine. From the first book we will give an extract, on the degree of originality to be attributed to Moses:—

"It is sometimes alleged that Moses borrowed his institutions from Egypt. This is said for the purpose of derogating from his merit as a lawgiver, and especially from his reputation as an inspired lawgiver. But from what fountain did Egypt herself, in all likelihood, draw her best principles of law? There is a common fact in the history of the Hebrews and the Egyptians, hitherto so much overlooked, that I do not remember to have seen it adverted to by any writer, which, nevertheless, sheds an important light on this subject. By an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, an Israelite, some centuries prior to the age of Moses, had been raised to the primacy of Egypt. For eighty successive years Joseph swayed the destinies of that empire; and an inspired writer has told us, that he taught her senators wisdom. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that many of the wisest maxims of Egyptian policy were due to the genius of that illustrious minister, and to especial divine guidance vouchsafed to him in his administration.

"But suppose it to be true that some, or many, of the civil laws of Egypt were embodied in the Hebrew code, what influence, derogatory either to the genius or the inspiration of Moses, would such a fact warrant? Did any one ever suppose it detracted from the merit of the Roman jurisprudence, that the twelve tables were framed by a commission which had been appointed by the senate to examine the laws of other nations? And how would such a fact militate against the inspiration of the lawgiver? The Spirit of God might as well prompt him to take from the legislation of a foreign state that which was valuable, and with which he and his people were already acquainted, as to dictate laws entirely new, and, till then, unknown. The former is as natural and legitimate a province of inspiration as the latter. Besides, let all that is alleged be granted, it still remains true, that, in their fundamental principles, the two constitutions were the antipodes of each other. Egypt was a despotism; Judaea a

republic. The people of the former were slaves; the people of the latter, free-men. In Egypt the prince governed, or the priesthood, through the prince; in Palestine, the nation. The Egyptian government was founded on force, the Hebrew government, on consent. The former was a government of will; the latter a government of law. In Egypt, an iron system of caste crushed every opening faculty and every generous aspiration of man's nature; on the banner of Palestine flamed, in living letters, 'liberty, equality, fraternity.'

Book the second is entitled, "Organic Law of the Hebrew State," and contains ten chapters. One of these is preliminary, and the last contains a summing up of the whole. The other eight are on the Hebrew Theocracy, Constitution, Chief Magistrate, Senate, Commons, Oracle, Priesthood, and Prophets. On the Oracle, we find much that is important, but we can find room for only the following:—

"The Oracle played a conspicuous and most important part in the establishment and administration of the Jewish theocracy. That incomparable summary of the Mosaic code, and of all moral duty—the decalogue—was uttered, amid terrific thunderings and lightnings, from the mysterious symbol of the Divinity, in an articulate voice, which reached every ear, and penetrated every heart, and awed every understanding, of the mighty multitude that crowded around the base of Mount Sinai. So also all the rest of the political, civil, moral, and religious laws of the Hebrews were dictated by the Oracle, though they were afterward, as observed by Dr. Spring, in his *Discourses on the Obligations of the World to the Bible*, passed before and adopted by the legal assemblies of the nation. The Oracle, in the form of the cloudy pillar, regulated the motions of the Israelitish armies: 'For when the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, the children of Israel journeyed; and where the cloud rested, there the children of Israel pitched their tents: at the command of Jehovah they journeyed, at the command of Jehovah they pitched.' How far the Oracle directed the military affairs of the Hebrews, plainly appears in the history of the siege and capture of Jericho. In the earlier periods of the commonwealth, the Oracle was constantly appealed to on questions of civil and ecclesiastical law, in settling principles of state policy, and generally in affairs of moment, appertaining to the public administration. 'In the time of Moses,' observes Michaelis, 'the Oracle was unquestionably very conspicuous. God himself gave laws to the Israelites, decided difficult points of justice; was constantly visible in the cloud of pillar and fire, and inflicted punishments, not according to the secret procedure of Providence, but in the most manifest manner.' The constitution of the Hebrew judges, both higher and lower, the election of civil rulers, the cognizance of many causes, some in the first instance and others on appeal, were branches of the sovereignty of Jehovah, as king of Israel. The use of the Oracle in deciding difficult cases in law is the more worthy of note, as it serves to explain the constitution with respect to appeals. It was the oracle that decided the question, how persons defiled by a dead body should keep the Passover. Thus also the Oracle determined the question of female succession, in the case of the daughter of Zelophehad. And thus it was the Oracle, again, which declared the punishment of Sabbath breaking. Hence it may be seen, that the last resort, both in civil and criminal cases, especially when new and difficult questions were involved, was in the Oracle, and not in the opinion of the high priest alone, nor of the judge alone, nor of both conjointly with the senate and congregation, unless they were fully agreed. If a difficulty arose, the last appeal was to the Oracle, on whose decision the high priest did not give his private judgment, but the Oracle itself gave final judgment in the case."

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia, being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopædia, with additions from other sources. By Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D.D. Part IX. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

This work progresses steadily, and we are struck, with every new number, with the vast amount of recondite intelligence which is exhibited in its pages. The name of Mrs. Fry occurring in this part with others of modern times, would indicate a far more extensive design than could be embraced in the limits in which the work is to be confined, and perhaps it might have been as well to exclude all subjects the importance of which has not been tested by time. However there are plenty of archæological topics discussed. We could wish that a little care had been taken to give the Hebrew quotations correctly. Herzog and his literary coadjutors, nice to a point in all such matters, must be horrified to see how the "language of Canaan" is disfigured by errors in these pages. As a sample of the whole contents we present to our readers the following:—

"*Foot Washing.*—The use of sandals, the character of the climate, social custom, and religious purifications, tended to promote the Oriental washing of the feet. It was an act of hospitality, and a proof of respect for strangers (Gen. xviii. 4; xix. 2; 1 Sam. xxv. xli). Hence the reproof of Simon (Luke vii. 38—44). At the last supper of our Lord with his disciples, he washed their feet (John xiv. 4, etc.). This was a *symbol* and *example*. *Symbolically* he desired to shew them: 1. That only they who permitted the Lamb of God to cleanse them of their sins had part in him; 2. That whoever were once purified in his blood needed only to have their feet washed, but these repeatedly, as long as they wandered in this filthy world. Those once justified would continually need forgiveness unto justification. The fact that Jesus performed this symbolical act in connexion with the institution of the supper readily suggests that the 'often' applied to the one should be likewise associated with the other. At the same time the *example* of humility thus set by the Saviour should be remembered afresh at every holy communion. His followers should anew imbibe the spirit of a fraternal willingness to perform the meanest service for each other. It could hardly fail that in post-apostolic times (1 Tim. v. 10 refers only to an act of hospitality) not merely the *spirit*, but *form* of the Saviour's act would be perpetuated as a command to be literally observed (see Bingham, *Ant.* iv. 394). Augustine attests the existence of the rite (*Ep.* 118, ad. Jan.), and also the uncertainty of the day of its observance. The synod of Toledo, 694, c. 3, fixed Thursday the 14th of Nisan as that on which it was instituted by Christ. The Greek church considered foot-washing a sacrament. Bernard of Clairvaux urged its observance as *sacramentum remissionis peccatorum quotidianorum*. But the rite never became a general ecclesiastical service. At the seats of princes and bishops it was often observed during the middle ages. In Greek monasteries and at the imperial court of Russia it is still performed

with great solemnity (Leo. Allat., *de dom. et hebdom. græc.*, 21). In the Vatican, at the courts of Vienna, Munich, Madrid, Lisbon, Paris, in the Roman cathedrals and monasteries the rite is also still performed by the pope, emperor, king, and prior, usually upon twelve poor old men, who then receive a small gift, or upon twelve regular and secular clergy. In Rome these representatives wear white woollen cowls, and sit in the Clementine chapel, the Pope also wearing the single white tunic, sprinkles a few drops of water upon the right foot of each one, wipes it and kisses it. At the commencement of the ceremony the antiphony, *mandatum novum de vobis*, is sung, hence the rite *pedelavium* is also called *mandatum*. After the ceremony the twelve go and take a supper in St. Paul's church, at which the Pope, assisted by his chamberlains, serves them. After the meal the honoured guests take all the articles used, with the fragments left, along with them (excepting the silver cups used for drinking). At the Reformation the proper conception of this rite was revived. Instead of a formal and hypocritical act of humiliation the duty of imitating the true import of the example was urged. The Anglican church at first held to a literal observance of the rite, and instead of it, as many poor men and women as there were years in the king's reign were furnished with garments and pieces of money in the chapel near Whitehall. The Anabaptists insisted upon the strict observance of the rite as literally enjoined. Among the Anabaptists in the United States, 'the Church of God' (Winebrennarians) Mennonites, and River Brethren practise foot-washing. The United Brethren in Christ leave its observance optional with individual members. (See Alt., *d. chr. Cultus*, 1851)."

The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture, with an explanation of Technical Terms, and a Centenary of Ancient Terms. By MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM. Tenth edition. Illustrated with three hundred woodcuts. London: Kent and Co. 1859. 18mo, pp. 516.

This volume needs no recommendation from us since it has long been at once a popular and accredited manual, compiled with care and taste. The present edition contains two new chapters treating of the internal arrangement of churches both before and after the Reformation. From these we extract an interesting paragraph or two on offertory boxes:—

"Offertory boxes were from an early period set up in many of our churches. In the mandate issued A.D. 1166 for contributing towards the defence and assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land, a box (*truncus*) was enjoined to be placed in every church, which box was to have three keys, one to be kept by the priest and the other two by the most trustworthy of the parishioners. Another instance of a general order for setting up these boxes in churches, though like the last for a special purpose, is noticed in a letter of Pope Innocent the Third, who, A.D. 1200, when about to tax the church under the ostensible object of providing means for the relief of the Holy Land, wrote to the archbishops and bishops of

the different dioceses, in which letter occurs the following passage :—‘ To this end we command that in every church there shall be placed a hollow trunk, fastened with three keys, the first to be kept by the bishop, the second by the priest of the church, and the third by some religious layman ; and that the faithful shall be exhorted to deposit in it, according as God shall move their hearts, their alms for the remission of their sins ; and that once in the week in all churches mass shall be publicly sung for the remission of sins, and especially of those who shall thus contribute.’ There are some offertory boxes still existing in our churches so exceedingly rude in construction, being literally hollowed out from the trunk or branch of a tree, that having no peculiar features by which they may be recognised, they may be either of an early or comparatively late period. In Smarden church, Kent, is an ancient offertory box of wood, let into the lid of which is an enamelled plate of copper, apparently of Limoge work, with the representation of the sacrament of baptism, a font, and four figures including that of the infant recipient, appearing, whilst the whole surface of the plate round the figures is covered with blue enamel and gilt foliage scroll-work. This enamelled plate appears of the latter part of the twelfth, or early part of the thirteenth century. The perforated slit for the money is not in the centre of the plate, but rather on one side, between two of the figures, and the plate measures six inches by four and one-eighth inches. The box into which this plate is let, appears comparatively modern ; it is in the shape of a plain parallelogram, with three locks and keys, and is fastened by iron plates to an octagonal shaft of wood, apparently the sawn trunk of a tree, with a base moulding, indicative of its being of a period certainly not later than the fifteenth century. It is probable this enamelled plate may have belonged to an offertory box of a date corresponding with the letter of Pope Innocent III.”

INTELLIGENCE,

BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

THE LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

THE Bampton Lectures of Mr. Mansel were reviewed in our last number, but the work has excited so much attention, and the subject of it is so supremely important, that we think we shall have the thanks of our readers for presenting them with the following extracts from some of the leading criticisms upon it:—

It is possible that the reader who has taken the trouble to master the book itself, and then proceeds to the perusal of the remarks we have thought it our duty to make upon it, may think we have occasionally misrepresented or misunderstood him. We trust this is not the case, but in such abstractions it is very difficult for two writers, differing in their views, to throw themselves entirely into the theory which they do not embrace; and the propositions from which we dissent are so mixed up with others to which we give a hearty assent, that it has not been easy to represent the exact point at which we part company from our author.

To repeat what we have elsewhere implied, Mr. Mansel seems to think that we can know that certain ideas which we form have real existences corresponding to them, but denies that we know more than *that* they exist, refusing to admit that we at all know *what* they are. Thus we are supposed to be furnished with the knowledge that God *is*, and to be entirely in the dark as to *what* He is, except so far as He is revealed,—that revelation being, from the nature of the case, *regulative*, and, as it were, a mere condescension to human infirmity.

Similarly,—the knowledge to which we can attain of justice, for instance, is not of justice as it exists in the Divine nature, but only of justice in its human manifestations; we may know that there is such a thing as justice, we cannot know *what* it is except in a representation adapted to our faculties.

In contradistinction to this view, it seems to us that it is necessarily involved in the knowledge that God is, that we have some true idea of *what* He is,—*e.g.*, that He possesses the attributes of power, justice, goodness, love. And again, to be able to pronounce that justice exists at all, implies some faint knowledge at least of what it really is; just in the same way as the person who can pronounce upon the existence of the five regular solids, and the impossibility of any others, has a true view, however imperfect, of what they really are by the very ability which he possesses of distinguishing them from other impossible combinations of faces, edges, and angles. To be able to pronounce that a regular tetrahedron exists, is to know something of its real nature; it is the first step in a process which admits of indefinite extension, which can never be deemed complete till all that can be said or thought about it is known. It is no reply to this to deny the analogy on the ground that we are comparing the finite with the Infinite. We have already said, that to speak of God as being *the Infinite*, conveys to our mind no positive idea whatever. And we are utterly unable to see why, in the contemplation of the attributes of power, wisdom, goodness, the knowledge that these attributes are infinite or perfect, should be thought to alter the nature of those finite portions of them which are subjected to our view; or how it can be denied that we may push our investigations into the infinite, when it is notorious that mathematical science can take cognizance of numbers continued to infinity, and of lines produced *ad infinitum*.

In moral science as well as in speculative reasoning, we approach the infinite from the finite: as in mathematics we must know what the nature of the curve is before we can ascertain anything about its infinite branches, so in theology there is an absurdity in speaking of the infinite unless you apply the term to some nature of which you know something in the finite. Nothing is more common among mathematicians than to sum an infinite series; or, to take a

similar instance from geometry, to ascertain the area enclosed between the infinite branches of a curve. There are many points connected with the subject which never have been reduced to any rule of computation, and many which will for ever elude investigation, just because we can only know the infinite up to a certain point. But our knowledge of it in the cases which we have just alluded to is quite as real and quite as certain as any knowledge we possess of the properties of the curve which do not involve the idea of infinity. We do not use the argument in the mere way of analogy. We do not at all care to have it represented as a probability that, because we can really derive true and demonstrable results from calculations of the infinite in geometry, that it may be so in theology. It is no analogy; it is rather an instance in point to shew that the infinite, in some of its manifestations at least, is not beyond the grasp of human intellect.

We shall be thought by some, perhaps, to be running very close to Mr. Mansel's view of the *regulative* nature of that knowledge of divine things to which we can attain, if we avow our conviction, that though human thought is able to reach to a true conception of them, yet human language is unable adequately to express it. Laws cannot be laid down by human legislators, however closely they may wish to adhere to the original of all law, in language which shall be wholly free from exception; the commands to do, and to abstain, laid down even in the Decalogue, are not so expressed as in their exact letter to represent exactly, and without possibility of exceptional cases, the law of God written in the heart. There is, perhaps, an inherent inability in human language to give expression to a law which shall provide, in one abstract sentence, for the almost endless variety and complication of circumstances in which men may have to act. But the inadequacy of language to express, is very different from the inability of thought to conceive. We have had occasion, in an earlier part of this paper, to refer to the science of astronomy for an illustration, and it will provide us another example in point here, which will at least serve to illustrate what we mean. Every one who has advanced beyond the merest elements of astronomical science, is familiar with the mode in which the first crude conceptions of the motions of the heavenly bodies is expressed, and how advancing knowledge shews that the statements were in themselves not true, but only rough approximations to the truth. Language has no power of dealing with the case except by abstracting circumstances, which the learner cannot comprehend, and stating generally what results are like, not what they really are, and what would take place under certain absence of conditions, which never in fact can be realized. Instances of this will occur at once to every one with regard to the representation made of the figure of the earth, the rotation on its axis, the paths of the planetary bodies, the motion of the whole solar system in space. We have in our day witnessed a ridiculous controversy as to whether the moon moved round on her axis, a dispute which never could have arisen at all if this fundamental difficulty of language which appears in every astronomical truth had been borne in mind. We must remind our readers here, that we are only making use of the analogy of this science in the way of illustration, and not as if it *proved* anything at all as to the point at issue between Mr. Mansel and ourselves.

Now the propositions of which we have been speaking as presented to the learner in astronomy, in comparison with the actual truths which this science in its present state of perfection lays before the mind of the astronomer, are somewhat analogous to the regulative truths which Mr. Mansel speaks of in theology, as contrasted with those speculative truths which are beyond the reach of human faculties. In astronomy, such statements are in themselves true thus far, that with the superposition of other statements, they would represent the whole truth. They are, moreover, true in themselves, as representing what would take place in obedience to known laws of causation, if certain circumstances of fact could be dispensed with. As such they seem to us to resemble those *regulative* truths, as Mr. Mansel calls them, which, in common with him, we regard as imperfect and inadequate representations, but which we feel assured are integral portions, and not mere shadows of the truth itself.

The author does not write as if he had any misgiving of the truth of his main position, but he frequently provides against what he would call misconceptions of it, and protests against over-statements. He is aware that his theory is very like the view that we are entirely ignorant of the real nature of things; that human beings are consigned to a hopeless state of scepticism. He evidently expects that some of his readers will think he has substituted entire ignorance in the place of that partial knowledge which points the way to, and is itself part of, that knowledge to which we hope to attain hereafter. Amongst such readers we must be content to rank ourselves; and we earnestly hope that in what we have said we shall not deter any reader from reading this remarkable book and judging for himself. The confutation of rationalism is complete, and we venture to think unanswerable; and it would not have been one whit the less forcible if it had not been engrafted on the questionable theory which we have been attempting to analyze. With the exception of this general view, which does not in the least affect any argument which is adduced against any particular rationalistic view, there is scarcely anything in the book which we do not heartily approve.—*Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1859.

In the first of these Bampton Lectures there is a definition of Dogmatism and Rationalism; and it is shewn how the one is apt to err by forcing reason into accordance with revelation, and the other by forcing revelation into accordance with reason. In the second Lecture Mr. Mansel points out with great distinctness the two opposite methods by which a Philosophy of Religion may be attempted: the one, the objective or metaphysical, based upon a supposed knowledge of the nature of God; the other, the subjective or psychological, based on a knowledge of the mental faculties of man. He enters on a criticism of the first. It is here that his searching review bears the closest analogy to the formidable assault of Hamilton on the Philosophy of the Absolute. He labours to shew that the fundamental ideas of Rational Theology—the Absolute, the Infinite, the First Cause—involve mutual contradictions; and that there are further contradictions involved in the coexistence of the Absolute and Relative, the Infinite and the Finite. We are not sure that we can concur in all the strong statements made on this subject by the school of Hamilton. Some of them are advanced in the very manner of the Eleatic Zeno, when, in order to shut men up into the doctrine that all things are one and immoveable, he tried to shew that there are contradictions in the idea of motion. Ever since Kant propounded his Antinomies, or supposed contradictions of reason, it has been the delight of the schools ramifying from him to multiply contradictions. It appears to us to be possible both to think and speak about motion, and about the Infinite, the Absolute, and the First Cause, without landing ourselves in contradictions. There are native convictions collecting round all these subjects, and as long as we keep to them, and give the exact expression of them, we are not landed even in seeming inconsistencies. We admit freely that whenever we pass beyond the limited portion of truth thus intuitively revealed, we are landed in darkness and in mystery,—any assertions we make will in fact be meaningless, and rash assertions may be contradictory on the supposition that they have a meaning,—but then the contradictions do not lie in our native convictions, but in our unwarranted statements;—it can be shewn that the Antinomies of Kant are not real contradictions in the *dicta* of reason, but merely in his own mutilated account of them, derived from criticism, and not from induction. Not a little confusion is produced in these discussions, by looking on infinite and cause as if they were entities, whereas infinity and power are merely attributes of an entity, say of God. We never could see even the appearance of a contradiction between the idea of an infinite space and an infinite God on the one hand, and a finite piece of matter and a finite creature on the other. The supposed contradiction arises only when we make unwarranted statements about the one or the other. The real mystery arises only when, not satisfied with the fact of the existence of both, we put unmeaning questions about the *how*, or about some unknown bond of relation. The following is the account which we are inclined to give of what Mr. Mansel has actually done in the second lecture:—With an acuteness which we have never

seen surpassed, he shews how we land ourselves in darkness whenever we, who know but in part, make assertions as if we knew the whole, and how those who would construct a Rational Theology out of the ideas of infinity and First Cause, land themselves in positive contradictions. As he says in another lecture :—

“ Reason does not deceive us if we only read her witness aright; and reason herself gives us warning when we are in danger of reading it wrong. The light that is within us is not darkness, only it cannot illuminate that which is beyond the sphere of its rays. The self-contradictions into which we inevitably fall when we attempt certain courses of speculation, are the beacons placed by the hand of God in the mind of man to warn us that we are deviating from the track which He designs us to pursue; that we are striving to pass the barriers which He has planted around us. The flaming sword turns every way against those who strive in the strength of their own reason to force their passage to the tree of life.”—p. 198.

In the third lecture he examines the Philosophy of Religion as constructed from the laws of the human mind. He enunciates four conditions of all human consciousness. Knowing the abuse made of them by Professor Ferrier, we are suspicious of conditions laid down so rigidly, and without a previous induction. We acknowledge no conditions of consciousness, except those laws of human intelligence which can be discovered by a careful and cautious observation, which, in discovering the existence of the laws, will also discover their limits. The conditions are :—distinction between one object and another; relation between subject and object; succession and duration; and personality;—all of which he endeavours to shew are inconsistent with an idea of the Infinite or Absolute. It appears clear to us that there are native convictions attached to all these subjects, viz., the difference between things made known to us; the difference between self and not-self; time; and personality;—what we desiderate is to have these stated fully and cautiously, not as conditions, but as facts. When these convictions are properly enunciated, all appearance of contradiction between them and the native conviction which the mind has of the Infinite will disappear. Every man has a necessary conviction of his personality; but there is no seeming contradiction between this and our conviction, that there is an infinite God. I am led to look on God as a person; and if personality be viewed as an attribute, there is really no inconsistency in supposing God to possess the further attribute of infinity. We deny that “ the only human conception of personality is that of limitation ” (p. 119). This statement might come consistently from a Kantian, who, starting with a number of other and artificial forms, has most inexcusably overlooked personality as a native conviction. But Mr. Mansel has told us that personality is revealed in all the “ clearness of an original intuition.” Transfer this indefinable attribute to God, and transfer at the same time our intuitive conviction as to infinity to God, and we can see no incongruity. A mystery may arise, we admit, when we travel beyond our convictions. Mr. Mansel has shewn how those who would construct a Rational Theology out of these mysteries land themselves in hopeless contradictions.

In the fourth lecture he expounds what he regards as the two principal modes of religious intuition, which are a feeling of dependence, and a sense of moral obligation. The former is represented as implying a Personal Superior, and prompting to prayer; while the latter implies a Moral Governor, and gives a sense of sin and of the need of an expiation. Mr. Mansel is now on ground which we rejoice to see him occupying; and we can go along with him freely and buoyantly without our being for ever in terror of running on a bristling barrier, or of being crushed in the collision of a contradiction. It is here we find him shewing that the mind has a belief in the Infinite, and a “ conviction that the Infinite does exist, and must exist.” Right heartily do we concur in his exposition of moral obligation, and of the great truths involved in it: we only wish that he had been equally fearless in his interpretation of our intellectual intuitions. In regard to the feeling of dependence, we may be permitted

to say, that while we look on it as native, we regard it as issuing from a combination of different convictions ever pressing themselves on us. Feeling or emotion, we might shew, is always attached to an apprehension of something; and we think we can specify the apprehensions which give rise to the feeling of dependence. All that we see or know on earth points to a higher cause. Providence, in particular, is impressing us with our dependence on arrangements made independent of us. Our sense of obligation points to a Being to whom we are at all times responsible, and to whom we must at last give an account of the deeds done in the body, whether they have been good or evil. Our sense of sin and of want ever prompts us to look out for one who may supply what we need. Nor is it to be omitted, that the conviction we have of the Infinite is ever prompting us to bow before one who is inconceivably above us. The feeling of dependence seems to us the result of such deep convictions as these. We can, therefore, agree with Mr. Mansel in thinking that Schleiermacher has by no means given the right account of it; and we have to thank him for his criticism of the fundamental position of the Schleiermacher philosophy and theology.

We have already noticed the distinction between speculative and regulative truth: it is drawn by Mr. Mansel at the close of the fourth and in the fifth lecture. Our doctrine on this subject is, that man does know truth positively, but that he knows truth only "in part," and ever errs when he supposes that his knowledge is absolute. And hence we can agree with nearly all that he says so ingeniously as to the analogy between man's constitution and the mode in which instruction is given in the Bible, so adapted to man's finite comprehension. The two are in unison, in that both imply that man's capacity of knowledge is limited. The inspired writers "prophecy in part" to beings who can "know but in part."

In the sixth lecture we have admirable parallels between our ignorance as to religious truths and our ignorance in regard to philosophic truth. "Reason gains nothing by repudiating revelation; for the mystery of revelation is the mystery of reason" (p. 178). We thank him for the rebuke administered to those who look on the mode of procedure by natural law as involved in our idea of God.

In the seventh lecture he speaks of human morality as being relative, not absolute. At the same time he insists (p. 206) that there is an "absolute morality," that there is "a higher and unchangeable principle" embodied in these human and relative forms. We ask him how he knows this, or how he can prove this? For if the mind's "forms" may modify morality in one thing, why not in others?—why not in all, till we are landed in moral nescience? We save ourselves from these consequences by declaring, that man's convictions of morality are at once positive and limited—positive as distinguished from relative, and limited as distinguished from absolute. Man's moral cognition being thus limited, we agree with all that Mr. Mansel says about our not being in a position to judge of God's judgments which are unsearchable, and His ways which are past finding out.

In the eighth and last lecture he gives a summary of the Christian Evidences, internal and external. We are inclined to give a larger place to the internal evidences than he is able to do, in consequence of his imposing such terribly stringent limits to the objective value of our intuitive convictions. We, too, have a limit which we impose;—it is, that the internal principle appealed to, be shewn to be in the constitution of the mind, and be rigidly inducted. We most heartily concur in all that he says, so admirably and so devoutly, in closing, as to the difficulties of revealed religion arising from the limited nature of our facilities, and as forming part of our training and discipline in this present life.

There are perplexities in philosophy as well as in theology, which the human intellect cannot make straight any more than it can square the circle. We who dwell in a world "where day and night alternate," we who go everywhere accompanied with our own shadow, cannot expect to be absolutely delivered from the darkness. Man is so constituted that he can admire, and love, and even trust, in that which is so far mysterious. The mind is not averse to go

out at times into the dim, the ancient, the mingling of light and shadow. It avoids instinctively the open, uninteresting plain, where all is seen and discovered by one glance of the eye, and finds more pleasure in losing itself amid a variety of hill, and dale, and forest, where we catch occasional glimpses of distant objects, or see them in dim perspective. The soul of man never has been satisfied with a cold and rationalistic creed, but has rather delighted to luxuriate amid the doctrines of the Word, which win and allure us by the exhibition of the light and love of God, and yet awe us by the shadow of infinity which falls upon us.

Human logic has endeavoured at times to construct a religion, but has failed in all its attempts, as this age is prepared to acknowledge. But Intuitionism is just as incapable of forming a religion as the logical understanding. All attempts hitherto made are confessed failures. There was at one time an expectation that something better than the old faith of the Bible might come out of the philosophies of Schleiermacher, or Schelling, or Hegel; but we rather think that the last hope of any such issue has vanished.

It was also long thought by some, that certain men of genius, who had borrowed from the German metaphysicians, such as Goethe, Coleridge, and Thomas Carlyle, must have something to unfold new and important, and fitted to satisfy the deeper wants of the soul. But in this they have been disappointed. Such men as Francis Newman, Theodore Parker, and Emerson, have followed so erratic and meteor-like a career that few would desire to follow them, and have arrived at results which the heart feels to be unsatisfactory, and this all the more, inasmuch as the scanty creed which they retain is liable to be assailed on the same grounds as the tenets which they have abandoned. Intuitionism has thus had its trial in the age now passing away, as Rationalism had in previous ages; and both have been found utterly insufficient.

In Oxford, since Pusey, Manning, Keble, Wilberforce, and Newman (men of strong, but diseased minds) originated the mediæval High Church movement, the wheel of opinion has taken one full half turn. It has, unfortunately, not brought those who are mounted on it any nearer to a thorough submission to Scripture. As in Roman Catholic countries the rampant superstition leads to scepticism, which again, when its hideousness is discovered, tempts men to flee back to superstition, so in Oxford the High Churchism of the last age, brought in to repel at one and the same time Rationalism and Dissenterism, has ended in this age in Intuitionism. We rather think that there will now be found in Oxford few young men of ability, under thirty years of age, professing Puseyism, while not a few of the more impulsive are high Intuitionists. But, as the opposite sides of the wheel have a point of union in the centre, so the opposite parties have a bond of connexion, in an unwillingness to allow the common doctrines of Natural Theology and to submit to a literal interpretation of the Word; and so they agree with each other, after all, in not a few things; as in going elsewhere than Scripture for their religion—in the last age to the church, in this age to a showy intuition; we may add, in their attachment to stained glass, fine music, and imposing forms, and in their antipathy to the evangelical party in the church and beyond the church. In these circumstances, we are gratified beyond measure to find one of Oxford's most learned sons declaring—

"No man has a right to say, 'I will accept Christ as I like, and reject Him as I like: I will follow the holy example; I will turn away from the atoning sacrifice: I will listen to His teaching; I will have nothing to do with His mediation: I will believe Him when He tells me that He came from the Father, because I feel that His doctrine has a divine beauty and fitness; but I will not believe Him when He tells me that He is one with the Father, because I cannot conceive how this unity is possible.' This is not philosophy which thus mutilates man; this is not Christianity which thus divides Christ."—*The North British Review*, February, 1859.

It would be a melancholy and miserable result were we compelled to conclude that, because we cannot comprehend God positively and directly we can therefore know nothing of Him at all, or nothing that could form the basis of a theological system, or furnish materials and impulses to practical piety. But

to charge such a consequence on the speculations we have been expounding is, we believe, most unfair. When these speculations are embraced to the full, there still remains ample ground both for theological inquiry and for religious sentiment.

Though we cannot know God *absolutely* we may know Him *relatively*. Though we cannot take into our minds an adequate conception of His Infinite Majesty, we may clearly and impressively see those manifestations of Himself which He accommodates to our capacity; just as (to use the simile of Des Cartes) we may clearly conceive those parts of the ocean which lie before our view, though we may find it difficult, if not impossible, to conceive the ocean as a whole. God as He is in Himself we cannot see; but in His relation to the world and to ourselves He has so revealed Himself that we can see Him, and seeing Him, adore and confide and rejoice. In the language of Scripture, though we cannot know Him, we may know "parts of His ways;" and through them so much of his character and methods as it concerns us to know, or we are capable of knowing. What more than this can science or piety require? "Cognovi Te," exclaims Augustine, "non sicut Tibi es, sed cognovi Te sicut mihi es; et non sine Te, sed in Te; quia Tu es lux quæ illuminasti me. Sicut enim Tibi es, soli Tibi cognitus es; sicut mihi es, secundum gratiam tuam et mihi cognitus es."^a

Though we cannot know God *positively*, we may know Him *negatively*, *via negationis* as the old divines have expressed it. If we cannot tell what He is, we can tell what He is not; and this method of instructing us Scripture frequently employs. Herein, indeed, lies the chief part of our knowledge of God, as the very terms we employ in speaking of Him shew. For what are such words as infinite, unchangeable, immortal, etc., but just so many negatives, virtual acknowledgments that we know God only by contrast with what He is not? And even when our language assumes a positive *form*, how seldom is it that it conveys a positive *idea*? Let any one try to tell what is *meant* by such words as Eternal, Omnipresent, Holy, etc., otherwise than by a process of negation, and he will, we venture to say, find the task impossible. We thus see God by his shadow rather than by his direct light. Are we, then, left in ignorance of Him? Surely not; who ever saw a shadow without recognizing it as the indication of light? It is preposterous to say that a negative notion is a notion of nothing. Far from it; it is the notion of something which we know only as not possessing qualities or suffering conditions which we see in something else with which we are familiar. Of such notions a considerable part of our knowledge consists. What do we mean, for instance, by cold but the negation of heat? or by death but the negation of life? Are these, therefore, notions of nothing? This will hardly, we think, be affirmed. But if these negative notions be admitted, why should it be maintained that to have a negative notion of God would be to have a thought of nothing, and that the *via negationis*, as followed in our searchings after Him, can only land us in darkness and a great void? Not so thought Augustine. "Now," says he, "if ye cannot comprehend what God is, at least comprehend what God is not; you shall have made great proficiency if you shall think of God not otherwise than He is. If you cannot yet arrive at what He is, arrive at least at what He is not. . . . If you cannot comprehend what God is, do not think it a small thing to know what He is not."^b

Though we cannot know God *directly*, we may know Him by *analogy*—analogy with ourselves. Though we cannot gaze on the exceeding glory of Him who is light, we can receive that light by radiations and reflections so as to be able to endure it, and to walk in its illumination. As God made man at

^a *Soliloquia*, chap. xxxi. 12.

^b Nunc si non potestis comprehendere quid sit Deus, vel hoc comprehendite quid non sit Deus; multum profeceritis si non aliud quam est de Deo senseritis. Nondum potestis pervenire ad quid sit; pervenite ad quid non sit. . . . Si non vales comprehendere Deum quid sit, parum non tibi putes esse scire quid non sit.—*Expos. in Ev. Joan.*, Tr. 23.

first in his own image and likeness, there must be a sense in which man is the representation of God; and, at any rate, it is only by analogies borrowed from ourselves that we can realize to our minds any idea of God. As a German philosopher has tersely put it: "God in making man theomorphized; therefore man of necessity anthropomorphizes" in his conceptions, to wit, of God.^c We must descend into ourselves to ascend to God. We know directly and immediately nothing greater than ourselves, and therefore it is only by instituting a ratio of which one term is furnished by ourselves, that we can rise to the conception of that unseen Being who is infinitely above us. And it is in this way that our conceptions of God cease to be merely negative, and acquire a certain positivity of form and force. It is thus that we are able to represent Him to ourselves as an intelligent Essence, a Spirit, a being of thought and will. It has, indeed, been said that "the position *God is a spirit*, if laid down merely as a negative position, as the negation of corporeity, has a good and valid sense; but the same position, taken as a positive one, serving for a definition of the Divine essence, is utterly useless."^d But is this true? Shall we not rather say that, whilst God is a spirit in a sense peculiar to Himself, whilst He is the only pure and perfect Spirit, the only Absolute Intelligence, and as such incomprehensible and undefinable by us, his spirituality is nevertheless *analogous* to ours in its qualities and affections, so that, from what we know of intelligence in ourselves, we may obtain a knowledge, not perfect, indeed, yet free from error, of intelligence in God? By this means the Divine Being becomes for us a reality whom we may reverence, worship, trust, love, and obey. In no other way, in fact, is there for us really a God. We cannot realize a mere abstraction; we cannot reverence or fear an idea; we cannot love a physical law; we cannot trust in a blind insensate Fate. It is a God who manifests Himself to us as in relation with us, who is realized by us through analogy with ourselves, who is thought by us as like ourselves, though absolutely without any of those limitations that hem us in on every side; a God near at hand to us, yet infinitely glorious and infinitely good,—it is such a God alone of whom we can intelligently and rejoicingly say, "This God is our God for ever and ever."

We thus have a knowledge of God as revealed to us, a knowledge real and true, though not such a knowledge as we can rationalize or subject to the scrutiny of the understanding—a knowledge sufficient for faith and piety, though not such as the scientific reason would demand. A speculative knowledge of the unsearchable is for us impossible; but that does not preclude our having such a knowledge of Him in his relations to us as may suffice to regulate our conduct and feelings towards Him for the best and highest results. "Though I know not," says Archbishop King, "what God is in Himself, yet, if I believe He is able to hurt or help me, to make me happy or miserable, this belief is sufficient to convince me that it is my duty to fear Him. If I be assured that all his works are done with regularity, order, and fitness; that nothing can surprise or disappoint Him; that He can never be in any doubt or at a loss what is proper for Him to do; though I do not comprehend the faculties by which He performs so many admirable and amazing things, yet I know enough to make me adore and admire his conduct."^e These observations might be extended, as indeed they are by their author, to the whole of those relative aspects under which we regard God, so as to render Him that worship, trust, and obedience which are due from us to Him. Throughout, our knowledge, though speculatively to the last degree defective, may yet be amply sufficient for us, regulatively, with respect to all the purposes of our moral and spiritual being.

This distinction between a knowledge which is speculatively adequate, and

^c Den Menschen erschaffend theomorphisirte Gott: nothwendig anthropomorphisirt der Mensch.—Jacobi, *von Göttl. Dingen*, p. 182.

^d Der Satz, Gott ist ein Geist, hat bloss als negativer Satz, als negation der Körperlichkeit, seinen guten striftigen Sinn; derselbe Satz, als positiver, zur Bestimmung des göttlichen Wesens dienender, ist ganz unbrauchbar.—Fichte, *Gerichtl. Verantwortungsschriften*, p. 46.

^e *Discourse on Predestination*, edited by Whately, p. 33.

one which without being this is yet practically regulative, has been received by some as if it were a theological heresy of the basest sort. Without entering into the question at present as one of philosophical import, we would only recall to the attention of such two considerations which may serve to allay their apprehensions of danger from this distinction. The one of these is, that this distinction obtains in matters of ordinary life, and is acted on daily by thousands who follow safely and with advantage practical rules, the theory of which they cannot comprehend; so that, in applying this to our religious interests and relations, we postulate no new principle, but only carry out one to which universal consent has already been obtained. The other consideration is, that it is only on the ground of this distinction that the mode, so plentifully exemplified in Scripture, of representing God as if He were a being of like form, affections, and passions with ourselves, can be explained or justified. We there read that He has eyes, hands, feet—that He is angry, is grieved, repents—that He dwells in a house, sits on a throne, walks in a path, and many other such like representations. Now, viewed speculatively, such modes of representation are beyond all question incorrect; they do not answer to the real nature of God, and, if held as directly true concerning Him, would land us in serious error. What, then, are we to do with them? or how are we to make use of them so as to reap the benefit they are designed to convey to us? To these questions we can see no satisfactory answer without a resort to the distinction between speculative and regulative knowledge. Even if we adopt, as sufficient for the interpretation of such representations, the rule so tersely expressed by Aquinas, *Affectus in Deo denotat effectum*,^f that is, when human affections are ascribed to God, the meaning is, that He will deal with us practically as one having such affections would deal; that is, he will punish when he is said to be angry, will not inflict what has been threatened or give what has been promised, where he is said to repent, and so forth; it is only by a virtual recognition of the distinction between speculative and regulative knowledge that we can justify our course. We agree, however, with Mr. Mansel that this rule expresses only part of the truth, and that, over and above the effect, there is also indicated by these representations something in God that is analogous to those qualities and affections in us which they express, the knowledge of which is designed to have an influence on our feelings and conduct as his creatures. In this case it becomes still more evident that we have received what we may use as a regulative principle, though we cannot construe it as a speculative truth. Under the former aspect the revelation is clear and intelligible; under the latter there still remains the impenetrable veil of those clouds and that darkness which are around God's throne. To this distinction, then, we must hold that God himself has implicitly given his sanction by employing a method of representation in his Word which necessitates our having resort to it in order justly to apprehend and use his teachings.

Our portion in this present life is thus to see divine things only through a mirror in an enigma,^g beholding not the reality itself, but only the reflection of it through the medium of revelation, and that in such a form as to puzzle the natural reason. Still we *do* see, and for this we should be grateful. Nor should we forbear to acknowledge that it is good for us in our present state thus to be obliged to hold our faith amid speculative difficulties. "In the great variety of religious situations," says Butler, "in which men are placed, what constitutes, what chiefly and peculiarly constitutes, the probation, in all senses, of some persons, may be the difficulties in which the evidence of religion is involved; and their principal and distinguished trial may be how they will behave under and with respect to these difficulties."^h What Butler thus asserts with reference to the evidences of religion may be extended to the substance of religion, and what he hypothetically says of some may, we think, be positively affirmed to a greater or less degree of all as religious beings: it is good and profitable

^f *Summa*, p. i., qu. 2, art. 2.

^g δὲ ἐσθάρτου ἐν ἀνύγνωτον. 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

^h *Analogy*, part ii. ch. 6.

for us, as a part of our moral and spiritual discipline, that we should encounter many things to be believed which are yet hard to be understood, and many which are not to be understood at all, in the substance of divine truth. It is not for our welfare that our religion should be too easy for us, or that we should be able to hold it free of all speculative difficulties. We need to be trained to resist doubt, just as we need to be trained to resist evil. It may be otherwise with us in that higher and more perfect state for which this disciplinary scene is intended to prepare us, when, as Mr. Mansel beautifully expresses it, "the light which now gleams in restless flashes from the ruffled waters of the human soul, will settle into the steadfast image of God's face shining on its unbroken surface." We have reason to believe that it will be so; but for our present state another method of treatment is necessary; doubt and difficulty must needs encompass us as we pursue our upward path, and we have to be prepared for the inheritance of light by passing through the perplexities of an intermediate twilight.—*British Quarterly Review*.

We have done our best to explain why we utterly disavow Mr. Mansel's interpretation of Revelation, as a message intended to regulate human practice without unfolding the realities of the divine mind. It is a less easy task, but not less a duty, on the part of those who are gravely sensible of the emptiness of such an interpretation, to give some exposition of the deeper meaning which the fact of revelation assumes to their own minds. We hold that it is an unveiling of the very character and life of the eternal God; and an unveiling, of course, to a nature which is capable of beholding Him. It is not, in our belief, an overclouding of divine light to suit it for the dimness of human vision, but a purification of the human vision from the weakness and disease which render it liable to be dazzled and blinded by the divine light. It is, in short, the history of the awakening, purifying, and answering of the yearnings of the human spirit for a direct knowledge of Him. It proceeds from God, and not from man. The cloud which is on the human heart and reason can only be gradually dispersed by the divine love; no restless straining of turbid human aspiration can wring from the silent skies that knowledge which yet every human being is formed to attain. Coming from God, this method, this "education of the human race," as Lessing truly termed Revelation, has been unfolded with the unfolding capacity of the creatures he was educating to know him. Its significance cannot be confined to any special series of historical facts; but it is clear that the divine government of the Jewish race was meant to bring out, and did bring out, more distinctly the personality of God, while the history of other races brings out more clearly the divine capacities of man. Hence the coöperation of different nations was requisite for the fulfilment of the revelation. Centuries were required for the complete evolution even of that special Jewish history that was selected to testify to the righteous will and defined spiritual character of the Creator. Centuries on centuries will be required to discipline fully the human faculties that are to grow into the faith thus prepared for them. The blindness of the greatest men, of the highest races, of wide continents, cannot shake our faith that this purpose will be fulfilled; for the term of an earthly life is adequate at best for its conscious commencement, and only under special conditions even for that; nor are there wanting indications that both in the case of men and nations the longest training, and the dreariest periods of abeyance of spiritual life, are often preparations for its fullest growth. By tedious discipline, by slow Providence, by inspirations addressed to the seeking intellect of the philosopher, to the yearning imagination of the poet, to the ardent piety of the prophet, to the common reason and conscience of all men, and by the fulfilment of all wisdom in the Son of God's life on earth, has the Divine Spirit sought to drive away the mists that dim our human vision. Through its wants and powers alike human nature has been taught to know God. Its every power has been haunted by a want till the power was referred to its divine source, its very wants have become powers when they have turned to their divine object. If this, then, and nothing short of this, be revelation, a living and direct unfolding of that divine mind in which, whether we recognize it or not, we "live and move and have our being,"—an eternal growth in our knowledge of the eternal life,—we ought not to rest

satisfied with shewing that Mr. Mansel's reasons for disputing the possibility of such a wonderful truth are unsound,—we ought also to shew by what criteria we judge that this is the actual fact, the great reality, on which all our love of truth and knowledge rests.

The first stage in any revelation must be, one would suppose, the dawning knowledge that there is a veil "on the heart" of man, and that there is a life unmanifested behind it. In Mr. Mansel's, as in our view, this is a knowledge which can be gained by man; but he makes it the final triumph of human faith and philosophy to recognize and *acquiesce* in it; while we hold it to be the very first lesson of the personal conscience, the very first purpose of that external discipline which was intended to engrave the divine personality on Jewish history, to teach that such a cloud may ever threaten the mind and conscience, but that it *can be dispersed*.

What, indeed, is the first lesson of the human conscience, the first truth impressed upon the Jewish nation, but this, that a presence besets man behind and before, which he cannot evade, and which is ever giving new meanings to his thoughts, new direction to his aims, new depth to his hopes, new terror to his sins? Where, then, if this haunting presence be so overpowering, if it follow us as it followed the deepest minds among the Jewish people, till it seem almost intolerable,—where is the darkness and the veil which revelation implies? Just in the fact that this presence does seem intolerable; that it is so far apart from that of man, that, like a dividing sword, it makes his spirit start; that he seeks to escape, and is, in fact, really able to resist it; that he can so easily case-harden his spirit against the supernatural pain; that instead of opening his mind to receive this painfully-tasking life that is not his own, he can so easily, for a time at least, set up in its place an idol carved out of his own nature, or something even more passive than his own nature, and therefore not likely to disturb his dream of rest. This, we take it, is the first stage or act of revelation, whether in the individual conscience, or in that special history which is intended to reveal the conflicts between the heart of a nation and the God who rules it. It is the discovery of a presence too pure, too great, too piercing for the natural life of man,—the effort of the mind, on one pretence or another, to be allowed to stay on its own level and disregard this presence,—the knowledge that, this must end in sinking below its own level,—the actual trial and experience that it is so,—the reiterated pain and awe of a new intrusion of the supernatural light,—the reiterated effort to "adapt" that light to human forms and likings,—the reiterated idolatry which all such adaptations imply, whether physical, as in the Jewish times, or intellectual, as in our own,—and the reiterated shame of fresh degradation. If this be, as, we believe, the human conscience testifies, whether as embodied in the typical history of the Jews, or in the individual mind, the first stage in that discovery which we call Revelation, what becomes of Mr. Mansel's theory, that Revelation is the "adaptation" of the "infinite" to the "finite," of the perfect to the imperfect, of the absolute morality to the poor capacities of a sinful being? If so,—why this craving of the nature to be let alone, this starting as at the touch of a flame too vivid for it,—this comfort in circumscribing, or fancying that we can circumscribe, the living God in some human image or form of thought, and worshipping that by way of evading the reality? Does the human spirit ever quail thus before a mere notion? If God himself is inaccessible to knowledge, should not we find it extremely easy to adapt ourselves to any abstract or ideal conception of him? It is the living touch of righteousness, even though human only, that makes us shrink; not the idea of righteousness, which, as all theologies testify, is found pliant enough. But if it be a righteous life and will, not merely the idea or idol of a righteous life and will, that stirs human nature thus deeply, and finds us, as it found the Jews, afraid to welcome it, awe-struck at the chasm which divides us from it, fearful to surrender ourselves to its guidance, ready to adapt it in any way to us, unready to adapt ourselves to it,—if, we say, we know it to be a *living* will that thus checks, urges, and besets us, Mr. Mansel's theory as to the narrow limits of human knowledge would scarcely induce him to deny that it is God himself; for there is nothing in his theory which is not almost as much contradicted by

any living spiritual converse between the human spirit and a spirit of perfect holiness as by direct converse with God.—*National Review*.

The argument of the work is based upon the great principle enunciated by Sir William Hamilton, and which contains in itself a refutation of the whole school of German sophists, to wit: "the unconditioned is incognizable and inconceivable; its notion being only negative of the conditioned, which last can alone be but partially known or conceived."

We have said that these German philosophers are self-contradictory. Even Tennemann thus speaks of the results which his countrymen have already reached: "The vast variety of contradictory attempts, destructive of each other, to which the spirit of philosophical research has, in modern times, given birth, may appear to throw suspicion on the cause itself, and to discourage the very idea of the possibility of a satisfactory solution of the problems proposed by the discovery of a theory of knowledge based on firm and immutable principles. *The critical system itself has failed to check, as it undertook to do, the daring flight of speculation, or to disarm scepticism; and has had the effect of affording them renewed strength and more lofty pretensions.*" Some of our best American scholars, who, in their earlier years, were somewhat taken with German Philosophy, later in life have become thoroughly sick of its vast pretensions, and its almost utter fruitlessness; but most of all, of the infidel habits of thought and feeling which it is sure to generate. Its *πῶς οὐκ* is wrong. It starts with a lie in its right hand.

We have already spoken of the Notes. Filling more than one hundred and thirty pages in fine type, the original Greek, Latin, French, and German of the English, are given in a translation, in this American edition. They are sufficiently full to represent that system of speculation which is spreading so rapidly in this country, which is as blasphemous as it is insidious, and which is the more to be dreaded, as it conceals its designs under the pretentious garb of sanctity, philanthropy, and learning.

We will not lay down the volume without saying that the work is open to severe criticism in one or two points, but they do not touch its main positions; while most of the comments upon the book, which we have seen, seem to us rather an attempt to exhibit the metaphysical acumen of the writer, than to overturn the foundation on which Mr. Mansel has planted himself.

We are aware that we have but imperfectly indicated the method of the argument in these Lectures, and their pertinence and value. But we would not fail, in behalf of American Churchmen, to express to the learned author our grateful appreciation of a work so needful, and so nobly done. Its usefulness will be greater in the American than in the English Church; as we are exposed, even more than our English brethren, to the baleful influence of German infidelity; while we have fewer correctives which we can bring to bear against its poison. Our clergy, and, we trust, multitudes of our laity, will read the book, and will be strengthened by it for the great conflict of the age, against a proud, bitter, infidel, dogmatizing Rationalism, which is eating out the very heart of our Religion, and which is sapping the foundation on which rest not only the Sacraments and Ministry of the Gospel, but all its most vital Doctrines.—*American Church Review*.

The Bible Printing Monopoly.—The select committee appointed to inquire into "the nature and extent of the Queen's printers' patent for England and Wales, so far as relates to the right of printing the Holy Scriptures, and to report their opinion as to the propriety of any future grant of that patent," have simply reported to the House of Commons the evidence adduced before them during the late session. They recommend their re-appointment next year. The chairman of the Committee was Mr. Baines, M.P. for Leeds; the other members being Messrs. Clive, Walpole, Ewart, Bright, Selwyn, Crum Ewing, A. Mills, F. Crossley, Lefroy, Lord R. Cecil, and Sir Charles Douglas. The committee held four sittings. The witnesses examined were Mr. W. Spottiswoode, one of the patentees, Mr. R. Besley, type-founder, Mr. Charles Childs, printer, of Bungay, Mr. B. Pardon, of the firm of Reed and Pardon, printers, Mr. F. Warne, of the

publishing house of Messrs. Routledge, the Rev. Dr. Caswall, an American Episcopal divine, the Rev. C. Clayton, M.A., tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, and Mr. T. Combe, superintendent of the printing of Bibles at the University Press, Oxford.

The first witness examined was Mr. Spottiswoode, the Queen's printer, engaged by patent to print "accurate editions of the Holy Scriptures." He told the committee that the letters patent, which have been held by them for a century, will expire in January next, 1860. The rights of the Queen's printer are co-ordinate with those of the universities *quoad* the publication of the Bible. Mr. Spottiswoode says that the Bible is sold at a price unquestionably cheaper than any book in the trade approaching it in bulk, even in these days of cheap literature. The comparison "is favourable to the Bible in every degree," and in the United States, where there is no restriction whatever, Mr. Spottiswoode affirms that the Bibles issued are decidedly inferior to the English, both as regards accuracy and cheapness. There are no books at present produced in the States corresponding to our cheapest edition. The "Authorized Edition" is in great request everywhere, and generally commands the market wherever English is spoken. The competition, according to the Queen's printer, is very severe under the present system, and there is nothing like a monopoly. The right secures "accuracy and cheapness in the editions." The withdrawal of the patent would induce the Queen's printers to consider very seriously what course they would take, but he admits that they would have great advantages over other competitors by the possession of the types and all the establishments. He thinks, however, his firm would continue to print Bibles. Mr. Spottiswoode has never seriously contemplated the step of interfering with the Bibles of Bagster and Arnold, Knight, Matthew Henry, T. Scott, A. Clarke, Cobbin, and others. He thinks Bagster's edition by no means equal to his own, or those of Oxford and Cambridge, "in point of beauty and price." As regards accuracy, he offers no opinion. He admits that it is very possible that there have been "minor inaccuracies" in the Queen's printers' Bibles printed in former years within the existence even of the present patent. The marginal "references" are regarded as part of the "Authorized" Bible; they received their "final" revision about a century ago, at the hands of Dr. Blayney. The law about the printing of other versions appears to be rather uncertain, but Mr. Spottiswoode says he would not interfere with any copy of the Scriptures distinctly purporting to be different from the Authorized Version. Nor does he object to Knight's Pictorial Bible, which does profess to be the Authorized Version.

Mr. Spottiswoode was cross-examined by Mr. Baines and Mr. Bright. In reply to the former, he admitted that since the abolition of the Scottish monopoly the price of Bibles had been reduced by one-half, but he was not prepared to say that the reduction took place "wholly in consequence of that change." There has been a reduction in the price of paper and labour. There are five firms engaged in printing the Bible in Scotland, whose issue is about one-seventh of that of the English patentees. There is no penalty in case of any want of accuracy. The Bible altered by "learned theologians" did not take in America, the old Authorized Version being preferred by the public.

"Why should it not be so in England *a fortiori*?" asked Mr. Baines. "If the Bible printing were open in this country, why should the public not be influenced by the same motives, the same love of accuracy, and the same love, if you like, of what is old, and reject that which is supposed to be inaccurate, and which is new?"—"No doubt they would: but there would be no authorized editions then to fall back upon; they fell back in America upon the British editions."

It appears from Mr. S.'s evidence that Scottish Bibles are prohibited in England. Asked by Mr. Bright whether any one might print the Bible by leaving out the words "Authorized Version," he declared his incompetence to decide "rather nice points of law." It seems that Mr. Spottiswoode has a standard copy of the Bible, that the University of Oxford has a standard, and that the University of Cambridge has a standard—all distinct. Mr. Bright asked—

"May not the Scriptures which are being circulated through the country be very different, at least in punctuation and those minor matters?—I should doubt whether there was any difference.

"But you still are of opinion that though you are quite capable of keeping the matter quite right with three printers, if there were thirteen, some great discrepancy would arise?—If the thing were generally open, I think it is probable, judging from such experience as we have, that errors might arise."

There are no Bible printers in Ireland, though the Queen's printer and Trinity College, Dublin, have the right. There has never been any misunderstanding with Mr. Bagster. Did not recollect having published two catalogues, one in November, 1840, the other in February, 1841, in the first of which the aggregate of the prices of all the various editions was 20*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the aggregate of all those in the latter was 9*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.*

The second witness was Mr. Besley. Asked how, in his opinion, the patent had interfered to cramp the free circulation of the Scriptures, he replied:—

"Previous to the inquiry of 1830, notwithstanding all the advantages of a return to the paper duty, and long numbered editions with an almost certain sale, Bibles and Testaments were high-priced books; they are now sold at a little more than half the then price, but the public have no security whatever in this patent against a return to the old scale of prices, except by some wholesome competition in the usual way. I have never been an advocate for mere cheapness, but am anxious to see some of the improvements of modern printing applied to the Scriptures. At present, to my mind, the editions now in general use are the most uncomfortable books to handle that can be devised; from generation to generation we have the same class of book, the same awkward size, and the same uninviting page. Throw open the trade, and the mechanical intelligence applied to secular books will find its way to the Scriptures; and more attractive books will be produced; so that while the patent affords the public no protection, either in price or accuracy, it deprives them of all benefit from competition in the variety and excellence of the books produced."

Does not think the correctness of the text would be endangered by the trade being thrown open. It would be the printer's interest to make the edition correct. If incorrect, a large edition might be thrown on his hands. The best protection the public can have will be found in ordinary commercial principles. Bagster's Polyglot Bibles, which are contraband, and liable to prosecution any day, have a world-wide reputation as the most correct books extant; they are printed in seven or eight different languages, and are appealed to by the learned as correct books. He thinks Bibles may, under the free-trade system, be printed even cheaper than at present. Some of the advantages of the abolition of the patent would, in his opinion, be these:—

"My impression is, that the abolition would be an immense saving in the printing of Bibles and Testaments; the giving power to the Queen's printer to prevent any other person printing, except the two universities, involves higher considerations than mere money saving; by this you obstruct, to a large extent, the natural circulation of the Scriptures, and render a charitable institution necessary, with large funds, to effect that which, by the abolition of that monopoly, would be effected by the ordinary operations of trade. I think great public advantages would follow the introduction of new interests in the dissemination of the Scriptures through the length and breadth of the land. The intelligent working man has a deep-rooted objection to Bibles and Testaments marked with the badge of charity; mere price is no objection. Here is a prospectus of a Bible published in Glasgow. I find in my own establishment there are forty-two persons subscribing for this Bible 6*d.* a week."

Great numbers of the Scotch Bibles are being sold in England, though they are contraband. In his belief working men want a new sort of Bible.

"Lord R. Montague: Do you not think, if there were no Authorized Editions, that we should have inaccurate editions?—Not in the least, you have that risk at present; if I choose to print an inaccurate edition the patent does not meddle with me.

Then what would be the advantage of doing away with the patent?—It would enable all sorts of people to employ themselves in printing better books, and we should not only have a competition in prices, but in quality also.

So long as they are printed worse the patent does not interfere with you? It only interferes with accurate books.

Mr. Ewing: I suppose you can print the Authorized Version, provided you do not say that it is the Authorized Version?—You may do it, but it is a contraband trade; the patentees may come down upon you, and apply to the Lord Chancellor for an injunction, although you do not say so.

Mr. Bright: Would that risk deter printers from investing funds in the business of printing Bibles?—I think it would deter persons like myself; I should not like to be engaged in a contraband trade. I think it would deter a great many men with large establishments going into the trade.

You speak of the Bible as a book which is not convenient, and which has not undergone the improvements which are introduceable in other publications; do you not think that there have been a great many improvements in Bibles of late years?—A great many, but they still want the spur of competition; I am sure that, if this patent were thrown open I could make some better books, and I should like to try."

Thinks if the trade were thrown open, the circulation of the Bible would be stimulated. For instance, the publishers of the Glasgow Bible canvass generally throughout the country. Thinks also that the reprinting of the Bible would transfer some portion of the supply from the eleemosynary assistance of the Bible Societies to the independent purchases of the working classes. Mr. Bealey shewed why, in his belief, printers could bring out the Bible very cheaply:—

"There are a great number of printing-offices in London which occasionally are subject to very considerable variations, and great slackness occasionally. It would be an excellent thing for those large employers to have an opportunity of investing a little capital, so as to keep their workmen employed."

For himself, he would not attempt to get up any of the cheap (such as the tenpenny) editions. Some of the other Bibles are not cheap by any means.

The third witness examined was Mr. Charles Childs, of Bungay, who was, with his late father, mainly instrumental in the formation of Mr. Hume's committee in 1837, which was followed by the abolition of the Bible monopoly in Scotland. Mr. Childs is largely engaged in printing for some of the leading London publishers. The evidence he gave was very elaborate and valuable. We can only indicate its salient features. Before the abolition of the Scotch patent, he believed the English patentees had not adopted those economical means which printers subject to competition do adopt, and which they have themselves since adopted. In March, 1838, the English privileged printers reduced the price of some of their Bibles some twenty-five per cent., the rate which his father, seven years previous, had declared they might be printed at. The reduction of fifty-five per cent. upon the aggregate made by the English patentees was made, not gradually, but within three months, and exactly when the Scottish competition was set up. If the trade were thrown open, thinks there would be much greater competition by the great London printers, such especially as are slack during two or three months of the year. They would be satisfied with no more than their outlay.

"Chairman: For the purpose of keeping together their establishment of skilled workmen, they would employ them, even although they got no profit at all?—I think the means of keeping them together, they having a certain return of their outlay, would afford a large benefit, equivalent to a large profit, to the London printers.

Mr. Bright: You consider that it would be a great advantage if they could save their expenses?—Yes, if they saved their expenses. Every Manchester manufacturer knows perfectly well what that means."

Did not believe the restriction had tended to promote or secure accuracy. He quoted some of the evidence given before the committee in 1831, from which it appeared that Dr. Blayney's—the standard edition—was full of inaccuracies.

For instance, "thy children" was printed for "their children," "as sorrows are in the hand" for "as arrows are in the hand." In one edition, part of a passage was entirely left out. Mr. Ofor, who had taken great interest in the subject, had never seen one Bible that was correct. The most correct he (Mr. O.) had ever seen were those of Pasham, an unauthorized printer, and an Edinburgh edition of 1811. In one Bible, a school-fellow of Mr. Ofor's found upwards of 12,000 errors, receiving 10*l.* from the Archbishop of Canterbury for his trouble. That was fifteen years ago. The Bibles which had the reputation of being the most beautiful, or the most accurate, are Macklin's, Baskerville's, Heptinstall's, Ritchie's, and Bowyer's. All these persons were unauthorized printers.

"There is not, so far as I know, a single Bible which has the reputation amongst Bible collectors of comparatively modern date, of being very beautiful or very accurate, which was printed by the authorized printers."

The Cambridge standard editions had been found in his establishment full of errors and variations. Believed the Bibles up to 1826 "were the most inaccurate books in existence." The increased accuracy since 1837 was owing partly to the public attention given to the subject, and partly to the increased vigilance of the privileged printers in consequence of increased competition.

"Mr. Bright: What, in your opinion, would result, as to accuracy, from throwing open the patent?—Mr. Spottiswoode stated on Thursday, with great accuracy and propriety, and, as I conceived, thereby throwing overboard any impression that the patent itself imposed penalties, that the character of the printers was ultimately the great security for the accuracy of the Bible. Now, I am perfectly assured that, if the printing of the Bible were thrown open, none but large printers, who have large capital, and who have the best machinery, and altogether the best means of competing, would venture to print Bibles. I believe the price would be so low that no one would venture to go into the trade in the hope of any considerable profit, or even of a chance of return, unless prepared with every possible means of practising economy. This being the case, the character of such printers would be as important to them as that of the present privileged printers, because it is, I think, perfectly certain that if a Bible, with a printer's name attached to it, came to be known to be inaccurate, no Bible, bearing the same name, would ever again be tolerated in this country, so great do I believe the public vigilance to be on the subject. Dr. Lee was of the same opinion; and Mr. Ofor, who had opportunities of knowing the opinions of other gentlemen similarly situated, stated, that if the printing of Bibles were thrown open, he believed that there were persons who would devote their whole lives to the preparation of immaculate editions of the Scriptures."

Did not think small printers would embark in the trade. It costs as much to print a correct as an inaccurate Bible. Believes there are a dozen printers in London who would turn out accurate Bibles.

"Mr. Bright: Something was said I think by Mr. Spottiswoode, about the printing of the Bible in the United States: can you give us any information upon that subject?—Evidence was given in 1831 and in 1837 upon the subject, but that evidence is not available now because the facts are very much altered. It is quite true that English Bibles are exported to a large extent to the United States, and I believe to a larger extent than Mr. Spottiswoode is aware of. The reason, I think, is very obvious—that in the United States skilled labour is exceedingly rare and costly. I may mention as an illustration of this, that seven or eight years ago a gentleman from the United States, who went as a lad from my office in 1817, returned to this country a man of fortune, and wishing to see the old place, he found in our establishment a number of workmen who were workmen there when he left thirty-five years previously, and instead of regarding that fact as somewhat creditable both to master and workmen, as we should in this country, he spoke of it with positive horror, remarking that in the United States any man who did not become a master in seven years, was looked upon as a drunkard or an imbecile. In such a state of things it is impossible that skilled labour or work depending upon minute, patient, personal observation, should ever be cheap. It is a fact also that people will not use common shabby Bibles; if you give a poor

person in this country a Bible which is badly bound and printed, he will not thank you for it; and as the people in the United States cannot produce handsome Bibles at a cheap rate, and the cost of freight to the United States is exceedingly low, it is considered necessary in the United States to import our good Bibles."

Thought there was "a most nervous apprehension in the public mind about a guarantee for accuracy, and would not be satisfied without one."

"I am sure that if the printing of the Bible were thrown open, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Religious Tract Society, the Sunday School Union, all the Missionary Societies, and all the institutions which are of a benevolent and literary character would themselves guarantee the Bibles which they supply to the public, having passed them first under their own competent observation, and that no Bibles would be sold in England except those which had the guarantee of some great public body possessing a high character."

Mr. Childs went a good deal into the history of the English patent. Payments had been made in former times by the patentees, but not lately. Believed from the facts of the case that the patent was in the first instance entirely and exclusively a patent of privilege for the benefit of the patentee, and not for any other purpose whatever. There is nothing referring to having a pure copy of the Scriptures. Thought that the Crown could have had no right to grant the patent. Did not believe the remark of the Scotch Bible Board—"we are aware that scarcely any degree of attention can secure an exact reprint"—was practically true, and he was borne out by the privileged printers who say they believe their Bibles to be "absolutely immaculate." Had printed Bibles himself in which only one error was discovered. Believed the American Bible Society did not abandon the Bibles they used because of inaccuracies, but because they thought better to adopt the English Authorized Version, which could be procured cheaper in England than America. Did not think there has been the same inaccuracy since 1833. Understood that measures had been taken by the two universities to secure complete harmony between the editions printed respectively by them.

"Mr. Selwyn: You do not wish us to believe that, in any year since 1833, there have been any such errors?—I adduced the discrepancies existing in those two editions as indications that the possession of an exclusive privilege does not insure accuracy."

I will thank you to answer my questions, and not to argue. In the evidence you have given respecting the inaccuracies which you have stated to exist, you were referring to a period antecedent to 1833, and do not wish the Committee to understand you as representing that there are any such inaccuracies in the Bibles printed since 1833?—I expressly stated that those variations existed in the editions published in 1833; I made no statement respecting Bibles published since that time.

You do not wish your former evidence to be understood as objecting to any Bibles published since that period? Certainly not; nor was my evidence on that point given for such a purpose."

Only printers of capital could keep the type always set, or a large stock of stereo-plates. Did not believe any Bibles would be sold which had not some guarantee. McPhun's Scotch Bibles were sold in England, and believed others were also sold largely.

Mr. Pardon, of the firm of Reed and Pardon, printers, was for some time manager at Messrs. Bagsters'. Believed their Bibles to be equally accurate as those of the patentees. Had found blunders in Blayney's Bible:—

"Bagsters' references are considered very much superior to the references in the University books, inasmuch as the University books contain a large number of repetitions, as may be seen at a glance; those repetitions are expunged in Bagsters', and their place filled up with references which are really explanatory, and are not, as in Blayney's in thousands of instances, merely verbal; they are simply a concordance, instead of being explanatory of the text."

Bagsters' Bibles, although higher in price, have an immense sale in consequence of the superiority of the references. One of the many discrepancies that

occur in the editions of the Bible in common circulation, is the omission of the word "and" in the famous passage from St. John's Gospel—"I am the way, *and* the truth, and the life." If twenty Bibles were opened now, says Mr. Pardon, you would probably find that one half would omit the first "and." The following reply is as smart as it is conclusive:—

"Lord Robert Cecil: Do you say that Bagsters' Bible sells more than the University Bible?—Not at all, because by far the largest number of the University and Queen's Printers' Bibles are circulated amongst the humbler classes.

Then how do you ascertain the increase in the sale of one over the other?—They are most esteemed by the educated classes.

What test do you use for arriving at the opinion of the educated classes?—I observe, for instance, that where a testimonial consisting of a Bible is to be given to an individual, one of Bagsters' is usually fixed upon. That is one.

You are of opinion that this is done in the majority of cases?—Yes."

There is no absolute standard of perfection in Bible editions. The references of the patentees' Bibles have never been changed since the revision fifty or sixty years ago by Dr. Blayney.

The evidence of Mr. F. Warne, of the publishing firm of Messrs. Routledge, was not of great importance, his knowledge of Bible printing appearing to be scanty in the extreme. Did not in a "trade" point of view care to do away with the monopoly, but objected to monopolies as such. Could not produce a Bible at a lower price than 5d. Does not think it right that Bibles may be exported from England to Scotland, and not from Scotland to England. Thinks free competition the proper principle. There would then, he thinks, be as much accuracy as at present, but it would be necessary to have a penalty of some kind. If small publishers entered into the trade there might be errors in the Bible. Thought one or two incorrect editions might be sold before the errors were discovered.

The Rev. Dr. Caswall, a minister of the Episcopal Church in America, was the next witness examined. The following extract from the first part of his evidence will be found of general interest:—

"Is the Church connected with the State in America?—The Church is in no respect connected with the State, except in so far as its endowments are protected by the State, and inasmuch as difficulties arising between its bishops and the clergy, or the clergy and the people with respect to property, may sometimes come before the civil courts.

The endowments are protected by the State?—The endowments are considerable, and are and have generally been protected by the State, even through the period of the American revolution.

Sir Charles Douglas: Will you explain what you mean by being protected by the State?—For example, Queen Anne gave a portion of ground to Trinity Church, New York; that land has become exceedingly valuable, and is still the endowment of Trinity Church, New York, although now it is worth several millions of pounds, on account of a large part of New York standing upon that ground. In 1857, the value of this property, as proved to a Select Committee of the Legislature of the State of New York, was 7,090,544 dollars. Previous to the American Revolution a quantity of land had been given to the Church of England in New Hampshire and Vermont. At the time of the American Revolution that property was confiscated, but was afterwards recovered by an action brought by the Church against the States of Vermont and New Hampshire.

Lord Robert Montagu: The endowments are very large, you say?—In some cases they are very large.

Sir Charles Douglas: I do not quite understand your explanation when you say they are protected by the State?—The American Church sells its property and receives its rents under the authority of the State, and it is protected in its property by the State in reference to its endowments, as our endowments here are protected.

Does it differ in any respect from any other church in the United States?—No; it does not differ in that respect from any other denomination of Christians in the United States; all are alike protected in their endowments.

Lord Robert Montagu : What is the prevailing religion of the United States ?—I should define the prevailing religion in the United States to be a general Protestantism, although there are also many Roman Catholics.

By Protestantism do you mean that which resembles the Church of England ?—I do not mean by Protestantism the Church in America which resembles the Church of England. I include it, however, in that term.

Is that Church which resembles the Church of England the majority ?—It is not the majority, and never has been.

What is considered the basis of American Protestantism ?—The Bible is considered the basis of American Protestantism.

What version of the Bible ?—The commonly received English version is considered to be the Bible.

The Authorized Version of this country ?—Yes.

Is it generally received by all the Protestant sects, or only by the Episcopalians ?—It is generally received by all the Protestant sects, with a few exceptions.

What do you understand by the common English Bible ; do you understand the version of 1611, as corrected by Dr. Blayney ?—I understand by that the version of 1611, as corrected by Dr. Blayney in 1769."

The reason why a standard has been adopted in America is because of the errors that have crept into the American editions. There is no fixed supervision in America, but the American Bible Society exercises great influence in regulating the standard of the Bible. It 'has become virtually a guide.' That society greatly altered the text of the English edition, and made 24,000 corrections. That standard was, however, abolished in 1857, public opinion being against it. Did not think it would be a benefit to do away with the patent. It will tend to introduce errors into our theology. Greater cheapness can only be obtained by diminishing the quality of the paper. The English Authorized Version is in great request by members of the Episcopal Church in America. The English Bibles are there as cheap as the American. Thinks there may be other ways of insuring accuracy besides the monopoly, such as a Committee of Revision. The public feeling obliged the withdrawal of the American Bible Society's edition, and thinks it "not improbable" that the same causes would in England operate to enforce the accuracy of editions. The chances here are more favourable than in America. The closing part of Dr. Caswall's evidence was as follows :—

"Chairman : Do you think that the people of the United States would consent to the printing of the Bible being made a monopoly as it is in England ?—It would never answer under American institutions ; it could not be ; the different State Legislatures are independent of each other, and it could not be.

Do you think it would be an advantage to have a monopoly of that kind established in the United States ?—I consider that the greatest calamity to religion in America would be the interference of the State with religious matters, or with the Bible, in any way whatever, constituted as the general government and the State governments at present are.

Lord Robert Montagu :—You said it would not be a benefit if the State were to interfere with the Church in America ?—I said it would be a great injury to the Church in America if such a State as exists there interfered with the Church.

Why so ?—The State consists of a great variety of religions and irreligions ; for instance the Mormons. Here is a Mormon Bible (producing the same).

Mr. Ewart : Does not the position of the Church conduce to greater freedom of synodical action ?—It does.

Therefore the action of the Church is much freer than in this country ?—It is freer, but there are disadvantages connected with that freedom.

It has a greater power of synodical action ?—It has perfect freedom in synodical action, and in the election of bishops."

The Rev. C. G. Clayton, tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, thinks that the withdrawal of the patent for the printing of Bibles would raise their price, and cause them to be far less accurate ; they are now sold by the British and Foreign Bible Society at 10d. and 9d., while New Testaments may be had for 4d. Doctrinal errors, too, might creep in, if the trade was thrown open. Mr. Clayton

thinks free competition, as a general rule, an advantage; but he will not allow it as regards the printing of Bibles. In this case cheapness and goodness are best promoted by monopoly. Public opinion is so alive that public agitation would prevent the patentees from combining to raise the price of Bibles, though they have the power.

"The Chairman: You think that public opinion is a valuable check?—Upon this monopoly.

Do you not think that public opinion would be a very valuable check also in regard to accuracy?—Not if the Bible were very widely published by small irresponsible publishers.

Supposing that editions of the Bible were published at the same price with the imprimatur of some great learned body connected with the State Church or otherwise, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society, do you not think that these editions would sell in preference to editions which had it not?—I think not with the poor.

Would not the booksellers be aware of the superior value of one edition over another?—I think as a rule they would sell that which produced the greatest amount of profit, irrespective of accuracy.

Would they get more profit out of an inaccurate edition than they would out of an accurate edition?—It might be so.

Is it probable?—I think so.

For what reason?—If less care be bestowed on the printing of the Bible, and in correcting the press, the expense of the book would be less."

Mr. Clayton's reasoning is peculiar. If the restriction were abolished he thinks that the working-man would buy anything that was offered to him, under the name of the Bible. Mr. Clayton goes so far as to say, that supposing "a real improvement" were suggested by some scholar in the translation of any word in Oxford and Cambridge Bibles it would not be introduced.

The last person examined was Mr. T. Coombe, superintendent of the Oxford University Press. The University never make any alteration in their Bibles, but offer a guinea for every error discovered in any of their books. The reward has only been paid three times in twenty years. Thinks the Bible the most difficult book in the world to print correctly. Believes it to be the cheapest printed book in the world. Prefers Blayney's references to Bagsters'—they are much longer. The witness was closely cross-examined by Mr. Bright and the Chairman, as the following will shew:—

"Mr. Bright: If Dr. Blayney was so much in error in the text, wrong in the capitals, wrong in the doctrine, wrong everywhere, according to your statement, how happens it that he was right in all his references?—Dr. Blayney's text was an incorrectly printed text, but I am not aware that he made any violent alterations in the text. He altered the contents of the chapters, and made considerable alterations in many of them, and, as we learn from Dr. Caswell, many of them contained positive points of doctrine.

If Dr. Blayney took such liberties with his edition, how comes it that you rely entirely upon his references?—The references are found quite correct; I do not see that he could introduce doctrine or anything of that sort into the references; he merely added to them, and made them much more numerous than they were before, and they are considered the most correct series of references we have ever had."

Thought the greater reductions in price "arose almost entirely" from cheaper paper, etc. Afterwards, when pressed by Mr. Baines, he said he thought it "one of the main causes of the reduction." But it was before his time. Could not say what proportion of Bibles were printed in England. Has no communication with the Queen's Printer whatever, but has generally followed his reduction in price. If the prices were reduced suddenly thinks it a proof rather of bad management than of exorbitant profits. If the trade were thrown open should probably continue to print Bibles. They would start afresh with a certain prestige. No doubt the leading societies would be on the watch to guard against inaccurate editions. Incorrect books would however be sold. "It might take years to dis-

cover them." As a specimen of the tact of the Chairman in eliciting the truth we may make the following extract from the evidence :—

"Have you any idea of the number of Bibles printed in Scotland, as compared with those issued from your own press?—So far as I can remember, I think we print more than twice the number of Bibles printed in Scotland altogether.

You mean by all the printers in Scotland taken together?—Yes; the yearly average of Bibles printed in Scotland, from 1850 to 1854, was 183,000; whereas we print yearly between 400,000 and 500,000 ourselves.

Chairman: Do you know the average in Scotland from 1854 to 1858?—No, I do not; they do not give it in their report.

Look at this report, which has just been printed by the House of Commons?—According to this document it appears that the yearly average, from January 1854 to January 1858, was 250,000; that is rather an increase.

It is a considerable increase, is it not?—Yes.

Mr. Selwyn: Is it not very much less than the number issued from your press?—Yes; I should say we print, probably, double the number.

Chairman: Are you aware of the comparative population of Scotland and England?—I am not.

If you found that the population of Scotland was only about a sixth of the population of England, the fact you mention would be less surprising?—I do not know that it would, because I do not consider that the 250,000 Bibles printed in those four years in Scotland were used by the Scotch people; I dare say that many were sold in America and in England.

You do not consider that all your Bibles are sold in England?—No.

I am afraid that some were sold in Scotland?—Some were sold in Scotland.

Do you think it just that you should be allowed to supply the people of Scotland with Bibles, but that they should not be allowed to supply England with Bibles?—They do supply us.

They cannot by law?—They are not prevented.

You are aware that the patent allows the Queen's printer to prevent the importation of Bibles from Scotland?—But he does not.

Supposing that were enforced, would that be just?—That is a point which I do not think I am called upon to answer; it involves a great many considerations.

The Vatican Codex.—A very able and searching paper on the above celebrated manuscript of the Greek Testament has lately appeared in *Titan*, a monthly magazine, edited by the Rev. George Gilfillan.* Such is the importance of the article that we should have been glad to transfer it to our own pages; but as this is not permitted, we take leave to extract the following passages :—

"*Its supposed Resemblance to a Herculean MS.*—Professor Hug, in his description of the MS., avers that Winckelmann, desirous of giving a correct idea to scholars at home of the character of the MSS. first unrolled at Herculeanum, referred them to the celebrated Vatican Codex as that which possessed the most marked resemblance to them. 'Doctis hominibus optimum consilium impertiri sibi videbatur, quandoquidem desiderarent efformare animo quandam effigiem characterum Herculanensium tum quod magnitudinem, tum quod figuram, cum eos ad Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ Codicem celeberrimum remitteret, utpote cujus summa cum illis similitudo intercederet.' That opinion is quoted by Hug from a work now a hundred years old, published at Dresden in 1762, and through Hug it has wended its way into all lands, and established itself as it would seem to the satisfaction of all minds as an indisputable fact. Hug himself adopted it and put it out in two forms; that of his Latin Essay, 1809, and that of his *Enleitung* of a later date, saying in the former, 'Character, quod aiunt, exacte quadratus est, majusculus et simillimus illi, qui in voluminibus conspicitur ex Herculanensi strage protractis;' and in the latter—we quote from the fourth edition—'Mit den einfachsten und Schönsten, überall gleichförmigen viereckigen, Buchslaben geschrieben welche kaum bemerklich grösser als die schriftzige des

* *Titan*, a monthly magazine. August, 1859. London: Hogg and Co.

Philodemus *περι μουσικης* der ersten aus den aufgewickelten herkulanischen Rollen.' This is reproduced by sundry writers after him in the shape of 'a beautiful uncial character, very similar to those found in the treatise of Philodemus.' 'The letters are a shade larger than those in the MS. of Philodemus *περι μουσικης*, the first of the Herculanæum rolls which was unfolded,' till at last it has effloresced in the imaginative sorites of Dr. Tregelles:—'The antiquity of the MS. is shewn by its paleographic peculiarities, the letters even resembling, in many respects, those found in the Herculanæan rolls; the form of the book; the six columns at each opening resembling in appearance, not a little, a portion of a *rolled* book; the uniformity of the letters; and the absence of all punctuation.'

"Now with regard to this resemblance, it may be sufficient to remind our readers that Winckelmann suggested it purely as an aid to the imagination of scholars who had never seen a Herculanæan roll, that if they looked at a good tracing of the great Vatican MS. they would have a fair idea of its character without any suggested comparison of their relative antiquities. With him it was merely a popular, not a critical remark, and designed to bear no further results in biblical or theological disquisition. It may stand, however, without dispute on the general ground, that all square characters, if nearly of the same size, will have a certain degree of resemblance, besides the particular fact which we are little concerned to call in question, that tracings of the two documents under immediate notice do show sufficient points of similitude. Dr. Hug introduces the casual remark of Winckelmann as a contribution towards fixing the ancient date of the manuscript. What so natural as that documents written in a similar hand should have had origin about the same period, within a space say of two or three hundred years of each other, a small interval in comparative criticism, and in the history of man? Dr. Hug from his being a Roman Catholic divine would have no objection to exalt the venerable age of any document in possession of the Papal See, a process which would be the natural result of his ecclesiastical views and position, without any disparagement to his literary honesty or capacity. We make no wilful reflection on either the fairness or the judgment of this scholar, when we take into account the necessary bias of his education and position, as only a proper deduction from the sum of plenary confidence in his critical decisions. We may respect him personally as much as any other scholar, but we must weigh his opinions before we can receive them as indisputable verdicts and settled truths.

"*The Uncial Character no Decisive Proof of Extreme Antiquity.*—Whatever fancy or luxury might require in the shape of capital or uncial letters for manuscript—whatever weak eyes, long purses, or caprice might demand, the cursive or running hand was common and contemporaneous with the more stately character. Boeckh's monograph on the subject is decisive (Berlin, 1821). Capital letters written hurriedly become cursive in the process; but there was also a distinct current hand in use, as different as our Roman capitals from our ordinary letters. It were absurd to deny this in regions and ages wherein the Egyptian triple character was well known, the hieroglyphic, demotic, and hieratic. It were absurd moreover to deny this in an age in which tachygraphy and stenography were the accomplishments of the amanuenses, private secretaries, and learned slaves of every literary man. Our great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson's experiment with the boasted powers of a practised short-hand writer, is familiar to all readers of Boswell, but the boast of the stenographer is vouched for as a reality in the epigram of Martial:—

"Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis
Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus."—*Notanius*, xiv., 208.

"The words are said almost before he thought 'em;
And ere they quite are spoke the pen hath caught 'em."

And Seneca says the same, that the hand of the ready writer matches the quickness of the tongue. The bare fact then of a manuscript being in uncials is no

absolute proof that it is older than an old cursive, if, on independent grounds, a venerable antiquity may be assigned to the text in the running-hand. The one may be as old as the other so far as the character of the writing bears on the determination of their respective ages.

"The fancied Resemblance of the Vatican Codex to a Roll no proof of its Age."—The maintainers of the antiquity of the MS. in question seem to wish it understood how like a roll-book the Vatican Codex is, in order that the conceded antiquity of the roll may invest the square book with its hoar of age. It ought, however, to be remembered that there were square books in all ages as well as round ones, and that the round superseded the square in certain regions of the earth for a few centuries, on the ground of their greater compactness, neatness, portableness, and susceptibility of ornamentation. It must be obvious in point of fact, that the square book preceded the round, inasmuch as the single papyrus leaf preceded the agglutination of leaves into a continuous surface for writing, and that single skins of parchment were used before the single skins were sewn or pasted together so as to form a roll. It is further certain that the term *codex* was confined to the *quadratus liber*, or square-shaped book, while *volumen*, or its Greek equivalent *εἰς ἄνα*, represented the roll. Works in parchment or skin so commonly assumed a square form that the word *membrana* came to signify a square volume and its pages, while *charta* or *papyrus* as regularly represented the scroll. Martial is rich in proofs of the tabular shape of parchment book and page, as for instance in his epigram on VIRGIL, xiv. 186:—

"Quam brevis, immensum cepit membrana Maronem!
Ipsius Vultus prima tabella gerit."

"Maro, the mightiest singer of the age,
Fills the few inches of the opening page!"

"Here the first flat or page contains a picture of the poet. In the following the folded (not rolled) formation of the book is clearly expressed. It is on OVID, xiv. 192:—

"Hæc tibi multiplici quæ structa est massa tabella,
Carmina Nasonis quinque decemque gerit."

"All the sweet songs that Ovid wrote, the lover,
Nestle within this thick small booklet's cover."

"The three words in the original, *manifold*, *mass*, and *tablet*, leave no room to doubt of the structure of the completed work. The sum of which quotations and statement is this—that the enthusiastic contenders for the antiquity of the Vatican Codex expend their labour in vain when they seek to maintain their point by approximating the MS. in shape and years to the scroll class of books: that there never was an exclusive roll-period of bookmaking antecedent and giving way to a square book period in historical times; and that the attempt to bolster up the antiquity of the Vatican document by declaring that it resembles a scroll either in its outward or its inward aspect, only has the effect of making us doubt the truth of statements which rest on reasons so easily controverted. Modern Persia presents a use of square books and rolls simultaneously, and we have no more reason to suppose in its case than in that of ancient Greece and Rome, that there ever was a period when the use of either form of book was exclusive."

We must omit a valuable paragraph on "*The three columns of text on a page no evidence of the antiquity of the MS.*" in order to make room for the still more important remarks of the author on the—

"Characteristics of the Codex."—In the omission of paragraphs the Vatican MS. may be called a compendious New Testament, bearing resemblance in this respect (but only partially) to the shorter edition of the Ignatian Letters, or the text of Josephus current among the Jews, according to Naudé. Allowing for a considerable number of omissions from oversight, homœoteleuton, and other inevitable causes, certain others cannot be assigned to any such reasons as these; they have been left out on purpose. And hence arises the question: is this a

critical edition of the New Testament proceeding from the scribe himself? or is he a copier of a critical text already in existence, which varied from the text in common circulation amongst the churches of the fourth and fifth centuries? If it be really concluded to be in either of these senses a critical text, it can have no other value in those points in which it differs from the current text of the same century, if that can be ascertained, than that of expressing the individual opinion of the transcriber at first or second hand.

"Now, our fixed idea is, that the transcriber is a critical editor to a certain extent, while in other cases his omissions are unconscious, his ignorance demonstrative, and his carelessness extreme. Of course we do not attempt to say whether the chief characteristic features are ascribable to the present copyist, or to the writer of the exemplar which he followed; nor again, whether ignorance or presumption of the later writer were the leading features of his work. Where we travel so completely in the dark as we do regarding the authorship of the Vatican MS., it behoves us to be chary of assertion, and prefer the modesty of suggestion to the peremptoriness of dogma. Nevertheless we do not hesitate to say that the original author of the text it exhibits meant to exercise a critical care in the edition he issued. The whole style of his handiwork proclaims a curt and compendious text, weeding out with unsparing hand the right and the wrong alike. Omission is the grand characteristic of the document, exclusion the rule enforced with pitiless uniformity. The editor of the original was evidently a person enamoured of that 'brevity' which is 'the soul of wit.' He seems to have taken a full copy of the New Testament text into his hands, and to have ostracized into ruthless banishment all that did not suit his taste or meet his views. In this respect he bears resemblance to a gentleman mentioned in the correspondence of the *Record*, a little more than a year since, who epitomized the Holy Bible by cutting off every superfluous word, and every repetition so as to reproduce the sacred volume in its essential integrity in a volume of one-sixth of the usual size, yet of, course stripped of the drapery of idiosyncrasy which marked the individuality of the sacred writers. . . . That a fair general idea may be formed of the synoptic character of this MS. we may state that on a close and tolerably accurate calculation made upon a personal collation of Mai's imprint, we are able to affirm, that about *one twenty-fifth part of the whole New Testament is cut off from the reader*, without any pre-intimation of the process of excision.

"*Transpositions* are another characteristic of the Vatican Codex. . . . We can readily allow that Erasmus, the Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevirs did tamper occasionally with the *ordo verborum*, with the view of making rude Hellenistic Greek more musical to the classical ear; but no amount of concession on this score could lead us to the conclusion that the numerous, startling and extravagant discrepancies of word-arrangement in the Vatican MS. represent the true arrangement of words in the Apostolic autographs. *In the four Gospels alone the transpositions amount to 712, or exactly eight for each chapter!*" [The writer here refers to about 200 of these discrepancies in the single Gospel of Mark only].

We regret that we are obliged to omit here several pages of most interesting and valuable criticism on the numerous variations of this famous Codex. Our last extract must be one upon the—

"*Value of the MS. in Biblical Criticism.*—Assuming even that it is as ancient a document as its advocates assert it to be, and as honest a representative of the text of its day as we could desire, inasmuch as it has been proved to be incorrect in *hundreds of instances* where there is no question of intention, it must be used with critical caution and examined as a witness, not deferred to as a judge. Dr. Tregelles is one of the prime advocates in modern days for the authoritative adoption of its readings, and, true to his principle of its paramount value, admits into his first chapter of Mark as many as eighty-one variations from the text of Elzevir that are sanctioned by the Vatican Codex. . . . Right sure are we that scarcely one page of his most laborious and beautiful edition of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (Bagster's) if closely examined, would fail to present the editor's bias towards yielding an undue place in criticism to this very old and very faulty manuscript. We are fully aware how hard it must be, in many cases,

to decide where authorities seem pretty evenly balanced, and how an editor revising his decisions at some later period, may seem disposed to reverse them when occasion offers. We, too, are bound to own that we are conscious of the same inevitable bias in favour of certain readings and authorities, and how prone we are to err in directions the reverse of those advocated by Dr. Tregelles; all therefore that we urge is urged against the learned gentleman's results, not his processes, and with the most entire respect for his ability and labours.

The conclusion reached by the author as to the actual value of the Codex may be briefly stated in his own words:—"Curiosity is now glutted; the credit of the Vatican MS. is now dead. Who, therefore, will ever think of publishing it again?"

Whitsunday.—Sir, I fear that many of your readers must think the origin and orthography of the name Whitsunday, notwithstanding the interesting letters you have published, to be still a contest of opposite probabilities in which they must maintain a strict neutrality, while, doubtless, some boldly adopt the explanation of "all the talents" philological, and others in their hearts still cling to the time-honoured explanation of Nelson and Wheatley. Enough, then, of guesses at truth in this matter, and I would not now put pen to paper if I did not believe myself to be in possession of the true history and meaning of the word. In pointing this out, I shall be obliged to say in effect to your correspondents, like the chameleon in settling the dispute respecting his colour, "You all are right, and all are wrong;" in other words, "You have a degree of truth in your opposite opinions, but you are wrong in contradicting too flatly the assertions of your opponents." "Pfungsten, das liebliche Fest," of the Germans—our cousins in race, language, and religion—may have had some effect in making Whitsunday so thoroughly a synonym of Pentecost as it is at the beginning of the Queen Elizabeth homily for the day. Whingsten and other dialectic forms may also have helped to bring about the use of Whitsun as prefixed to tide, eve, week, Monday, Tuesday; but I am prepared to prove that Nelson, with Wheatley and other English ritualists, is right in deriving Whitsunday from White Sunday. Although Pentecost is used as the proper ecclesiastical name of the day in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels and Homilies, there was a vernacular use of "White Sunday" long before the thirteenth century, the earliest date assigned by one of your Pflugstenite correspondents. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we have—

"A.D. 1067.—On thisan Easton com se kyng to Wincestre, and tha wæron Eastron on x. kl. Aprl., and sona æfter tham com Mathild seo hlæfdie hider to lande, and Ealdred arceþ hīg gehalgode to cwene on Westmystre on hwitan sunnan dæg.

"This Easter came the King to Winchester; and Easter was then on the 10th before the calends of April. Soon after this came the lady Matilda hither to this land; and Archbishop Eldred hallowed her to queen at Westminster on Whitsunday."—*Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Ingram, p. 268.

For the suggestion of the foregoing passage, in illustration of the question, thanks are due to the Rev. J. Earl, late Anglo-Saxon Professor at Oxford, who has just completed the much-wanted new edition of the *Chronicle*. In a Semi-Saxon poem, A.D. 1205, we find White-sunedæie, Whitensunendæi, White-sunetide. See *Layamon's Brut*, ed. Sir F. Madden, vol. ii., pp. 308, 309; vol. iii., p. 267. The history of the name, which is thus proved to have prevailed so much earlier than is generally supposed, seems to be this:—The solemn and canonical times for baptism were the eves of Easter and Pentecost, at 3 p.m., as noted by Durandus. One of the names for the first Sunday after Easter was "Dominica in Albis" ("subaud. depositis," says Du Cange), or "post albas" (sc. vestes), in memory of the white garments that had been worn by the catechumens at their baptism on Easter Eve, and also during the paschal festival. Easter Sunday itself was called by the Greeks Κυριακή Λαμπρά, "Bright Sunday," partly, as it would appear, on account of the joyful rising of the "Sun of Righteousness," and partly, also, on account of the white garments of the newly baptized not yet laid aside. It is possible that the White Sunday of the

Anglo-Saxons, like "Weiss Sonntag" in German, may have been at first a mere translation of "Dominica in Albis," and used for a short time as a vernacular name for the first Sunday after Easter. However this may be, when once applied to the Christian festival of Pentecost, White Sunday was felt by every Saxon to be a most appropriate, expressive, and speakable substitute for "Pentecostenes Mæsse-dæg." I must, on Anglo-Saxon grounds, beg leave to think, with Bishop Sparrow and the pious author of *The Fasts and Festivals*, that we call this festival Whitsunday, partly from the glorious light of heaven which was this day sent down upon the earth from the "Father of lights," for fresh supplies of which, moreover, we pray in the collect for the day. In order to understand the thorough fitness of White Sunday as the Anglo-Saxon name for the Christian Pentecost, we must remember that the white garments of the baptized were a token, not merely of their profession of the pure faith, but also of their illumination, "illuminati" being in primitive times a favourite synonym for "baptizati." Compare St. John i. 9; Heb. vi. 4. We must further bear in mind that our Saxon forefathers made a distinction where we make a confusion. We say "white lead," "white wash," "white paper," "dead white," "white as a sheet," etc. This quality of colour they rather expressed by "blæc," the origin of our word "bleach," as applied to linen. "Hwit," on the other hand, had usually a bright, happy, and glorious meaning, applied to the bright shining light of heaven, and the glorious appearance of every being and thing belonging to heaven. It is used by the poet Layamon as an epithet of the sun, and it denoted a more dazzling brightness than "beorht," just as in our present English, "white heat" is many degrees above "red hot." A candle was "bright," but the sun in heaven was "white." Hence this word, when used in reference to the Pentecost, would suggest to the mind of a pious Anglo-Saxon most of the thoughts and prayer of the beautiful old hymn—

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire," etc.

Some Anglo-Saxon light still twinkles occasionally in our word "white," but it is in great danger of being quite put out by the spread of the dull, blank, and opaque meaning. The following passages illustrate the epithet "white" as applied to the Christian Pentecost:—

"And geseah twegen englas sittan, mid hwitum reafe—and saw two angels sitting with white clothing."—*Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, St. John xx. 12, ed. Thorpe.

"The ær was engla scynost
Hwittost on heofnen."

"Who of angels erst was brightest,

Fairest (literally, whitest) in heaven."—*Cædmon*, ed. Thorpe, p. 22.

"His raiment was white as the light."—*St. Matt.* xvii. 2.

In Johnson's *Dictionary*, as the third meaning of "white," we find—

"Having the colour appropriated to happiness and innocence."

"Welcome, pure-ey'd faith, white-handed hope,

Thou hovering angel girt with golden wings,

And thou unblemished form of chastity."—*Milton*.

"Peace o'er the world her olive-wand extend,

And white-robed innocence from heaven descend."—*Pope*.

Compare also Milton's "white-robed truth" with "When He, the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth" (John xvi. 13). With regard to spelling and pronunciation, I have no wish to write or pronounce the name as White Sunday; but, on the other hand, I think we ought to abolish altogether the hyphen and second capital in this word, as needless, ugly, and inconvenient. Of course we cannot now write Whitsun-Day, which would be against our conscience; while to write Whit-Sunday would be needlessly uncourteous towards the Pfingstenites, who have given us some information, convinced us in our own opinion, and enabled us to gain a small victory. Let

us, therefore, in accordance with the general practice of the Prayer-book, the Homilies, and of authors from the Reformation to the present day, write Whitsunday in one word, placing the accent, as people usually do, on the second syllable.

J. BABER.

Rectory, Upton Scudamore, Wilts, August 6, 1859.

New Edition of the Codex Alexandrinus.—Messrs. Trübner have issued the following notice:—"The Alexandrine Codex, or Codex A, justly claims a foremost place among manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and critics are unanimous in regarding it as one of the most venerable and valuable documents in existence. Tradition records that it was written in the fourth century by Thecla, an Egyptian Christian lady, and eminent names might be quoted in support of that opinion. Tischendorf, Scholz, and other modern scholars, agree in ascribing it to the fifth century, a period considerably more ancient than can be assigned to any other manuscript of the New Testament, with the exception of the Vatican Codex. and one very recently brought to light by Dr. Tischendorf, and still unpublished.

"This famous manuscript was presented to Charles I. in 1628, by Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople,—a truly royal gift. It is now one of the most precious treasures of the British Museum, and from the moment of its arrival in England to the present day, it has attracted the attention of the most distinguished scholars of Europe. It has been often collated, and once published in facsimile by that erudite and accurate critic Woide, whose edition appeared in 1786 in folio. The Old Testament portion was edited by Baber in 1819. Woide's text of the New Testament is however both scarce and costly, consequently but few can have access to a faithful transcript of this venerable document. Yet surely every Biblical student must wish to have it within his reach in a portable and convenient form. To meet this want, the present edition is undertaken, and no pains will be spared to secure a well printed and thoroughly faithful copy of the original.

"It is intended to reproduce the Alexandrine manuscript in modern type, observing the peculiar orthography, with the exception of the contractions, which it will be found convenient to develop. The sections of the original will be indicated, and modern divisions into chapters and verses will be noted in the margin. The missing portions, consisting of Matt. i. 1, to xxv. 6; John vi. 50, to viii. 52; and 2 Cor. iv. 13, to xii. 6, will be supplied, in order to present the New Testament entire. The volume will be printed uniformly with the octavo reprint of the Codex Vaticanus. In its preparation, however, the editors have the unspeakable advantage of access to the original MS., which enables them to guarantee its correctness.

"It may help to suggest the value which will attach to such an edition, to say that the Alexandrine manuscript presents no fewer than about *nine thousand* variations from the text of Mill, including variations of orthography and reading. Among them are many of extreme interest, and the perusal of any page of the work will shew to the most uninitiated the advantage of a faithful copy of the entire work over the marginal references to its peculiarities in the best critical editions. The numerous transpositions, omissions and additions, with which it it abounds, will then be obvious to any one who undertakes the easy labour of comparing it with any other published text of the Greek Testament, and in particular with that of Cardinal Mai, from a manuscript perhaps slightly older, and like this, in all likelihood also written in Egypt.

"The preceding remarks might be verified and illustrated by citations from this very important text, but as no tyro in criticism is unaware of the value of the document, or can be indifferent about its possession, such quotations may be dispensed with.

"It is confidently expected that the zeal of those who desire an approximate knowledge of the inspired Writings, will lead them to encourage this very responsible and important undertaking, and the publishers will be glad to receive the names of as many intending subscribers as possible. The work is in a forward

state of preparation, and will be published at as early a period as is consistent with that minute accuracy which is so indispensable in such a case. In the meantime, the publishers have no doubt that the announcement of their intention to place within the reach of all students a verbal facsimile of this ancient manuscript of the New Testament, dating back as it does at least fourteen centuries, will be approved and welcomed by every biblical student."

Modern Versions of the Scriptures.—The latest of Prince Louis Lucien's Scripture translation publications are a version of the Gospel of St. Matthew into the Venetian dialect, under the title of *Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, volgarizzato in dialetto Veneziano, dal Sig. Giamjacopo Fontana*, and a version of "the Song of Solomon in the Lancashire Dialect, as spoken at Bolton. From the authorized English version. By James Taylor Staton." Works in the Venetian dialect of Italian have been frequently printed before the present, but they have been for the most part popular songs and tales. We do not recollect any portion of Scripture having been printed at any time previously. We shall therefore give a small specimen of it, premising that the orthography is the same as that adopted by Boerio in his Venetian Dictionary, chapter iv. 1. "Allora Gesu xe sta condoto dal Spirito in tel deserto, perchè el fusse tentà dal diavolo. 2. El gaveva dezunà quaranta zorni, e quaranta note, e il sentiva de aver una gran fame. 3. E ghe xe regnuo arente el diavolo a dirghe: Se ti xe fio de Dio, dighe a ste pierre che le se cambia in paneti. 4. Lu ga risposto; Se trova scritto: Che l'omo no vive minga nome che de pan, ma de tute quele parole, che vien fora da la boca de Dio." This, however strange it may look to persons acquainted only with classic Italian, is not half so barbarous as the Bolton dialect, of which the following is a specimen:—Chap, i, 1. "Th' sung o' sung, which is Solomon's. 2. Let him kiss me wi' th' kissins uv his meawth; for thy love's better nur woine. 3. Because oth' savvur o' thy good eightments thy name's as eightment temm'd forth, therefore do th' varjuns love thee. 4. Poo me, we'll run after thee: th' King's browt me into his reawms: we'll be fain un rejeighoe in thee, we'll think o' thy love mooar nur woine: th' upreet love thee. Awm black, but comely, O yoa dowters o' Jerusalem, as th' tents o' Kedar, as th' curtains o' Solomon." The only tolerable excuse that we have heard for the prince selecting the "Song of Solomon" for these several translations into our English dialects is that while it is the shortest, or one of the very short books in the Bible, it is at the same time one of the most idiomatic.—*Critic*.

Prince Lucien Bonaparte has printed a catalogue of the works edited by him in the various dialects of Europe—also a list of works now in the press. The more recent works are the Canticles in Basque, the Gospel of St. Matthew in the vulgar dialects of Venetia, Milan, Naples, and Bergamo. Among other labours, the Prince has printed the Song of Solomon in four English dialects—Lowland Scotch, and the dialects of Cumberland, Newcastle, and Westmoreland, preserving, for the use of linguists and historians, the exact state of language in those districts, as spoken by the native population in the reign of Victoria.—*Athenæum*.

A reproduction of the *Biblia Pauperum*, from the copy in the British Museum Library, is announced by Mr. J. Russell Smith. It will consist of forty engravings, printed in one volume, uniform with Mr. L. Leigh Sotheby's *Principia Typographica*.

Bible History Confirmed by an Egyptian Seal at Nineveh.—On the temple walls of ancient Egypt, among the figures of men and gods and many historical records, there frequently occur certain oblong parallelograms, with rounded corners, enclosing various hieroglyphics. These cartouches, as they are called, often stand over the image of some king, and, being deciphered, are found to contain his name, title, etc., and seem to be somewhat like the coat of arms or the royal signet of modern princes. Each king has a cartouch of his own, and in some cases these kings are identified with kings known to us through history. Among

these are Shishak, 2 Chron. xii. 1—9; Tirhakah, 2 Kings xix. 9; Pharaoh Necho, 2 Kings xxii. 29—35; and Sabaco II., or So, 2 Kings xvii. 4, mentioned in Bible history. This last king, So, was of the Ethiopian or twenty-fifth dynasty, and his cartouch is well known to the student of Egyptian antiquities. Egypt lies at a distance from Assyria, and an army from one country could not reach the other without going through the Jewish territory, or traversing vast and almost impassable deserts. Yet the Bible informs us that at one period these two nations were frequently in conflict with each other. Thus we find the Assyrian armies in Egypt (Isaiah xx.), and an Egyptian army on the borders of Assyria (Jeremiah xlvi. 2); and the Jews were involved in the strifes of these powerful neighbours. King Josiah was defeated and slain by an Egyptian army on its march against Assyria. Hosea, king of Israel, made a treaty with So, king of Egypt, to help him to throw off the yoke of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; but the result was an Assyrian invasion and the first great captivity of the kingdom of Israel. This So, or Sabaco II., was succeeded by Tirhakah in Egypt, and Shalmaneser in Assyria by Sennacherib, and hostilities existed during both reigns (2 Kings xix. 9); alternating with peace, and the campaign followed by the treaty. But who could have hoped to find any new verifications of these statements of Scripture after the lapse of 2,500 years? Yet this has been done. In the mound of Kouyunjik, recently explored, on the site of Nineveh, the ancient capital of Assyria, are found the remains of a palace built, as its own record informs us, by Sennacherib. One of its chambers would seem to have been a hall of records, for it contained a large number of pieces of fine clay, bearing the impression of seals. Such clay was used in those ages as sealing-wax is used now, in sealing important documents, and manuscripts have been found in Egypt with these clay seals still attached to them. One of these pieces of clay found in Sennacherib's palace presents us with two seals, one a royal signet of Assyria, and the other the well-known cartouch of Sabaco, or So, king of Egypt, just as it stands on Egyptian monuments; thus showing the probability that a treaty between the two monarchs had been deposited here, and furnishing an unexpected confirmation of the Bible history. The document itself, and the cord by which it was attached to the seal, have long since turned to dust, but the seal with its double impress, though buried for ages, has come to light, and is now in the British Museum. The two kings affixed their seals to a document, which had perished like themselves; but in their act the hand of the Most High affixed an additional seal to his holy word, which is true and abideth for ever.—*American Messenger*.

Horne's Introduction. A new edition of Vol. II. of the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne's well-known *Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures* has been for some time in preparation, and may be shortly expected to issue from the press. The execution of it has been entrusted to the Rev. Mr. Ayre, a gentleman with respect to whose orthodoxy it is said there can be no question, as there certainly was—whether rightly or wrongly we do not pretend to say—in the case of Dr. Davidson, who was employed by the publishers, in conjunction with Dr. Tregelles, to assist the venerable author in preparing a new edition (the tenth) of his work. Dr. Davidson, in this distribution of labour, became responsible for the entire second volume; but such an outcry was caused by certain opinions therein expressed by him, that the volume was obliged to be detached from Mr. Horne's work, and published separately, while Mr. Ayre was engaged to supply its place by another. This is the volume now passing through the press. But we learn, at the same time, that a new edition of Dr. Davidson's volume has been called for, shewing that he also is not without his admirers; which, considering the great amount of learning contained in his work, is not to be wondered at.

Jews in Jerusalem.—The master of the house communicated to me the following particulars concerning the Karaite congregation at Jerusalem:—

"We are the oldest inhabitants of Jerusalem since the destruction of the second temple. Two hundred and seventy years ago there were two hundred Karaites at Jerusalem, who emigrated there on account of the plague that had

broken out, so that, during twenty years, there was not a Karaite at Jerusalem. For the last one hundred and fifty years we have been again established here. Our most ancient tombstone is only one hundred and ten years old; many, however have sunk in the ground. Now we are only thirty-two in number, among whom there are four heads of families. It is painful that your countrymen, the Ashkenasim, should despise us; the Sephardim visit us occasionally, and we them. However, we only intermarry amongst ourselves, and bury our dead separately from theirs. We are obliged to be industrious and work hard, for the support from our brethren in the Crimea is very inconsiderable. Through the scarcity of the last few years, the formerly rich have become poor, and the poor impoverished. The books after which you enquire we have not; to us the one suffices which contains the wisdom of the whole world. I will shew you our book of the law."

He then invited us to visit the synagogue. We first descended the stairs by which we had ascended, and then another flight of steps, which conducted us to a small subterranean apartment, which was lighted by a square opening in the roof. A small glass lustre, with four burning lamps, mingled its rays with the light of the day, without robbing the small synagogue, which was covered with beautiful carpets, of the charm of its magic gloom.

A silver plate is inserted behind the prayer-desk, over the holy ark, towards the east. It contains an inscription in large letters of gold, through which the Jewish profession of faith is brought under the notice of every one who enters—"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." Their thora does not consist of leaves rolled together, as among all other sects, but is written on parchment, in the form of a book, with gold or painted initials and arabesques. The last page contains information regarding the origin, the age, and the writer of the MS., in the following words: "I, Moses, son of the blessed Menachem Dalbures, have written this book, which is called 'Maknihe,' and given it to the honoured Rabbi, Mordechai, the son of the blessed Isack, as a worthy present, in the month Sivan, in the eighty-second year of the six-thousandth year (5082). May God grant that he meditate on the book, he, and his children, and his children's children, to the end of all generations. Amen. And may the word which is written be verified: 'This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein; for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success. Be strong. Amen. Selah.'"

Besides this book, there is also a thora written on parchment leaves rolled together, which has been written at a more recent date.

When we came out of the synagogue and entered the court, we found the whole community assembled. All were dressed in their Sabbath clothes. My host directed my attention to the friendly bearing exhibited by all; they evidently considered themselves honoured by our visit. All of them bade us adieu, as if it were with one mouth, while the president invited me to repeat my visit.

Though they are perfectly independent in religious matters, the Turkish Government regards the chacham bachi as their spiritual head. All that he requires of them is, that they shall at least outwardly observe and respect the different Jewish festivals. Thus they would not dare, even if it were permitted, to open their shops on certain days.

Decline of Judaism.—The observations I made during this visit were instructive and interesting in several respects. I have had occasion to make myself acquainted with the advantages the Jews in Belgium and France have derived from having been entirely emancipated. In a worldly point of view they are great. The Jew, in these two countries, is no more shut up in a separate quarter; in the eye of the law he is not a Jew, but a Belgian, or a Frenchman; he may devote himself to any career, and may rise to the highest office in the State. In fact, that which is lawful to the Gentile is also lawful to the Jew; and I believe they are, with very few exceptions, in easy circumstances. But emancipation has well nigh annihilated Judaism. The synagogues are empty;

the rabbis without influence and without congregations; and thousands of Jews, denying their origin, have lost all nationality and love for their own country and Jerusalem; they have Gentilized their names and their manners; and, in a few years, when the census is again taken in Belgium, there will perhaps not be one who declares himself a Jew. In France, if possible, it is even worse. A Jewish French periodical says of the majority of the Jews in France, "that they do not visit the synagogues, that they send their children to Gentile schools, do not have their sons circumcised, and are rarely present at any real Jewish ceremonies." They might have added, they have their children baptized soon after they come into the world, like Adolph Cremieux, who had his son and his daughter baptized by a Romish priest the morning after their birth; but he himself continues to be a Jew.—*Notes of a Recent Tour on the Continent, by a Jew.*

The Tomb of Rachel.—Upon my return to Bethlehem, I rode by the tomb of Rachel—a small building with a whitened dome, and having within it a high oblong monument, built of brick, and stuccoed over. The spot is wild and solitary, and not a tree spreads its shade where rests the beautiful mother of Israel. Christian, Jew, and Moslem, all agree that this is just the spot where Rachel was buried, and all unite in honouring it. The Turks are anxious that their ashes may rest near hers, and hence their bodies have been strewn under tombs all around the simple grave of Rachel. The sweet domestic virtues of the good wife have won their love and admiration, as the tomb of Absalom, near the brook of Kedron, their detestation. Upon the latter they throw a stone, to mark their horror of the disobedient son; while around the former they wish, when they die, their bodies may be interred. Nor is this wonderful. The wife worth fourteen years of service as a shepherd must have been a wife worth having. The whole life of Rachel is, indeed, one of the most touching in Biblical history. The sweet shepherdess has left her mark upon the memory of man, as well as her tomb. The tribute to her is the tribute to a good wife; and infidel, and Jew, and Christian, all combine to pay it. The great women of the earth—the Zenobias and Cleopatras have died, been buried, and their very place of burial been forgotten—but to this day stands over the grave of Rachel, not the pillar Jacob set up, but a modern monument in its place, around which pilgrims from every land under the sun gather in respect and reverence for the faithful wife and good mother in Israel.—*New York Express.*

The Doctrine of a Trinity, Universal.—Persons indifferent to religious truth, or latitudinarian in sentiment, are prone to pronounce what is peculiar to Christianity to be "sectarian." Thus the principle, that there is a visible Church instituted by Christ, having a ministry which holds a commission from Him, transmitted through the apostles in a line of unbroken succession down to our day, is declared to be "sectarian." Even the doctrine of the vicarious atonement is affirmed to be "sectarian," by the class whose main article of belief is a disbelief in the distinctive truths which fundamentally constitute the religion of the Saviour what it is, as the Gospel, and something different from all the pretended forms of religion in the world. What is Unitarianism, then, but intensely sectarian?

Thus we might refer to other catholic doctrines declared to be "sectarian," merely because denied by certain individuals or classes, who, indeed, are the sectarians, because of their non-belief and rejection of some essential truths. But if universality of any doctrine be any proof that it is not "sectarian," and a presumptive evidence of its Divine authenticity, then the doctrine of the Trinity stands on firm ground, aside from all the indications of the truth of it existing in the inspired Scriptures. It is not a peculiar Gospel truth, inasmuch as it was known before the Gospel, and mingled among ancient superstitions, in which fragments of Divine truth may be found. Those who are fond of appealing to "nature," or to the conclusions arrived at by the general mind of mankind, to the consent of the human race in any one thing, as decisive concerning the truth or falsehood of any doctrine or principle, should not be found denying

the truth of a Godhead. Three in One, and One in Three,—a doctrine professed before the incarnation of the Eternal Son, and known in history to have been believed before the liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery,—and known, too, to have been held in various and opposite regions of the earth, by people that could have had no communication since the dispersion at the building of Babel. What, then, is this universal belief, but the voice of God speaking to the human consciousness concerning Himself?

We give a few instances, which shew the universality of this doctrine, and thus its freedom from mere sectarianism:—

Hindoos.—The name of the Godhead is Brahma: the names of the three persons in it are Brahma, Vishnu, and Seeva.

Persian.—The names of which are Ormusd, Mithras, and Ahriman, called by the Greeks, Ormasdes, Mithras, and Arimanus.

Egyptian, who named their Triad originally, Osiris, Cneph, and Phtha; and afterwards, Osiris, Iris, and Typhon.

Orphic Theology, the most ancient recorded in Grecian history, Phos, Boule, Zoe (Light, Counsel, Life).

Greek Philosophers extensively acknowledged a Triad, *To en*, or Unity; and *Monon*, or that which is alone; and *To Agathon*, or the Good.

Thibet and Tangut worshipped an idol, which was the representation of a threefold god.

Russian Medal with an inscription:—"The bright and sacred image of the Deity, conspicuous in three figures."

Scandinavians acknowledged a Triad, whom they styled Odin, Fræa, Thor.

Romans, Germans, and Gauls worshipped a Triad in various manners.

Romans and Germans worshipped the Mairie, three goddesses inseparable.

Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians worshipped the Cabiri, or Three Mighty Ones.

Japanese and Chinese anciently acknowledged a Triad.

American nations have, in several instances, acknowledged a Triad.

The Iroquois hold that, before the creation, three spirits existed, all of whom were employed in making mankind.

The Peruvians adored a Triad, whom they styled the Father and Lord Sun, the Son Sun, and the Brother Sun.

The Inhabitants of Coquisaco, a province of Peru, worshipped an image named Tangatanga, which, in their language, signifies one in three, and three in one.—*Calendar*.

Character of Erasmus.—There are characters to whom the world never has done, and never will do, justice. Many such, doubtless, there are among the retiring, much-enduring souls who, in the obscurity of a private, it may be an exceedingly humble, station, pass through their appointed course of life's discipline, unknown to the world, the world unknown to them. Their joys and sorrows are all their own; their thoughts and feelings, ever struggling to disengage themselves from the meaner associations of the earth, are directed heavenward, and, shrinking from all outward manifestations, begin and end in communings of the inner mind with that Father who seeth in secret, and who, we may rest well assured, will in his own good time, in the day of the manifestation of his power in his saints, reward them openly. But there are others, whose lot is not thus cast among the secret ones of the Father of Spirits: who are destined to play a part, and an important part, on the world's stage; who, though their inner life be "hid with Christ in God," are, either by an irresistible impulse from within, or by the constraining power of circumstances, forced into prominence, and whom, nevertheless, the world, whose eyes are fixed on them, fails to understand.

Erasmus was one of these; he was one of the most illustrious, perhaps, among those choice spirits whose allotted task it is to exercise a powerful and widespread influence over the men of their own age, and through them upon all time to come, and yet to stand aloof from the world, but imperfectly appreciated, and still less comprehended, realizing in the most literal sense the Apostolic

paradox, "as unknown and yet well known." There is, indeed, no lack of "lives" of Erasmus; editions and bibliographies of his voluminous writings^a may readily be consulted; yet neither his character nor his position in history are properly understood. Nothing, of course, is easier than to set him down as a trimmer and a time-server, who saw the truth clearly enough, but, through considerations of fear, or of worldly advantage, was withheld from joining the ranks of its champions and defenders; nothing more plausible than to proclaim him a man without earnestness of purpose, who looked on at the mighty conflict that was being fought out before his eyes, in the spirit of literary dilettantism and philosophical apathy, rather than with a mind actuated by deep and solemn convictions. Much, we are aware, may be said in support of this view of the character of Erasmus; we are prepared to admit that it is the aspect which the history of his life presents to the vulgar eye. And yet, after all, we would submit, this may not be the whole truth respecting him; it may be, if not a total mistake, at least a very imperfect view, involving injustice of the gravest kind.

Sufficient regard, we incline to think, has not been paid to the peculiar circumstances of the personal history of Erasmus, and to the effect which they must have had upon the formation of his mind and character. His position was, almost from his cradle, one of complete isolation. The circumstances of his birth placed him at once beyond the pale of the ordinary social influences. As a child he never had a home, in the true sense of the word. Even while his natural protectors were alive, they had no home to give him. After their death, which happened as he was barely approaching the confines of childhood and youth, he was thrown entirely among strangers. By those to whom a legal guardianship over him was committed, he was defrauded, betrayed, coerced into a mode of a life utterly uncongenial to the natural bent of his mind. To many, situated as he was, the cloister has supplied the place of a home: with him it was far otherwise. To him the cloister never was a home; the order of which he had been compelled to profess himself an adopted son was never regarded by him in the light of a family, a brotherhood, to which he belonged. The growth of those affections which might have won and warmed his heart was stunted in him from his very infancy; the world that surrounded and encircled him had no sympathy with him nor he with it. At the very period when thought and feeling begin to expand, he was forced back upon his own solitary heart.

When he had succeeded in shaking off the trammels of a conventual existence, he started forth into the world, still an isolated being. He who as a child had had no home, had as a man no country that he could call his own. He was a Dutchman, a citizen of Rotterdam, by the local accident of his birth, but by no other tie. And as he stood alone in the outer world, so he stood alone, likewise, in the world of thought. The rudiments by the aid of which learning may be attained, he had acquired during his school years; his brief monastic career did little more than make him hunger and thirst after knowledge with the keen intensity of unsatisfied desire. After he had escaped into the fields where knowledge was free and abundant, he was yet without teachers. He had to purchase, by teaching others what he knew, the precious opportunity of teaching himself. At every stage of his erudite career he was *αὐτοδίδακτος*. It was his own hand

^a Among the earlier lives the following are the more important: Burigny, *Vie d'Erasmus*, Paris, 1757; the same, translated into German, with Corrections and Additions, by Professor Henke, Halle, 1782; Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, London, 1758—60; Hess's *Erasmus von Rotterdam, nach seinem Leben und Schriften*, Zurich, 1790; Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, more particularly of that part of it which he spent in England, Cambridge, 1726. Of a more recent date are the publications, the titles of which are prefixed to the Essay in the "Quarterly;" *Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, von Adolf Müller, Hamburg, 1828; *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, tom. xvi., art. "Erasme," Paris, 1856.

^b The most complete edition of his works is that edited by Le Clerc, and published at Leyden, 1703—6, in ten folio volumes. An elaborate account of them is given at the end of the article "Erasmus," in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedia*.

that ever and again sent down and raised the bucket by means of which he drew refreshing waters from the well of truth. He had no one to draw those waters for him.

It is easy to see what must have been the result of all this in a mind of sufficient vitality and energy to be proof against the almost crushing difficulties of such a position. Solidity of learning, a deep and clear insight into the reality of things, great freedom and independence of thought, were the natural fruits of such arduous, self-concentrated training. Not a superficial borrower of other men's opinions, he must needs be an original thinker; hampered by no conventionalities, he formed upon every point his own deliberate judgment. To what extent, with what vigorous application of his acute and powerful mind, Erasmus did this, is at once apparent when it is considered over how wide a field his researches extended, and what freshness and copiousness of thought he brought to bear on every part of it. In classical, in Biblical, in patristic lore, he far excelled all his contemporaries. While his investigations into Christian antiquity left upon his mind the impress of deep reverence for the institutions of the Church, he had a keen eye for the abuses and corruptions with which those institutions had become overlaid during the lapse of ages. While he drank deep at the fountain-head of Christian truth, he clearly observed the spurious admixture of false tenets with which that truth had become adulterated. Maintaining his ground as a sound and reverent Churchman, he scourged without mercy the ignorance and vice which defiled the temple. He planned and executed, and that with the express sanction of Pope Leo X., to whom he dedicated it, the publication of the New Testament Scriptures in the original Greek, and rendered their contents more generally accessible by accompanying it with a Latin version, more correct than the authorized Vulgate.

All this Erasmus had achieved several years before the hero of the German Reformation brought himself of nailing his *theses* to the church door at Wittenberg. Quietly, *sine tumultu*, as best became the sacredness of God's Church and the spirit of the Gospel, had he been labouring, both by his published writings, and by his extensive correspondence, for the purification of the Church; the object of his daily and nightly toil had been, by promoting and diffusing the knowledge of the pure Word of God, to let in light upon the darkness with whose blighting shadows Christendom was overspread. With a heart from which all other interests were excluded, he was watching the advent of the orb of day; he discerned its approach in the faint streaks of light which were converting the sable night into gray-eyed morn. What must have been his disappointment when he saw black and threatening clouds gather on the horizon, when the rolling of distant thunder, now from the cell of the Augustinian monk, now from the Vatican, gave warning that the elements were about to meet in deadly conflict; how profound his sorrow as he saw those clouds rising higher and higher, overcasting the whole heaven, and found the voice of sober truth rendered inaudible by the tempest's roar!

The hopes which, through years of devoted labour, he had cherished of a better future for the Church were blasted. Possessed as he was of extensive knowledge of the world, engaged in correspondence with leading men in Church and State, he could not but apprehend the consequences of the unmeasured violence of language and action which was now imported into the mighty conflict between truth and error. The enemies of reform eagerly seized upon the opportunity afforded them of raising the cry, "The Church in danger." Those who had been won to its cause, whose eyes were gradually being opened to the requirements of the age, drew back in alarm when they saw a ruthless and indiscriminating attack directed alike against what in their hearts they disapproved and were willing to see amended, and against all that they held most dear and sacred. The advocacy of sound and enlightened views, at all times obnoxious to the imputation of "novelty" and "heresy," was rendered infinitely more difficult by the promulgation of questionable or actually erroneous tenets, which ignorance or malice confounded with the former.

What, under these circumstances, was a temperate Church reformer, a sober-minded and conscientious promoter of Biblical knowledge like Erasmus, to do?

Was he to cast in his lot with the movement party, damaging his own good and holy cause by association with unhallowed measures which he could not but condemn, and damaging the truth by allowing it to be identified with errors for which he neither could nor would make himself responsible? Or, seeing he was precluded from turning Protestant under the banner of Martin Luther, was he to become the champion of a system which he himself had denounced, to enlist his powerful mind in the defence of abuses and superstitions against which he had with so much success wielded the scourge of satire, and held up the torch of truth? Would he not by either of these courses have incurred the guilt of treason against that truth which, during years of deep thought and laborious research, had been revealed to his soul? What else could he do but, on the one hand, urge upon the adherents of the old system the duty of reforming those things which needed correction, reminding them that much truth was mixed up with the errors of their opponents; and, on the other hand, enforce upon the promulgators of the new doctrine and clamourers for change the necessity of caution and moderation, warning them of the danger of rash and excessive innovation?

Now this is the precise course which Erasmus pursued, and by pursuing it drew down upon himself the displeasure of both the antagonistic parties. He exerted his influence with the Papal party in favour of mild counsels and wise concessions; to Luther and his followers he recommended abstinence from overstrained assertions and extravagant demands. He refused to become the partizan of either, because he judged neither worthy of absolute victory or of absolute defeat; rather than help the one to achieve a triumph over the other, he desired to see them meet together in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace. To this line of conduct he adhered with such singleness of purpose that, although sometimes in indigent, and never in affluent circumstances, he unhesitatingly and pertinaciously refused the most brilliant offers of both dignity and emolument,—the cardinalate was more than once within his reach, and even pressed upon him,—lest he should be suspected of interested motives in refusing to the Protestant party that unqualified support which they somewhat rudely claimed at his hands. "Hoc agunt," he says, in allusion to the design to load him with preferment in order to qualify him in point of fortune for a cardinal's hat, "ut me onerent præposituris, ut hinc justo censu parato doner purpureo galero,"—"onerent," he adds in another epistle, "reclamantem, ac manibus pedibusque recusantem, ac perpetuo etiam recusaturum." Placed between Luther and the Papacy, Erasmus had no choice but to hold himself aloof from both, at the risk of being, as he was, branded by both as a renegade. There was, indeed, one country in which the work of Reformation proceeded on principles more congenial to his own, and where it might have had his hearty co-operation. But here, too, violence and injustice scared him. Henry VIII.'s divorce, though he respectfully refrained from censuring it, he found it impossible to approve. And when the axe had fallen on the neck of Thomas More, the friend of his early youth, what remained for him but to veil his head in expectation of that final release by which, within less than a year of that bloody tragedy, he was "taken away from the evil to come?"

To follow out, through the life and writings of Erasmus, the line here indicated, would be a deeply interesting task, but far exceeding the limits within which our remarks must be confined. Since, however, his name has once more been prominently brought before the world, it seemed to us not unmeet to urge the foregoing considerations, both in support of his claim to a foremost place among God's chosen instruments for the restoration of Evangelic Truth and the maintenance of Apostolic Order in His Church, and in vindication of his certainly not unhonoured, yet not sufficiently honoured, memory. In evil times, times of hot strife and of passions unchained, he maintained that rare and noble, but never popular character,—the character of a man guided by "the wisdom from above," whereof the unfailing Word testifies that it is *εἰρηνητική, ἐσωτερική, ἀδιδόκητος, ἀνυπόκριτος*. On no tablet more fitly than on that of Erasmus may the blessed promise be inscribed: *Κατὰ δίκαιοσύνην ἐν εἰρήνῃ στέλεται τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εἰρήνην*.—*English Churchman*.

Works of Dr. Barrow.—The University of Cambridge has been doing honour to one of her most distinguished sons, Dr. Isaac Barrow, by publishing a new edition of his works, the most accurate and complete hitherto extant. Its title is as follows: "*The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.* In nine volumes. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press, by the Rev. Alexander Napier, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Holkham, Norfolk. Cambridge: At the University Press." In these nine volumes are contained the author's sixty-four sermons on miscellaneous subjects; thirty-two sermons on the Creed; an "Exposition of the Creed," in the form of a treatise, also an "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Sacraments;" "Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy;" "Discourse of the Unity of the Church;" "Opuscula;" "Poemata;" two dissertations, and sermons, etc., attributed to Barrow. Of all this mass of writing, it is strange that only a very small portion was published by the author himself during his lifetime; in fact, only two sermons, the "Spital Sermon," preached in 1671, and the "Guildhall Sermon," in 1677, both of which were published by request. His other works were published at intervals, after his death, by Archbishop Tillotson and Brabazon Aylmer, with the exception of a few recently discovered. The MSS. of most of the sermons are still existing in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the present editor has had recourse to these in correcting the text and restoring the author's own readings, many of which had been intentionally altered by Archbishop Tillotson, to suit his own ideas of euphonious writing. Prefixed to this edition the reader will also find "Some account of the life of Dr. Isaac Barrow, by Abraham Hill," and in the last volume, "A Notice of Barrow's Life and Academical Times, by W. Whewell, D.D." The latter contains very little that is new respecting the author's life. Indeed, it is almost impossible now, according to Mr. Napier, to recover any more facts respecting him than those already recorded by his earliest biographer. The principal of these are, that he was born in London in 1630, the son of a respectable linendraper and citizen; was educated first at the Charter-house, where "for his book he minded it not," and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he must have minded his book very well, for in 1649 he was chosen one of the Fellows, and applied himself to the study of medicine, botany, chemistry, etc., being much smitten by the new discoveries of the natural philosophers of his time. Next he travelled abroad in France, Italy, and even Turkey. Subsequently he entered the Church, and, while known abroad as one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, at home he achieved as high a reputation as a theologian. Charles II. made him his chaplain, and paid him the compliment of saying that he was the most unfair preacher he ever knew, "for he never left anything for any one else to say on the subjects which he handled." Dr. Barrow was also praised, not only for his great learning, but for his remarkable physical strength and courage; he was a great consumer of tobacco, which he called his "panpharmakon" (has Mr. Fairholt a note of this?) nor was he less sparing in the matter of fruit, which, says his biographer, "was to him physic as well as food; and he thought that if fruit kill hundreds in autumn, it preserves thousands." The fruit, then, he took for his health, and the tobacco because he believed "it did help to regulate his thinking. Dr. Barrow died in London in 1677, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where he is described in his epitaph as "truly great, if there be anything great in piety, probity, faith, the most consummate learning, and modesty no less consummate, morals entirely unspotted, and manners most engaging."—*Critic.*

Egyptian Antiquities at the Syro-Egyptian Society.—June 14th.—Dr. J. Lee in the chair.—The Chairman exhibited (out of the Hartwell collection) the palette or inkstand of an ancient Egyptian scribe. Mr. Bonomi described it as a flat piece of acacia wood, three inches wide, and seventeen inches long; and argued, from the circumstance of its length being exactly five digits less than the ancient Egyptian cubit of the Louvre, that it served the scribe as a measure as well as a palette and ruler. On the side in which the two circular depressions for the red and black pigments and the groove for the reeds is contrived,

was engraved in outline a representation of the scribe in the act of adoration before Osiris and Thoth, with a dedication to those two divinities, in well-formed hieroglyphics of the nineteenth dynasty, as well as four columns of hieroglyphics at the back. It was stated that the palette was found in the tomb of a scribe at Thebes, where it had been deposited as indicative of his profession. Mr. Sharpe remarked that every one of the pyramids near Gizeh stands upon a base which measures an even number of cubits. The base of the pyramid second in point of size is 400 royal cubits in length; that of the third pyramid, 200; that of the fourth, 70; those of the fifth and sixth, 100 each; and those of the eighth and ninth, 60 each. The royal cubit contains seven hand-breadths or twenty-eight fingers; while the ordinary or lesser cubit is a seventh part less, containing only six hand-breadths. The greatest pyramid alone is measured in these lesser cubits. And hence we learn something of the mind of the builder. When he determined to make it larger than the oldest pyramid of 400 royal cubits, he boastfully fixed upon 500 cubits as its measure, but contented himself with using the lesser cubit. During these years the cubit had grown rather shorter. When the four oldest pyramids were built, the royal cubit measured twenty-one inches and a quarter; when the fifth and sixth were built, it was twenty inches and three-quarters; and for the eighth and ninth, it was only twenty inches and a half.—Mr Bonomi read some extracts from the Journal of an English Resident at Ghedames, on the northern frontier of the Sahara, and also some extracts from the Journal of a Resident at Diarbeker, on the river Tigris.

Anglo-Saxon Tombs.—In accordance with the promise in our last, we proceed to give some details of discoveries in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and on the racecourse at Bowcombe Down. These explorations were made under the auspices of the Isle of Wight Museum Committee, Newport, and carried on under the direction of Ernest P. Wilkins, Esq. The proceeds of the investigation are as follows:—1. An incineration of an adult and child. 2. A headless skeleton; with it was interred a Roman bronze hare-shaped enamelled brooch, bronze tag, metal with rivet-hole, and an iron girdle buckle. 3. An iron dagger, which was laid over an incineration, near which was found a coin of the reign of Constantine. 4. An urn. 5. A headless skeleton, with other relics. 6. Human bones, and a corroded bead. 7. An urn, which fell to pieces. 8. An urn, eight inches high and ten and a half inches in diameter, surrounded by wood-ashes. 9. An urn, similar to No. 8, the neck much crushed. 10, 11, and 12. Two or three skeletons discovered by workmen in widening the racecourse, together with which were found an iron sword, two iron spear-heads, a bronze buckle, and an iron knife. 13. A male skeleton, 5ft. 2in.; with it were interred a bronze circular ornament, an iron knife, a bronze circular brooch and leaden bead, three rivets and a piece of bronze belonging to the sheath of a knife, and an iron buckle; pieces of pottery were scattered about the grave. 14. A skeleton without relics, save fragments of pottery scattered about the grave. 15. A male skeleton, 5ft. 9in.; on the right side of the skull was found an iron spear-head, eighteen inches long, and on the left side an empty urn, which collapsed into fragments; an iron boss and handle of a shield laid on the chest; at the girdle were an agate bead, a bronze buckle, an iron dagger, with three bronze rivets of its sheath, and a piece of bronze. 16. A female skeleton, reclining on one side with knees drawn up, a necklace of beads of amber, pebble, and glass, under chin; with which were discovered a bronze gilt brooch with a Saxon face, a thimble of bronze plated with silver, and an iron knife. 17. A male skeleton, with which was found some bronze clasps on the left side of the skull. 18. A male skeleton, buried with which were an iron knife, an iron boss and handle of a shield, and some pieces of pottery scattered over the grave. 19. An urn. 20. On the top of a barrow, just under the turf, were discovered two pairs of legs, which had never been disturbed, the other parts being apparently removed, with a considerable portion of the barrow; subsequent explorations discovered the remains of two or more skeletons, irregularly scattered together, with an iron arrow-head, fragments of iron articles, a bronze

clasp, half an iron horse-shoe, a bead, blocks of sandstone, and a large iron ring. 21. A male skeleton, with which were found four brooches and a hair enamelled brooch; all these brooches had a piece of string wound round the front of the pin—a sufficient proof that they were buried, and not pinned in the garments, but simply laid in the grave; some number of beads, a bronze sliding ring, with pendant ornament, and an iron knife at the left hip. 22. An incineration, with a dagger blade of bronze six inches over it. 23. This was a hole excavated in the solid chalk, sixteen inches in diameter and ten inches deep, filled with wood-ashes burnt on the spot; a few fragments only of bones could be picked out, so thoroughly had the skeletons been burned; a burnt head was also detected; wood ashes surrounded the hole for two or three feet in extent, in large quantities; over the incineration, which had been the original interment, was heaped a large mass of flints. These relics deserve especial attention, as they have just been placed in an apartment of the Museum in Lugley-street, for public observation. The particulars as to the time the Museum is opened will be seen on the door of the building.—*Hampshire Advertiser*.

Rare Manuscripts.—The following descriptives are from the Libri Catalogue. The prices are those attached to the articles by Mr. Kerslake of Bristol:—

Austin (Seint) his Meditations and Confessions—"Here bygynnyth a treatise that men callith Richard of seynt victor"—"Carta redemcionis (in English verse)—A songe of love to owre lorde jhu criste (in verse)—Ave quene of heven (a poem)—Christ's Address to Sinners (in verse)—Various verses (running on as if written in prose). In the binding of Henry VIII., with the Tudor rose and royal arms impressed on the cover, folio. Sæc. xiv. on vellum, 25*l*. A very important manuscript, formerly in the library of King Henry VIII., for whom it seems to have been re-bound. The capitals throughout are illuminated in gold and colours. We have been unable to find any mention of the various ancient English poems contained in this volume. The translation of St. Austin, and probably the others, would appear to have been made at the request of some nuns, as the translator commences the 34th chapter, "Thankyd be almyhti god my gode sustren. I have now pformyd yr desyre in englysshinge these meditacions, etc." Throughout this highly interesting manuscript the *th* is written in a shape between the *y* and the *e*, and the initial *y* almost as a 3. We subjoin here the beginning of "the Songe of Love," contained in this collection, which formerly belonged to a sovereign of England:—

"Ihu most swetest of any thyng
To love yow I have grete longyng
Therefore I byseche yow hevyn kyng
Make me of yowre love to have felinge."

Lectionarium ad usum Ecclesie, 4to. Sæc. ix. on vellum, 7*l*. 7*s*. This ancient manuscript, written in a very fine small Carolingian character, points out what part of the Gospels is to be read on every day throughout the year, and is most important for the names of the saints to be commemorated. The handwriting, in some leaves, is a little obliterated.

Lectionarium cum Notis Musicis, in the original oak binding. 4to. Sæc. x.-xi. on vellum, 30 guineas. A very valuable manuscript for the early history of the Liturgy, written on very stout vellum, with a large capital finely illuminated in the style of the time. The musical notes are very nicely written in *neumes*.

[Mr. Libri's descriptions are, for the most part, complete and fair, but he does not seem to have done justice to this venerable codex. It is in fact a full Missal, and not a Lectionary. The Canon Missæ may be compared with the ancient Gregorian Liturgy published by Muratori. Where the Vatican MS., which he prints as the text, varies from the Othobonian in his margin, this MS. sometimes agrees with one and sometimes with the other. The curious character which represents the words "Vere dignum," reproduced by Muratori, continually occurs in this manuscript. Many additions are made to the ancient text, in later but very ancient hand-writings. Some of them in the margins are equivalent to

Rubrics, the actual red rubrics being little more than titles, etc. This book is also of great value as a Musical Monument, from the very great quantity which it contains of the ancient notation, looking more like accents than notes, and without any lines. At the end, written by a later hand, is a curious record of the consecration of a chapel "Anno dai. m. cc. xxii. i die Scæ Barbare." In the original embossed calf binding, covered with repetitions of a legend and a sort of badger.]

Missale Romanum seu Pontificale (cum Notis Musicis), folio. Sæc. xiv. on vellum, 36 guineas.—This splendid specimen of *early English* art, written on the purest vellum, in red and black fine large characters, is adorned with eight miniatures and 280 capital letters, richly illuminated in gold and colours, often extending the whole length of the page to form borders. These capitals are highly ornamental, and exhibit in their flourishes human heads, birds, beasts, fish, nondescripts, grotesques, and flowers. In one of the borders the hunting of the hare, and in another, a boy on stilts, are introduced. Other subjects represent playing on the fiddle, blowing the horn, a king with his crown on, a monk saying mass, a cardinal, Ecce Homo, etc., etc. At the end, in a much more modern hand, are the creed and various services, including the Oratio Sixti IV., with the date of 1475. In every respect, as well for the fineness of the illumination, as for the state of preservation, this manuscript is most interesting to the English collector.

[This contains the Missal Service as when celebrated by the Pope in person].

Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Romanæ Curie—Missæ B. Mariæ Virginis—Officium Mortuorum—Septem Psalmi Penitentiales et Lætanie—Officium Sancti Spiritus—Officium Sanctæ Crucis, green silk, 12mo. Sæc. xv. on vellum, 9l. 9s. Beautifully written on Italian vellum, with six miniatures and numerous richly illuminated capitals in gold and colours, having the name of the scribe at the end of the Officium Mortuorum, "Et scriptum manu M. Christofori de la turre." Prefixed is a calendar, with an illuminated capital at the commencement of each month. Next follows a painting of an altar, having for its inscription, "Sacratis. Virgini. Mariæ. Dicatum," in golden capitals. The first page is finely illuminated with a miniature in the centre (the Annunciation). To each of the other services are appropriate miniatures, executed in gold and colours, in the style of Maître Simon, "*the Master of Distances*."

Passionale Sanctorum Martyrum, etc., scilicet—Vita et Actus Sci Silvestri Papæ Urbis Rome—Vita Scæ Genovevæ Virginis—Vita S. Benedicti—Vita S. Remigii Episcopi et Confessoris—Passiones S. Felicis Presbyteri, S. Marcelli Papæ aliorumque—Vita S. Hadelini Confessoris (aliorumque Sanctorum multorum), half morocco, folio. Sæc. xi. on vellum, 36 guineas. A splendid manuscript of the ancient Passionale, with several of the large capitals flourished in elegant designs, that of the "Passio S. Bartholomei Apostoli," representing a triple cathedral. In the "Vita Sanctissimi Servatii Tungrensis Ecclesiæ Antistitis," the Greek words Γνωθὶ σεαυτὸν occur, written *knōti se ayton*. Amongst other lives preserved in this venerable manuscript are the apocryphal accounts of the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, written as here stated, "a Lino Episcopo Romano Græca lingua . . . et ecclesiis orientalibus destinatum." These Lives of Saints are very valuable, as they contain much information respecting the history of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, which, without the help of such biographies, would be involved in much greater darkness than it is. The Lives of Saint Genoveve, of S. Remigius, S. Vitus, S. Symphorianus, S. Servatius, S. Benedictus, and of several other saints, are considerable works, intimately connected with the history of Italy and France at the very beginning of what is called modern history. THE DRAWING OF THE THREE CHURCHES embodied in the large capital I, which is at the beginning of the Passio S. Bartholomei, affords one of the rarest specimens of *architectural drawings* during that period, and the very first words of the same Life (which is full of curious information relating to ancient India), shew that the author was acquainted with the three different Indias of the ancients, a fact not so generally known as it ought to be, but which explains some passages of ancient classical history, which otherwise it would be very difficult to understand. These words are:—

"Indie tres esse apud historiographos dicuntur. Prima est India quæ ad ethiopiam mittit. Secunda quæ ad medos. Tertia quæ finem facit; Nam ex uno latere tenebrarum regionem gerit, ex alio mare oceanum."

Of the lives of Saints, known as *Passionalia*, which are held in great estimation amongst learned men, only a very few can compete with the present, either on account of their antiquity, or of the number of lives they contain. Our Manuscript, consisting of about 170 leaves, is written in double columns, in very fine Roman characters, without any mixture of any Gothic form whatever. In the great *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parisiensis* there is an immense number of these *Vitæ Sanctorum*, but, with a few exceptions, the Manuscripts in which they are contained belong to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. We must add that the present Manuscript contains a *Passio S. Gengulfi martyris quæ est Vidusneati*, connected with the history of *Pippinus rex Francorum*, which life of St. Gengulfus we have not found in the Index of the said *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Regiæ*, and therefore we are induced to believe that this life, which is also interesting as forming (under the title of *Hystoria S. Gangolfi*), the subject of one of the poems of the celebrated Hrosvita, is exceedingly scarce. We do not know if this S. Gengulfus has any connexion with the S. Gennulfus whose life is in a manuscript of the twelfth century at Montpellier, *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits*, p. 292.

Psalterium Davidis, cum Glossa. Accedunt Hymni ex Veter Testamento, half morocco, small folio. Sæc. x.—xi. on Vellum, 36 guineas. Beautifully written on pure vellum, with the letter B at the commencement of the first Psalms, illuminated in gold and colours, apparently by an Anglo-Saxon artist. The manuscript is written in a rather large fine Roman-Carlovingian character of the period, the rubrics, etc., being in capital red rustic letters.

[The initial of Psalm cviii. contains a miniature singularly resembling that ancient state costume which is still worn by the Judges, including the immense compilation of artificial hair which rises from the shoulders.]

Psalterium Davidis, Confessio Fidei S. Athanasii, Litanie, etc., Cum Calendario, calf gilt, 4to. Sæc. xiv. on Vellum, 6l. 16s. A very elegant Manuscript, with illuminated capitals and several hundred grotesque figures filling up the vacant spaces at the end of each verse, by an English scribe. As a specimen of early English art it is extremely interesting.

Psalmorum Explanatio—Sermo Innocentii Papæ in Concilio generali de Pascha—Hymni Ecclesiastici—Cantica Canticorum—Paraphrasis Libri qui dicitur Canticæ Canticorum et alia, with musical notes, 4to, calf. Sæc. xii., xiii., and xiv., on vellum, 9l. 9s. This volume is a collection of works, written by various scribes at different times. The Music, dispersed through the manuscript, is with old musical notes. There are several Latin Hymns in the volume, one of which begins with "Salve mater salvatoris vas electe, vas honoris, vas celestis gratiæ," and some abstracts from S. Augustin.

Testamentum Novum, Latine, cum Prologis, original stamped binding, with clasps (a very long sort of) folio. Sæc. xvii., on vellum. Beautifully written on very pure vellum, in a folio, of the very unusual shape known as "Agenda." The text occupies the centre of each page, leaving ample margins on each side, which, as regards the Evangelists, are filled with Glosses in a beautiful small hand. Two fly-leaves in front are filled with "Concordantiæ Evangeliorum," and on the two fly-leaves at end are "Glossæ de Matheo et de Marco obmissæ." [Dimensions 20 inches by 7].

Connexion between the Histories of Greece and Assyria.—It is possible that future researches among Assyrian or Persian monuments may throw some light even on the historical nucleus of the tale of Troy. Who knows that some yet buried stone may not be found to contain a copy of the letter, preserved by Cephalion, in which Priam, after the death of Hector, implored succour from his liege lord, King Teutamus? I should not need it to satisfy me as to the real groundwork of the Iliad. I am convinced that there must have been more than one Trojan War before the earliest Greek colonists gained a permanent footing

on the coast of Asia Minor. For I believe that Strabo correctly describes the state of things which preceded that event, when he says that the earlier period was one of continual flux and reflux, of invasions and migrations, between Europe and Asia. That statement, as I believe, contains pretty nearly the sum of all our present knowledge on that head, and it affords an ample framework for that whole world of poetical creations with which it has been filled up. I am not sure that we should be great gainers if their place were to be supplied by more authentic details. But the most unfortunate of all exchanges would be, to substitute for them something which is neither history nor poetry, which can neither charm nor instruct, but wearies only to mislead. Still, I must own that I am not sanguine about the discovery of any monumental evidence which will ascertain the western limits of the Assyrian empire in the thirteenth century before our era. Whenever any such shall have been brought to light, it will need to be very cautiously examined. The material on which events are recorded affords no sure warrant of the accuracy with which they are related. We know of a city where at least one inscribed pillar, "like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies." Rosellini and Bunsen acknowledge and deplore the pompous inanity of the Egyptian monumental style, in which the few grains of real information lie thinly scattered in a vast mass of what is better expressed by a French than an English word—*verbiage*. And Col. Mure remarks: "Much of the amplification that might otherwise have formed the advantage of the Asiatic records consisted of hyperbolical, and probably in great part fabulous, eulogies of the virtues and exploits of the vain-glorious despots who ruled those countries, and who, in furtherance of the same object of personal glorification, were in the habit of expunging or correcting the annals of their predecessors."

The Assyrian monarchs, who took such pains to transmit their achievements to posterity, might easily be tempted to indulge in a little exaggeration about them. As an *argumentum ad hominem* against M. Kruger, I might not unfairly refer to a passage which he himself cites from the Shah-nameh, in which Kei-Khosreu—whom he identifies with the Tiglath-Pileser of the Bible—is made to speak of his kingdom as extending from China and India to distant Roum, and is addressed by one of his grandees as the most powerful of all the princes who had filled the throne, from Minutshehr to Kei-Kobad. This must be quite as authentic as the description of Minutshehr's conquests in the same poem, only we are better able to appreciate the accuracy of the statement. Senacherib may not have been at all exceeding the bounds of truth, when he boasted (according to Sir H. Rawlinson, *Outline*, p. 18) of having "reduced under his yoke all the kings of Asia, from the upper forest, which is under the setting sun (Lebanon), to the lower ocean, which is under the rising sun (the Persian Gulf)." Indeed, when we remember his campaign in Cilicia, signalized by the building or restoration of Tarsus, this appears to be hardly an adequate account of his achievements. But this language certainly suggests the belief that he meant to claim the glory of having extended the empire in these directions beyond the limits which it had ever before reached; and I find it difficult to conceive that he would have expressed himself in such terms if there had been inscriptions extant in any of his palaces from which it appeared that one of his predecessors had ruled from the Indus to the Ægean. M. Kruger thinks that the provinces west of the Halys were lost to Assyria towards the beginning of the twelfth century (b.c. 1119—1105), when the great Lydian monarchy with which Agron had been invested, was enabled, through the weakness of the prince (the Nuder of the Shah-nameh) who followed the last Minutshehr, to assert its independence. But if so, this Lydian kingdom must itself shortly after have undergone some great loss of territory, through causes no trace of which has been preserved in history; for it seems clear that the Greek colonists in Asia Minor did not find it occupying the coast on which they settled; and according to Herodotus, their independence was first threatened by Gyges. That the Lydian power had previously suffered any check which compelled it to tolerate the encroachments of the Greeks, appears to have been wholly unknown to Herodotus. His idea plainly was, that it had been constantly grow-

ing. I must however observe, in justice to M. Kruger, that in Castor's epochs of the maritime States, as they have now been elucidated and determined, with admirable learning and acuteness, by Chevalier Bunsen (*Æg.* vi., p. 439), the naval power of the Lydians, or as it would seem more properly the Mæonians, dates from 1150 B.C.: a date which might very well coincide with the supposed recovery of the national independence.

I will only add two remarks, which may be necessary to guard against misapprehension.

The object of the foregoing observations has been simply to examine the evidence which has lately been adduced to prove the existence of a political connexion between Greece and Assyria in the thirteenth century B.C. The result to my own conviction has been to shew that the evidence is quite inconclusive. I have also pointed out that there is evidence, quite as well entitled to credit as any that has been produced on the other side, which apparently tends to the opposite conclusion. But I do not mean to deny the fact. I am quite ready to admit it, as soon as it shall be established by satisfactory proof. I only contend that at present it is no more than matter of very questionable surmise. A negative dogmatism on such a subject would be still more presumptuous than a positive assertion resting on insufficient grounds. Mr. Layard has observed, with judicious caution, "To the west the Assyrians may have penetrated into Syria, and perhaps Lydia." If, indeed, we were speaking, not of a permanent establishment, but of a mere temporary inroad, it would be rash to assign any limit to their advance in this or any other direction. There is even what has been accepted by very eminent critics as satisfactory evidence, that the Assyrian arms were carried still further westward in the later times of the monarchy. For in a fragment of Abydenus, preserved in the Armenian Eusebius (i. p. 53), we are informed that the avenger of Sennacherib, Assarhaddon,—there called Axerdis,—after slaying the assassin Adramelech, pursued his army, and shut it up, or forced it to take refuge, in the city of the Byzantians. Niebuhr, in his celebrated disquisition "on the gain which has accrued to history from the Armenian translation of Eusebius," takes no offence at this statement, and reports it as if Abydenus had said that Axerdis had "marched through Western Asia as far as Byzantium, with an army of mercenaries." But this is not quite correct. The fragment first relates the pursuit of Adramelech's army, and then states that Axerdis was the first (of the Assyrian kings) who collected mercenary troops. But as to the march of Axerdis to Byzantium, in the first place, this seems to be more than is distinctly affirmed in the Armenian text, the Latin translation being, "Exercitum persecutus in Byzantinorum urbem includit." The term of the retreat might have exceeded that of the pursuit. But I must own that I cannot help suspecting some mistake in the name of the Byzantians, not on account of the strangeness of the occurrence, or the absence of all confirmative and illustrative testimony, but because the whole account seems to be at variance with the Scripture narrative. Abydenus appears not to have been correctly informed as to the death of Adramelech, who in the Bible is related to have escaped, together with his brother Sharezer, (of whom Abydenus takes no notice,) into Armenia. And the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, describes (i. 23) the districts of Armenia which were allotted by the King Sgaiorti for the residence of the two brothers. It would seem to follow that the pursuit must have taken place, and have been arrested, somewhere or other in that direction.

The other remark which I have to make refers to a point on which I touched at the outset. The author of the work which has given occasion to these observations, speaks as if one of his main objects was to help to break down the partition by which the school to which he is opposed has endeavoured to exclude the influence of Oriental culture on the development of the Hellenic mind. But I think it must be evident that the questions which I have been discussing have scarcely any bearing on that controversy. Whether he has succeeded, or failed, in his attempt to restore a chapter in the political history of Greece in the thirteenth century B.C., the result will not affect any view that may be entertained as to the original character of the earliest population of

Greece, or the degree in which it was subjected to foreign influences. These are questions which manifestly go back into a far higher antiquity than he himself assigns to the migration of Pelops. According to all accounts, that event affected the relations of the ruling families in Greece, rather than the condition of the people; but it can reflect no light whatever on their previous history. It may be admitted, or rejected, without the compromise of any opinion as to the nature of the elements which composed the Greek nationality, or the processes by which they were fused together. The author has enriched the controversy about the name of the Pelasgians with a new hypothesis, by which it is derived from the god Bel. But whether we adopt this, or prefer that of a different Semitic root, which connects it more immediately with Palestine, or that which traces it to the Slavonic, more particularly the Polish branch of that family, or fall back upon a Greek derivation—all which hypotheses have been recently maintained with a great shew of erudition—we shall not be the more tied to any conclusion as to the fortunes of Pelops, or the history of the Trojan War. And though every serious attempt to let in a beam of the day-light of historical truth on the heroic age of Greece may awaken a natural and reasonable curiosity, the chief interest of the whole inquiry in which we have been engaged belongs rather to Asia than to Europe; as it is, I believe, only to the East that we can look with a well-grounded hope, however faint, of such an accession to our knowledge of that period, as would enable us in a single point to distinguish with certainty between fiction and reality.—Bishop of St. David's, in *Transactions of Royal Society of Literature*, vol. vi., part 2, p. 207.

OBITUARY.

ARCHDEACON HARDWICK.

DIED on the 18th of August, by a fall from the Pyrennees, the Ven. Archdeacon Hardwick.

It will be with no common feelings of sad disappointment that those who knew him best will realize the tragical event by which he has so suddenly vanished from among men. It may be almost said,

Ostenderunt terris hunc tantum fata.

Before having quite attained his prime, but having given more than promise of an illustrious career, he has "finished his course."

Archdeacon Hardwick had not that sort of talent which is popularly admired as *genius*, and which often gains its credit by daring eccentricities, which amuses and often leads astray by its meteoric dance. Of this kind of talent we have perhaps at least enough in the present day; while of that kind of mental and moral power which is required for the maintenance of what is great and good, which is content to forego public applause in a patient continuance of the well-doing which advances the best interests of mankind, we have at least not too much; and, humanly speaking, a character like Archdeacon Hardwick could ill be spared.

He was eminently an earnest man; and by this is meant not merely the eagerness with which even trifles may be pursued, but that love of truth which distinguishes the real from the false, and that concurrence of the judgment and the heart with the pursuits of the intellect.

His degree was a good one in the Mathematical Tripos, in which he was First Senior Optime; but his tastes and attainments would have placed him high in the Classical Tripos if a temporary failure of health had not prevented his competing. He had been classical and theological prizeman in his college, where he obtained a

Fellowship immediately after taking his B.A. degree. As a member of the "well-ordered" college of St. Catharine he was much beloved, was exemplary in all his deportment, and increasingly regarded as one of its distinguished ornaments. While contributing to the amenities of monastic life by his genial disposition, he exhibited the advantages of it by the diligence with which he availed himself of its fine opportunities. He was decidedly Conservative in his convictions, though his reading was extensive in the literature which, both at home and abroad, is of an opposite character. His leaning was to the High Church school of theology—at least, to that sphere of it which maintains the importance of ecclesiastical antiquity; but he was not a party man, and it would not be easy to discover any undue bias in his published works. His *History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages and the Reformation* has obtained high praise, even from those whose views were opposite to the principles of the author. It is the condensed result of a large amount of inquiry among original sources, and nothing but the assimilation of his materials could have enabled him to present them in so interesting a form.

The office of Christian Advocate, to which Mr. Hardwick was appointed in 1855, was well suited to the tendencies of his mind, and to the nature of his studies for several years. According to the will of the founder, the writings of the Christian Advocate were to regard the general interests of Christianity, by furnishing replies to cavils against revealed religion which had not been sufficiently answered, "not descending to any particular controversies or sects among Christians themselves," unless some new or dangerous error should arise. The profound and masterly series of treatises under the general title of "Christ and other Masters" was quite in the spirit of his office. There had not in this country been a sufficient answer to the assumptions of those who spoke of revealed religion as only a natural development of the philosophy which had arisen in different forms in all localities and ages of human history; and the Christian Advocate perceived that the best answer which could be given would be in a candid and unquestionable account of what the religions of heathendom actually have been. In so doing he has avoided all appearance of special pleading, while he has afforded abundant evidence that where all human speculations failed the religion of Christ has been most triumphant. Heathenism exhibits everywhere what our homily speaks of as "the misery of mankind," without affording any hint at a true remedy, while Christianity exhibits the cogency of its claims as the living and life-giving "Word of God," by working mightily in them that believe. The conviction to be derived from Archdeacon Hardwick's discussion of this subject, and which is increasingly apparent in the progress of the work as the solemn feeling of his own mind, is, that it is in the Evangelical aspect of Christianity that it stands out in Divine proportions above all the speculations of men. We shall be glad to hear that the continuance of this subject is found amongst Archdeacon Hardwick's remains. The most interesting portion of the ancient world had still to be treated of, and this would assuredly have called forth the best energies of the Christian Advocate, especially as he was profoundly acquainted with the materials belonging to it.

There can be no doubt that Archdeacon Hardwick would have thrown into the office in the Church to which he has been lately preferred the well-known energy of his character, and that he well deserved the distinction which it brought with it; but it is a question whether this was exactly the form in which his services should have been acknowledged. It seems as if the duty of an Archdeacon requires considerable experience of parochial work, while the qualifications of Archdeacon Hardwick pointed to our cathedral establishments as affording the appropriate means of giving its full effect to the light that was in him. Nearly at the same time that the Christian Advocate became thus called upon to preside over the parochial clergy, a popular parochial minister of the same University became Dean of Ely.

Archdeacon Hardwick was a good man; his short life on earth has been diligently and fruitfully spent; and the Christianity of which he was the advocate would lead us to far other thoughts and feelings than those which this sad bereavement would primarily call forth.—*Clerical Journal*.

We gather the following biographical information from *Crockford's Clerical Directory*: The Venerable Charles Hardwick was scholar of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, 1841; Classical and Theological Prizeman, 1842; first Senior Optime and B.A.,

1844; Fellow, 1845; and M.A., 1847. He was ordained deacon, 1846; and priest, 1847; was named Select Preacher at the University of Cambridge, 1850; Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, 1851; Professor of Divinity at Queen's College, Birmingham, 1853; Divinity Lecturer at King's College, Cambridge, 1855; Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, 1855; Member of the Council of the Senate, 1856; Archdeacon of Ely, 1859. He was author of the following works: *An Historical Inquiry touching St. Catharine of Alexandria* (to which is added a Semi-Saxon Legend), 1849; *History of the Articles of the Church of England*, 1851, reprinted at Philadelphia, 1852; *Twenty Sermons for Town Congregations*, 1853; *Church History of the Middle Ages*, 1853; *Church History of the Reformation*, 1856; *Christ and other Masters, or an Historical Inquiry into some of the chief Parallels and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World*, Four Parts, 1855-59. He was further Editor of *Fulwood's Roma Ruin*, 1847; *Poem on the Times of Edward II.*, and an "Anglo-Saxon Passion of St. George" (Percy Society); *Twysden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, 1847; *The Homilies*, 1850. Besides these works, in the course of last year he completed, at the request of the syndics of the University Press, an edition of the Saxon and Northumbrian versions of St. Matthew's Gospel, commenced by the late Mr. John M. Kemble, and edited for the Master of the Rolls the well-known *History of the Monastery of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, preserved in the library of Trinity Hall. He was also editor of the Catalogue of MSS. now in course of publication by the University of Cambridge, to which he contributed the descriptions of the volumes of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and early English literature.

THE REVEREND J. E. RIDDLE.

THE Rev. Joseph Esmond Riddle, late Bampton Lecturer of the University of Oxford, and Incumbent of St. Philip and St. James, Leckhampton, died Aug. 27, at his residence, Tudor Lodge, Cheltenham, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. *Crockford's Clerical Directory* furnishes us with the following particulars of his career: he entered a student of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and passed first class Lit. Hum. and B.A. in 1828; M.A. in 1831; got ordained deacon, 1830; priest, 1832; became select preacher, 1834, and again in 1854; Bampton Lecturer, 1852. Before this he had been nominated, in 1840, Incumbent of the proprietary church of St. Philip and St. James, Leckhampton, near Cheltenham. The Rev. J. E. Riddle was author of the following works: *Illustrations of Aristotle on Men and Manners from Shakespeare*, 12mo., Rivingtons; *First Sundays at Church, or Familiar Conversations on the Morning and Evening Services*, seven editions, 12mo., J. W. Parker; *Churchman's Guide to the Use of the English Liturgy*, 12mo., *ibid.*; *A Manual of Christian Antiquities*, two editions, *ibid.*; *A Complete English-Latin and Latin-English Dictionary*, 8vo, ten editions, Longmans; *Young Scholar's English-Latin and Latin-English Dictionary*, eight editions, square 12mo, *ibid.*; *A Diamond Latin-English Dictionary*, 32mo., four editions, *ibid.*; *A Critical Latin-English Lexicon*, small 4to, two editions, *ibid.*; *Ecclesiastical Chronology, or Annals of the Christian Church*, 8vo, *ibid.*; *Letters from an Absent Godfather*, 12mo, *ibid.*; *Luther and his Times, a History of the German Reformation*, 12mo, J. W. Parker; *The Holy Gospels (Greek Text, for Schools)*, 12mo, Varty; *Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical*, 8vo, Rivingtons; *Natural History of Infidelity and Superstition* (Bampton Lectures for 1852), 8vo, J. W. Parker; *History of the Papacy to the Period of the Reformation*, two vols. 8vo, Bentley; *Household Prayers for Four Weeks*, two editions, Longmans; *A Manual of Scripture History*, seven editions, *ibid.*

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

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- Beer (Dr. B.)—Lebensgemälde biblischer Personen nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage. 8vo. Leipzig.
- Brandt (Pred. A. H. W.)—Die Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben. Gesetz u. Glaube. Des Christen Beruf zur Freiheit. Drei protestantische Predigten. Amsterdam, Seyffardt.
- Bruch (J. Fr.)—Die Lehre v. der Präexistenz der menschlichen Seelen historisch-kritisch dargestellt. 8vo. Strassburg, Treuttel und Wurtz.
- Dechamps (B.)—Christus u. die Antichristen nach dem Zeugnisse der Schrift, der Geschichte u. d. Gewissens. Mainz, Kirchheim.
- Frank, (Lic. Gust.)—De Matthiæ Flacci Illyrici in libros sacros meritis. Commentatio theologica. 8vo. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel.
- Franc. Petraræ Aretini carmina incognita. Ex codicibus Italicis bibliothecæ Monacensis in lucem protraxit ipsorumque ad instar manuscriptorum ed. Geo. Mart. Thomas.
- Geschichte des Rabbi Jeschua ben Jossef hanootzri genannt Jesus Christus. Hamburg, Räter.
- Holsten (Dr. C.)—Inhalt u. Gedankengang d. Briefes an die Galater. 4to. Rostock, Stiller.
- Holzhausen (Lic. Dr. Frdr. Aug.)—Der Protestantismus nach seiner geschichtlichen Entstehung, Begründung u. Fortbildung. 8vo. Leipzig, Brockhaus.
- Krönes (Priest. Frz. Edm.)—Homiletisches Real-Lexicon, od.: Alphabetisch geordnete Darstellung der geeignetsten Predigtstoffe aus der Kathol. Glaubens- u. Sittenlehre, Liturgie etc. Zum Handgebrauche f. Prediger u. Religionslehrer. 8vo. Regensburg, Manz.
- Krumhaar (Pastor K.)—Dr. Martin Luther's Vaterhaus in Mansfeld. Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte nach den Quellen gearb. 8vo. Eisleben, Reichardt.
- Leben des, d. heiligen Philipp Neri, Apostels v. Rom u. Stifters der Congregation d. Oratoriums, Nebst e. Lobrede auf den Heiligen v. Sr. Emin. Cardinal Wiseman, u. e. Anhang v. Sprüchen d. Heiligen auf jeden Tag d. Jahres v. P. Frederik William Faber. Deutsch bearb. v. Carl B. Reichling. 8vo. Regensburg, Manz.
- Lutz (Priester Jos.)—Chrysostomus u. die übrigen berühmtesten Kirchlichen Redner alter u. neuer Zeit. Eine Entwicklung der homilet. Prinzipien. 8vo. Tübingen, Laupp.
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- Nickes (Presbyter Dr. Joa. Ans.)—De Estheræ libro et ad eum quæ pertinent vaticiniis et psalmis libri tres. Pars altera: Libri duo, II. et III. de vaticiniis et psalmis. 8vo. Romæ, Leipzig Gerhard.
- Noack.—Ludw., Schelling u. die Philosophie der Romantik. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte d. deutschen Geistes. Berlin, Mittler und Sohn.
- Perles (Jos.)—Meletemata Peschitthoniana. Dissertatio inauguralis. 8vo. Breslau, Schletter.
- Psalterium juxta LXX. Interpretes, Editionis vulgo dictæ Alexandrinæ a celeberrimo Grabio curatæ nova recensio. 12mo.
- Psyche.—Zeitschrift f. die Kenntniss d. menschlichen Seelen- u. Geisteslebens. Von Dr. Ludw. Noack. Leipzig, D. Wigand.
- Reinke (Dr. Laurenz.)—Die Schöpfung der Welt. 8vo. Münster, Coppenrath.

- Riehm (E. R. A.)—Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes dargestellt u. m. verwandten Lehrbegriffen verglichen. 2. 8vo. Ludwigsburg, Riehm.
- Schelling (Frdr. Wilh. Jos.)—Sämmtliche Werke. Stuttgart, Cotta.
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ENGLISH.

- Alford (Dean.)—The Greek Testament, Vol. IV., Part 1, (Epistle to the Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles of St. James and St. Peter.) 8vo.
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ON THE TRUE READING AND CORRECT INTERPRETATION
OF PSALM xl. 6.

THE discrepancy between the Septuagint Version of Psalm xl. 6, and the Hebrew text as it now stands, is a notable difficulty of Biblical criticism. In the following pages an attempt is made, if not to solve the problem, yet to pave the way to such solution. The usual plan has been to set up the Hebrew on the one hand and the Greek on the other, and to effect, by various means, their mutual approximation. We have adopted a somewhat different mode of procedure. We have assumed a corruption in the Hebrew text, and have endeavoured to arrive at an emendation by investigating the meaning and drift of the whole passage; without looking off to the reading of the Septuagint Version as our goal, or making all our endeavours tend towards the establishment of such Hebrew reading as shall be most compatible with the Greek rendering.

Of those who do not think it necessary to have recourse to the hypothesis of a corrupt Hebrew text, some refer the אָרַבְּרָא to the custom mentioned in Exod. xxi. 5, 6, of boring a servant's ear with an awl in token of perpetual servitude, and translate generally pretty much in the way of the paraphrase adopted by Grotius, "*me tanquam perfossa aure tibi mancipas;*" and then, on the part of the Greek, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, they complete

the approximation by understanding the *σῶμα* as *corpus ad obediendum*. Why the Greek translators should have gone out of their way to express the plain meaning of the Hebrew by this periphrasis is not attempted to be explained; and the reason assigned for its adoption by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is generally equivalent to that of the Greek scholiast, quoted in Wolfius' *Curæ Philologicæ*:—τὸ, ὅτι κατηρτίσω μοι, ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος εἰς τὸ σῶμα μεταβάλλων εἴρηκεν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον σκοπὸν τοῦτο χρησάμενος. Now if we look to this οἰκεῖος σκοπὸς of the Apostle, we shall find it is not such as to require *σῶμα* to be understood as *corpus ad obediendum*. We may remark, too, upon the translation of the Hebrew by a reference to Ex. xxi. 5, 6, that on supposition of such reference we might expect the use of the verb *ἔρη* which is used in that place; or at any rate we might expect some verb which would more decidedly express the idea of piercing than *ἔρη*, which is not elsewhere used in this sense. The proper signification is that of *digging*, which is certainly not very appropriate to the boring of a thing with an awl.

But besides this attempt at reconciliation by means of the above mentioned violent process of *metabole*, there is another by means of a not less violent *synecdoche*. It is said that *ἔρη* signifies *to prepare*; that the Hebrew is properly translated *parasti mihi aures*, sc. *ad obediendum*; and that St. Paul used the whole for the part, *σῶμα* for *ὦτια*. It is true that *ἔρη* does signify *to prepare*, but only in a special sense; not in such a general sense as to include the case in question. It is used first of digging pit-falls, as in Ps. vii. 15; lvii. 7; xciv. 13, and in many other places. Then, in course of time, the word *ἔρη*, or *ἔρηψ*, or *ἔρηψ*, as the case may be, being dropped, the verb came to be used more generally of preparing snares and plots; but it is manifestly unjustifiable to extend its meaning to any other kind of *preparation*.

A glance, however, at the οἰκεῖος σκοπὸς of the writer of the Epistle, will suffice to demolish both of these theories. He does indeed connect the idea of *obedience* with the word *σῶμα*, but the chief idea of the word is plainly that of a *sacrificial victim*. St. Paul, it is admitted, is speaking of the incarnation of our Lord. But is he speaking of his incarnation only as an act of condescension whereby he assumed a form appreciable by mortal sense, in order to reveal the Father and his will to mankind? In other words, is he speaking of our Lord's assumption of human nature as of the act whereby he became to mankind "the image of the invisible God"? In this sense St. Paul might have written of the incarnation; but that this was not his inten-

tion in this place is manifest from the context, which is wholly concerned with a comparison of the *προσφορὰι αἱ κατὰ τὸν νόμον* with the *προσφορὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (see verses 9 and 10); so that we cannot understand the use of *σῶμα* in ver. 5, otherwise than as of a sacrifice. Admitting that the idea of obedience is a component part of the whole idea of the word *σῶμα* as the Apostle here uses it, we must be careful not to dissociate from it that which is plainly the *leading* idea of the word, viz., that of a *real* sacrifice. This dissociation might answer the purpose of such as assert that "Obedience, or doing the will of God, was the sacrifice of sweet-smelling savour which made atonement for the sins of the world;"^a but it will be a *suppressio veri* not likely to find favour with those who wish to bear in mind that the obedience of Christ was *ὑπακοὴ μέχρι θανάτου*, and that it was by his *death* he made the atonement. This, therefore, we must remember, and must bear in mind in transferring our attention to the Psalm itself from which the quotation is made; that the word *σῶμα*, and whatever Hebrew word it is intended to represent, though placed in some sort of contrast with the other Levitical sacrifices, is itself intended to denote *a victim of a piacular sacrifice*; and that in it is also conveyed the additional idea of obedience to the will of God.

The prominent features of the place of Scripture under consideration, connect it with a class of remarkable passages scattered in various parts of the Old Testament, and which speak of obedience to God's will as being more acceptable than sacrifice. We refer the reader to the following places, amongst others Ps. l. 8, etc.; li. 16, 17, compared with ver. 19. Isa. i. 11, etc.; lxvi. 3, 4. Jer. vi. 19, 20; vii. 22, etc. Micah vi. 7. Amos v. 21, etc. Prov. xv. 8; xxi. 3. 1 Sam. xv. 22. These, we say, are remarkable passages, and require careful consideration. We shall not rightly understand them unless we first ascertain the place that sacrifice was intended to hold, not only in the Mosaic dispensation, but also in the grand scheme of God's dealings with mankind as revealed in the Bible; of which the Mosaic dispensation forms only a subordinate stage.

We find the following enumeration of the Levitical sacrifices in Lev. vii. 37, *וְהָיוּ הַזִּבְחֹת לְעֹלָה לְמִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלֹתִים לְמִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלֹתִים לְמִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלֹתִים*. These sacrifices have been appropriately classified as *impetratoria*, *eucharistica*, and *piacularia*. We are here chiefly concerned with the last class, which consists of the *chattath* and the *asham*. The *חַטָּאת* appears to have had, in earlier times, a more general import than it had after the giving of the law; so general, perhaps, as

^a Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, as quoted by Abp. Magee, *On the Atonement*.

difference of import, if not of ceremonial, in all the sacrificial observances of Abraham's descendants. Such sacrifices had ever been types of the one great sacrifice of Christ; but a clearer revelation of the antitype must have invested the type with greater significance; while the grand peculiarity of the Abrahamic covenant, of the Gospel covenant, faith imputed for righteousness, must have affected the nature of sacrifice in the eyes of him who sacrificed, and, we may add, in the light in which it was beheld, and the grounds on which it was accepted by God.

We now come to the Mosaic dispensation, of which, in its relation to the Abrahamic and Gospel covenant, we must be careful not to express an opinion beyond "what is written." On Apostolic authority, however, we have it, that the law is not of faith; but the man that doeth them (sc. the works of the law) shall live in them. We must suppose, therefore, the principle of the Abrahamic covenant, justification by faith, to have been in abeyance under the Mosaic dispensation. In opposition to this, the principle of entire obedience was enforced in the Law and the Prophets as the principle of the Mosaic covenant. Under this change of relation with God, we may naturally look for a change of sacrificial observances; and, accordingly, at this stage we find the introduction of a more elaborate and complicated system of sacrifice. The case was peculiar, and, we may say, complicated. The Israelites were the children of Abraham, and theirs, as such, were the promises; and by them the continual prefiguration of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, as the fulfilment of these promises, was to be kept up. But, in the meantime, they were shut up under the law,^b to which perfect obedience was required. Now if we were speaking of human institutions, we should say of this perfect obedience that it was theoretical only; but the use of the term in this case would be irreverent; yet it is needless to remark that in no instance can the requirement ever have been satisfied. To be under the law was to be under the curse. What then was the provision for this exigency? We, who see all these things in the light of the Gospel, know that a remedy was devised. We see plainly the twofold efficacy of Christ's death. We know that the promises to Abraham and his seed were made on condition of faith in the sacrifice of Christ, prefigured by the sacrifice of Isaac, and by other subsequent sacrifices; and yet that these promised results of Christ's death are not available to those who are under the

^b Gal. iii. 23, ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκεκριμένοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι. We should connect συγκεκρι. with ὑπὸ νόμον, in accordance with ver. 22.

law ; and that, therefore, the same sacrifice of Christ is, to meet this case, to be considered in another aspect, as redeeming from the curse of the law, in order that, to use the words of the Apostle (Heb. ix. 15), *θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας*. But these circumstances of the Israelites, as children of the promise, and yet “shut up” from the benefit thereof “under the law,” and this twofold efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ were, we might naturally expect, to be represented and prefigured to the Jews under a corresponding variety of typical forms. It is in connexion with these circumstances, therefore, that we are to consider the variety of sacrificial observances under the Mosaic dispensation. And we may here remark, that had sacrifice appeared in the complicated and elaborate form previously to the giving of the law, and afterwards assumed a more simple form, we might then have supposed the details of such elaboration and complication to have been purely arbitrary. But since we know that the multiplicity and variety of sacrificial observances was by Divine appointment, we cannot but suppose them adapted to the circumstances and requirements of the case. These, as we have seen, lead us to expect the appearance of piacular sacrifice (for with other sacrifices we are not here concerned) under a twofold form ; *first* for the continual prefiguration of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, as of the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham and his seed ; and, secondly, for the expiation of offences under the law, or rather for the prefiguration of the death of Christ, considered as redeeming from the curse of the law, and thereby rendering available the promised blessings of his sacrifice. Accordingly, we find the appointment, under the Mosaic dispensation, of piacular sacrifice, under the two forms of the *chattath* and the *asham*.

We come now to what has always been considered a point of great difficulty, the difference between the *chattath* and the *asham*. Wherein this consists, it has hitherto, according to Gesenius (*Lex. Man.*, sub. v. חַטָּאת) been vainly inquired. A writer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, for January, 1859, whose paper is reprinted in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, for April, 1859, says,—

“Jewish writers as well as commentators of the Scriptures, both ancient and modern, have come to conclusions on this point very much at variance with each other. Abrabanel considers sins to have been acts committed in unconsciousness of their illegality. Aben Ezra considers the difference to be, that the one class of acts was committed in ignorance, the other, in forgetfulness of their illegality. Grotius considers the difference to be the same as that existing between positive and negative faults. Another writer conceives the difference to be, that sins were acts done in

mere thoughtlessness; trespasses, acts done from design and from motives positively malicious. Other writers maintain that sins are acts committed against Jehovah alone, from which men receive no direct injury; trespasses are acts tending directly to the injury of one's fellow-creatures. This latter opinion appears on the whole to be more worthy of adoption than any one of the others. Is not this difference indicated in the fact that, in the case of sin-offerings, the blood of the victim was sprinkled on the sides and on the horns of the altar; that sin-offerings were appointed for the whole congregation; while trespass-offerings were confined to individuals, as most properly capable of that class of acts which we have just defied trespasses to be?"

We give this extract to shew the difference of opinion amongst authorities on this matter; not that we think any one of the hypotheses to be altogether correct. Most of them are manifestly formed without any reference to the known facts of the case: the last, which finds favour with the writer of the article we refer to, is founded upon a most palpable disregard of facts. The following particulars of the two kinds of piacular sacrifice we take from Arnold's *Handbook of Hebrew Antiquities*.

" THE SIN-OFFERING.

"The material only an animal, without unbloody offering (but in place of an animal the poor might present as a sin-offering an ephah of meal, Lev. v. 11). The cases are:—(1) For the whole people, on new moons, passover, pentecost, feast of trumpets, feast of tabernacles (Numb. xxviii. 15, 22, 30; xxix. 5, 16), and especially in the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 5, 9, 15; Numb. xxix. 11), a he-goat ('kid of the goats,' E.V.) (2) For the priests and Levites, at their consecration (Exod. xxix. 14, 36. Numb. viii. 8), a young bullock. (3) For the high-priest on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 3, 6, 11), a young bullock. (4) For the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. xii. 6, 8), a young pigeon or turtle-dove. (5) In the cleansing of a leper, or of a leprous house (Lev. xiv. 19, 22, 49), a yearling ewe, (for the poor, a bird for the leper, two for the house). (6) Cleansing after an issue (Lev. xv. 14, 15, 29), a bird. (7) For a Nazarite, when his vow was suspended by defilement, in consequence of a sudden death taking place near him (Numb. vi. 10), or at the termination of his vow (*ibid.*, 14), a bird. (8) When some prohibition has been inadvertently transgressed by the whole congregation, or by the anointed priests, the sacrifice was a young bullock; in the case of a prince, a he-goat; of a common man, a yearling ewe or kid (Lev. iv. 1—13; comp. Numb. xv. 24; 2 Chron. xxix. 21).

" THE TRESPASS-OFFERING.

"Between the *asham* or 'trespass-offering,' and *chattath* or 'sin-offering,' the difference consists chiefly in this, that the *asham* (properly 'debt') is regarded in the light of damages, or reparation for a wrong done to the Lord. The cases in which a trespass-offering is prescribed are the following:—(1) When a person has inadvertently appropriated or made away with anything consecrated to the Lord (Lev. v. 15, 16). (2)

Or unknowingly has violated any prohibition of the Lord (*ibid.*, 17, 18). (3) Or has denied either a trust, or a damage and loss sustained in the thing intrusted; or, having found some lost article of property, denies having found it; or swears falsely in any such matter (*ibid.*, vi. 2). Also (4) for defiling a betrothed handmaid, not redeemed nor set free (*ibid.*, xix. 20); and (5) For the leper when he is cleansed, and for the Nazarite, when he has been defiled by contact with a dead body (Numb. vi. 12). In the cases, No. 1—4, the offering is a ram; in No. 5, a lamb; and for these no substitution (of birds or meal) is allowed as in the sin-offering."

This question of the difference between the *chattath* and the *asham* is certainly not without its difficulties, and these we do not profess to solve. But, as sufficient for our purpose, we call attention to one obvious point of difference, in the fact that the *chattath* was prescribed chiefly for the whole people on stated occasions; the *asham* exclusively for individual offences by individuals. If we suppose the case of a man perfectly obedient to the law of Moses; in such a case he would notwithstanding participate in the offering of the *chattath*; but with the *asham* he would have nothing whatever to do. This being the case, and in consideration of the distinction that, as we have seen, was to be expected *à priori* in the piacular sacrifices of the Jews under the law, we are justified, we think, in considering the *chattath* to be continued from Abraham's sacrifice, a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ as the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, as the redemption of "all nations of the earth" from the general consequences of Adam's transgression; while, on the other hand, we take the *asham* to be specially the expiation of offences against the law, a substitute for obedience, typical of the sacrifice of Christ as redeeming from the curse of the law. This view is also favoured by the words נֶחֱסֵה and נֶחֱסֵה, used to designate these piacular sacrifices; the root נֶחֱסֵה having a far more general and extensive signification than נֶחֱסֵה. With regard to what is said in the above extract of נֶחֱסֵה, signifying "debt," we do not know how this meaning is obtained. According to Gesenius the primary idea is to be sought in that of *negligence*, especially in *going*; and in confirmation of this he adduces the Arabic أَثِمَ a slow-paced camel, faltering and weary. But this appears far fetched. The root is certainly connected with נֶחֱסֵה, and we may probably attribute to it some such positive idea as *destruction*, *devastation*, *damage*. If when the meaning of "debt" is attributed to the word it is only meant that in its technical use (not in its primary signification), it implies obligation, this is certainly true; and this idea will still further connect the נֶחֱסֵה with the law rather than with the previous dispen-

should have a care of these things beforehand; but his commandment was given that they might know him who is truly God, and also his Word; and might disregard those which are falsely called gods, which exist not, but only attain to the outward show. Thus he would be known to them by those (signs) whereby he brought them out of the land of Egypt, causing them to pass through the Red Sea. But when they would serve Baal, and dared to offer sacrifices to those that have no existence, and forgot the miracles which were wrought in their behalf in Egypt, and thought of returning thither again; then, indeed, *after* the law, a commandment also was given to serve as a law concerning sacrifices; so that with their mind, which at one time had meditated on those (gods) which did not exist, they might turn to him who is truly God, and learn, not in the first place to sacrifice, but to turn away their faces from idols, and give heed to what God commanded."—Ep. xix.

This supposition, however, is scarcely tenable. God puts this into the mouth of Moses as the object of the proposed exodus, that the children of Israel should sacrifice to the Lord their God (Ex. iii. 18). We therefore hold that the sacrifice referred to is the sacrifice of the Abrahamic covenant, which was not, in principle, part of the Mosaic dispensation, though continued in its ritual. Such sacrifice is the emblem of the dispensation of grace, the law of faith. It is here abnegated so far as the Mosaic dispensation is concerned; and the peculiarity of that dispensation, the law of works, is promulgated. So that this passage from Jeremiah is, in effect, equivalent to the statement of St. Paul in Gal. iii. 12, already quoted, "The law is not of faith; but the man that doeth the works of the law shall live in them." The sacrifices mentioned in this place are עֹלֹת. This expression is intended to include *all* animal sacrifice, both whole burnt-offerings and those in which the whole of the victim was not consumed. After the giving of the law, עֹלֹת, when antithetical to זֶבַח, comprised the זֶבַח and the עֹלֹת. But before the giving of the law, the period to which this passage refers, the עֹלֹת had not been instituted, and cannot, therefore, be thought to be implied in this place.

However, such passages speak of sacrifices generally, and intimate that the principle of sacrifice itself is incompatible with the terms of the Mosaic covenant, which required perfect obedience. Yet we know that a sacrifice was appointed typical of the only complete satisfaction of this requirement, the sacrifice of Christ. This sacrifice, therefore, viz. the זֶבַח, is not included in the disallowed sacrifices; but must be implied in the requirement of obedience. Thus we account for the fact of the זֶבַח and עֹלֹת occurring together in several instances of the disallowance of sacrifices. Thus in Ps. l. 8, etc., "I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices or thy burnt-offerings, to have been continually

before me." The sacrifices are mentioned generally; neither would it have been in accordance with the principles of the law to have made special exception of the *asham* as of an allowed sacrifice; even although, as we have seen, its allowance is implied. It is certain that the *asham* is never mentioned among the disallowed sacrifices.

In the following Psalm, too, we have the same combination of *anah* and *anah*, in a passage strongly anti-sacrificial. "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it thee; thou delightest not in burnt-offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." In this place, also, though not so obviously as in others, *obedience* is set up in opposition to sacrifice. For although in the *anah* and the *anah* the most prominent part to our observation is the *pain* of the sufferer, yet it cannot be doubted that in the sight of God it is the *breaking of the adverse will*, the *submission* and *dutiful obedience*, implied in these expressions, which is accepted.

To the same effect are Isa. i. 11—17, and lxvi. 2—4. Of the latter passage we may make the same remark as of Ps. li. 16, 17. Where God says. "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit," these expressions are immediately explained by that which follows, "and that trembleth at my word." The word translated "*poor*" is *anah*, *submission*: not *anah*, *egens*. So that here, also, obedience is set in opposition to sacrifice.

In Jer. vi. 19, 20, we have the following. "Hear, O earth: Behold I will bring evil upon this people, even the fruit of their thoughts, because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law, but rejected it. To what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country? Your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me."

These examples will suffice for our purpose. How then are they to be understood? They are commonly, we think, interpreted too rigorously, as of the absolute abolition of the principle of sacrifice; whereas of this it may most certainly be said, that "Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil." But even on the supposition that it was to be abolished when it had served its purpose; how can we account for God's abrogation of his own institution before that end had been accomplished? Some, indeed, go so far as to deny the divine institution of sacrifice originally, and admit only a sort of adaptation of it by God, as of a practice inherent in the Jewish nature, which might be turned to good account; such temporary adaptation, with a view to

ultimate abolition, being, we presume, somewhat similar to the permission given to our newly-converted Saxon forefathers, by Pope Gregory the Great, to continue certain popular sacrificial customs, after that their spirit and principle had, of course, been renounced. But without further reference to extreme opinions, we extract the following passage from the Article on Offerings in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*, as an example of the views usually taken of the subject by sober-minded critics:—

“Under the load and the multiplicity of outward oblations, the Hebrews forgot the substance, lost the thought in the symbol, the thing signified in the sign; and failing in those devotional sentiments and that practical obedience which offerings were intended to prefigure and cultivate, sank into the practice of mere dead works. Hereupon began the prophets to utter their admonitory lessons, to which the world is indebted for so many graphic descriptions of the real nature of religion, and the only true worship of Almighty God (Isa. i. 11; Jer. vi. 20, vii. 21, sq.; Hos. vi. 6; Amos v. 22; Micah vi. 6, sq.; comp. Ps. xl. 6, li. 17, sq.; Prov. xxi. 3). Thus the failures of one church paved the way for the higher privileges of another, and the law proved a schoolmaster to bring us to the Christ (Matt. v. 23; Gal. iii. 24). Even before the advent of our Lord, pious and reflecting men, like the Essenes, discovered the lamentable abuse of the national ritual, and were led to abstain altogether from the customary forms of a mere outward worship (Joseph. *Antiq.*, xviii. 1, 5). The fiftieth Psalm must have had great influence in preparing the minds of thinking men for a pure and spiritual form of worship, the rather because some of its principles strike at the very root of all offerings of a mere outward kind.”

Such is the ordinary acceptance of the general tenor of such passages; they are thought to indicate a sort of twilight preceding the full dawn of Christian liberty. We have ventured to express a different opinion; and we believe that in them is enunciated and enforced the rigorous principle of the law of works, in distinction from the dispensation of grace: that the law is to be observed inviolate: that in obedience is life; in disobedience death. The abnegation of sacrifice, as of the emblems of the covenant of grace, is a reminder to the Jews of their being under the covenant of works. Yet we do not deny that there is *implied* in these passages a reference to the end of the law and to the Gospel dispensation. As God's mercy had provided a sacrifice for the expiation even of offences against the law; as he knew man's inability to satisfy its requirements; we must suppose, in these enunciations of the strict principles of the law, an implied reference to Him who alone could fulfil them; and, from what we have already seen, we must expect this reference to him as the antitype of the type.

Understanding thus the tenor of such passages generally,

we at length come to consider that which forms our special subject, Ps. xl. 6, 7. It stands thus in the Hebrew :—

וְבַח וּמִנְחָה לֹא חֲפָצָה
 אֲנִיִּים כְּרִיתָ לִי
 עוֹלָה וְחִטָּאה לֹא שָׂאֵלָה :
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָתִי הִנֵּה-בְּאָזְנִי
 בְּמִגְלַת-סֵפֶר כְּתוּב עָלַי :
 לַעֲשׂוֹת-רְצוֹנָה אֱלֹהֵי חֲפָצָתִי
 וְתוֹרָתָה בְּתוֹךְ יָמַי :

In this passage we find most prominent all the characteristics of the class we have been considering. There is, first, the rejection of sacrifice, and the setting up of obedience to the law as the condition of the covenant. There is also direct mention of Him who was to satisfy the requirements of the law ; and this, as we have seen, points to Him in his character as the antitype of the *אֲנִיִּים*. But besides what this passage has in common with others of the class, we find in it special mention of the disallowed sacrifices ; and it certainly must be considered a significant fact, that these form the complete list of the Levitical sacrifices, *with the single exception of the אֲנִיִּים*. The terms are arranged in logical sequence ; they include *all* the sacrifices in use among the Jews, with the remarkable exception of one of the two most important, the piacular sacrifices. In consideration of these circumstances we cannot consider the omission accidental ; nor, from what we have already arrived at, can we be surprised at the phenomenon : we do not expect the *אֲנִיִּים* in the same category with the other sacrifices ; but rather we look for it to be placed, by implication, in some sort of contrast with them.

But, further, we find in the midst of the enumeration of the disallowed sacrifices an adversative clause, the subject of which is obviously set in contrast with, or opposition to, those sacrifices. This clause is, as it now stands, nonsensical ; or at least we may venture to say, the sense of it has not yet been satisfactorily discovered. The reading of this clause in the time of the Greek translators, and in St. Paul's time, was very different, though still obviously adversative to the rest of the sentence. It is sufficiently plain, as we have seen, that the subject of it, as it stood at that time, and according to the reading sanctioned by their authority, was *the victim of a piacular sacrifice*. We conclude, therefore, in view of all these circumstances, that

where we now read וְעָלָם they read וְעָלָם. The substitution of one word for another is an easy matter, as far as the letters are concerned, for the whole difference between the two words lies in a single small stroke of the pen, a stroke connecting the lower parts of the letters נ, and thus converting them into ו. As far as the *sense* is concerned, we have shewn, we think satisfactorily, the propriety of the substitution.

But is the future Messiah ever spoken of in this character of the מָשִׁיחַ? To this we reply that the mode and nature and import of Christ's sufferings were prefigured by means of types rather than foretold by direct prophecy. Yet to this general rule there is one important exception. In the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, that most direct and express prophecy of the sacrifice of Christ, and of its character and import, that sacrifice is spoken of in its character as, and under the express name of, the מָשִׁיחַ. And it is particularly to be observed, that it is spoken of in this character and by this name, when considered as a satisfaction of God's requirement of obedience, as a fulfilment of his will. The will of God, רָצוֹן יְהוָה, is fulfilled by Christ's making his life an רָצוֹן.

There is a remarkable parallelism between this passage in Ps. xl. and Is. liii. This we may here examine, in carrying out our purpose of furnishing an explanation of the former passage. We observe, then, in this Psalm, a reference to the recorded account of David's past experience; in which record, it is asserted of him that he should do the will of God. Now it is obvious enough to find the circumstances referred to in the deposition of Saul, and in the calling of David to reign in his stead. It is asserted in most express terms that the removal of Saul was in consequence of *disobedience*; and it is asserted of David that he should perform all the will of God (*ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου*, Acts xiii. 22). This is a quotation from no one place of the Old Testament, but it is an inference from several passages, and expresses the tenor of Ps. lxxxix. In that Psalm particular mention is made of the continuance of the seed and the prolongation of the days of David. We may observe, too, that in this passage of the Acts, St. Paul connects his assertion of David's being called to do God's will, with a notice of Christ being born of his seed. We therefore refer these words of Ps. xl. 6—8, to the circumstances of Saul's deposition for disobedience, and the call of David to the throne as one who should perform all the will of God; and when David says, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; . . . burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required; then said I, Lo, I come to do thy will, O my God," we cannot but think that allusion was intended to that solemn

rebuke of Saul by Samuel (1 Sam. xv. 22), "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."

With regard to Is. liii., it is an old opinion, and one which we see no reason to dispute, that the prospective or prophetic reference of this passage is conveyed by retrospective reference to Isaac, that most eminent type of our Lord. We have already had occasion to mention Abraham's sacrifice, as the inauguration of the dispensation of grace; and now, in view of the foregoing considerations, we may further examine the circumstances connected with it. In the first place, then, we find Abraham's acceptance with God is represented in the New Testament under a twofold aspect; as the result of his *faith*, and as the result of his *obedience*. We do not intend to involve ourselves in theological speculations on this difference of representation; but we call attention to the correspondence in the twofold nature of Abraham's sacrifice. Abraham is said to have sacrificed his son; yet we know Isaac was not sacrificed, but that a *substitute* was provided by God. Yet Isaac was, as we have said, a most eminent type of Christ. Must we not also suppose the substituted ram, God's substitute for Abraham's obedience, to have been typical of Him? If so, we must consider this sacrifice of the ram to have been of the same import as that which was afterwards known as the *pasch*; and in making this observation, we also mention, though without wishing to lay much stress upon the remark, that in all the cases above-mentioned, for which the *pasch* was prescribed in the Levitical ordinances, the victim was a *ram*. In the case of the cleansing of a leper, mentioned in the above extract from Arnold's *Hebrew Antiquities*, the victim is said to be a *lamb*. This is no exception; for it was to be a *he* lamb.

Now we find that God *imputes the deed* to Abraham; although, strictly considered, the deed had not been performed by him. The obedience was substituted: the *faith* was Abraham's: the "*righteousness*" was God's. Let us now consider the reward of this imputed righteousness, the result of the sacrifice of the ram as the *pasch*. God says to Abraham (Gen. xxii. 16—18), "Because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son; that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, *because thou hast obeyed my voice.*" Compare with this the reference of Isaiah (liii. 10), where *God's will* is said to be *accomplished* by Christ's making his life an

עָמָּה, and the result is stated as the *continuance of seed and the prolongation of days*.^c

Thus, then, we may perceive these points of resemblance between the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah and the passage in Ps. xl. In both there is prophetic reference to the Messiah by retrospective reference to eminent types, those types being also pre-eminent progenitors (κατὰ σάρκα) of the Messiah. Further, whatever may have been the full significance of the type, in each case, in its relation to the Antitype, in each of these passages the special point of consideration in the type is *obedience to the will of God*. Thus, too, the prophetic reference in each case is to the special point, in the Antitype, of the satisfaction of God's requirement of obedience by the Messiah, that is to Christ's making himself the expiation of disobedience, our substituted obedience, the true עָמָּה. In the one case the עָמָּה is expressly mentioned: we need not, therefore, be surprised on finding it in the other, as we believe we have found it.

Here, then, our proposed task is finished. Having, as we think, ascertained, with a considerable degree of certainty, the correct reading of the Hebrew, the Greek rendering is, indeed, still left unaccounted for. Yet if our amendment of the Hebrew text will stand, it is a considerable step towards an explanation of the discrepancy. And certainly this discrepancy is greatly diminished by the adoption of our proposed amendment. There is at first sight some sort of connexion between עָמָּה (which by the way means a *victim* of a sacrifice for transgressions, as well as both the act of transgression and the sacrifice) and σῶμα. We would here call attention to a remarkable use of the word σῶμα in Rom. vii. 4. St. Paul has been reminding the Jews who believed in Christ of their being no longer under the law but under grace (vi. 14). Now the dispensation of grace was anterior to the law; and the former was by the grace of God in Christ. St. Paul, then, is speaking of their being delivered from the curse of the law and thus brought under the dispensation of grace. Now here are two effects of the death of Christ mentioned; first, the establishment of the dispensation of grace, and then the deliverance from the curse of the law. They are manifestly two different things, as has already been pointed out; and the distinction is observed here by St. Paul. Knowing this it is

^c עָמָּה וְעַתָּה יִרְאֶה וְעַתָּה יִרְאֶה. The LXX. render ὁραται σπέρμα μακρόβιον (Vulg., *videbit semen longævum*). They probably read עָמָּה, for עָמָּה, the Chaldee form of the participle, found in Ezra iv. 14. They thus took עָמָּה = *longævum*, in connexion with וְעַתָּה; and this seems preferable. The Syriac has ܥܡܡܐ ܘܥܬܬܐ ܝܪܐܐ ܘܥܬܬܐ ܝܪܐܐ.

interesting to observe the terms in which he speaks of their being delivered from the curse of the law. He says by their sins they had deserved death; that is, by reason of their transgressions against the law. But Christ had suffered death for them: he had become their $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, and by *his* death they were reckoned to have died. St. Paul says, “*Ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*” Why *διὰ τοῦ σώματος* and not simply *διὰ τοῦ θανάτου*? The expression is certainly remarkable; and considering the distinction observed by St. Paul between the $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in the sacrifice of Christ, and that it is as the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ he is here speaking of it, we cannot but compare his use of the word *σῶμα* with its use in the Septuagint Version of Ps. xl. 6.

It is remarkable that the LXX. have not translated the word $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in Isa. liii. 10, by *πλημμελέα*, as usual, but by *περιαμαρτία*, their usual rendering of $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$. We may, therefore, look for mention of the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in the New Testament under this name, or that which seems to have been equivalent to it, *ἀμαρτία*. The latter we find in 2 Cor. v. 21,—*τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἀμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γινώμεθα δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ.* The allusion to Isa. liii. seems obvious, and is indicated by the references in the margins of our Bibles. This being the case, the *ἀμαρτία* is the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, and the effect of Christ’s offering himself as the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ is here said to be that his righteousness, or obedience, is imputed to us;⁴ his obedience substituted for ours; which is altogether consonant with what we have already seen of the $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$. Similarly, in Rom. v. 19, this imputation of righteousness is said to be effected by the *obedience* of Christ. We may also compare the expression, *τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἀμαρτίαν* with *ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνω* *εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμον*, in Rom. vii. 7, and with *διὰ νόμον ἐπύγνωσις ἀμαρτίας* in Rom. iii. 20. *Τὸ γινώσκειν ἀμαρτίαν*, therefore, is not to have committed sin simply, but specially *to have transgressed the law*. The full meaning, then, of 2 Cor. v. 21, we take to be, that Christ was a meet trespass-offering, *i. e.*, expiation of disobedience, or substitute for our perfect obedience to the law, inasmuch as he had not transgressed the law.

God’s requirement of perfect obedience could never have been performed by man only; it was, to use the words of St. Paul (Rom. viii. 3), *τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου*. But that which was impossible with men was possible with God, and, as we are here informed, was accomplished by God’s sending his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as a trespass-offering (*περιαμαρτία* = $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$.)

⁴ “The phrase, *becoming the righteousness of God*, means, *being accounted righteous by God.*”—Burton, *Greek Test.*, *loc. cit.*

It may be thought incumbent upon us, if we substitute קָרַב for קָרַב , to discover also a substitute for the word קָרַב . Certainly this can hardly stand as it is. We might suggest קָרַב , as a word of common use in reference to the slaying of victims for sacrifice; although this has, of course, no sanction from the rendering of the LXX. The word קָרַב , in the sense of *preparing, providing*, and in connexion with the cognate Arabic كَرَّ , *causing to exist*, may also be suggested; and in fact this very form of the verb is rendered $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\omega$ by the LXX. in Ps. lxxviii. 10. But with these suggestions we must leave the subject to the consideration of our learned readers.

W. R. B.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SACRED SLAVES OF ISRAEL IN HIVITIA, MOUNT SE'YR, AND THE HIVITE TETRAPOLIS.

CHAP. I.—*The Hivites of Lebanon, and the colony conducted by Se'yr to the south of Canaan.*

WITH the name of the Gibeonites, the servants of the sanctuary, the sacred slaves of Israel, the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the tabernacle of the congregation, every one is familiar; but the history and real position of these sacred serfs has never yet (as far as we know) been fully and satisfactorily explained. No one, so we believe, has ever yet attempted to trace their early revolutions to any period preceding the conquest of Canaan by Joshua; but they appear easily traceable for many centuries anterior to this important epoch.

That part of Lebanon and Antilebanon, with the intervening valley, which lies to the south of a line drawn from the city, which the Hebrews called Gebal and the Greeks Byblus, by Aphek, or Aphaka (the modern Afka), over the summit of Mount Lebanon, through the vale of Cœlo-Syria, and again, over the ridges of Antilebanon, was, in ancient times, inhabited by the Hivites.*

* The boundaries, north and south, of the Hivite territories, are described in Judges iii. 3, "The Hivites that dwelt in Mount Lebanon from Mount Baal-Hermon to the Le-bo Chamath" (the entering in of Hamath). Mount Baal-Hermon was the southern extremity of Mount Hermon, the modern Jebel-esh-sheikh, hanging over the city of Baal-Gad, which is said (Josh. xi. 17), to be "in the Bik'ath hal-Lebanon (or the valley of Lebanon), under Mount Hermon." The term "Bik'ath hal-Lebanon," is generally used to describe the modern El

There is great reason to believe that the modern Druses, respecting whose origin so many theories have been suggested, are the descendants of this ancient Canaanite nation.^b There appear many points of resemblance in character between them, for the Hivites seem to have been among the proudest and most martial of the Canaanite nations.

The name of this people signifies Serpents in the ancient language of their country,^c a dialect of Aramean, making a

Beka'a, part of the valley of Coelosyria. But, in the verse just cited, it seems applied to what is elsewhere called the land of Mitzpeh (the modern Wady et-Teym). See Josh. xi. 3.

Baal-Gad seems to have been that city which the Macedonians called Paneas, and which the Romans afterwards styled Cæsarea Philippi. This city never lost, among the Syrians themselves, its original name of Baal-Gad. When the Mohammedans conquered Syria, they restored the old name, in the corrupt form of Belina. Benjamin of Tudela (about the close of the twelfth, or the early part of the thirteenth century), mentions this city, which he confounds with Dan, as follows; "I came to Belinos, known formerly by the name of Dan. Near this city the Jordan has its source from a cavern." William of Tyre, in his *History of the Crusades* (Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 877), also confounds Paneas with Dan, "Ista est Paneas, quæ vulgari appellatione Belinas dicitur, olim ante introitum filiorum Israel in Terram Promissionis, dicta Lesen: quam postea filii Dan acceperunt in sortem (*sic*), et vocaverunt Lesen Dan." So James de Vitry, Bishop of Acre (Gesta Dei, p. 1070), "Paneas vulgari idiomate Belinas nuncupatur." And Barthelemy de Salignac, who travelled in 1522, relates that in his time it was called Velenâ.

That Baal-Gad was the southern limit of Hivitia, is proved from Josh. xiii. 5, where (among the countries not conquered by the Israelites, but included within their boundary), are mentioned, "All the land of the Gibletes" (the people of Gebal or Byblus), "and all Lebanon to the east" (of Gebal), "from Baal-Gad under Mount Hermon, unto the Le-bo Chamath." In Josh. xi. 16, 17, we find that Joshua conquered all the country from the northern limits of Mount Se'yr to Baal-Gad under Mount Hermon.

Joshua, therefore, extended his conquests northward as far as Baal-Gad, or Paneas, but left unconquered all Hivitia (in Lebanon, Antilebanon, and Coelosyria), from Baal-Gad, on its southern extremity, as far as the Le-bo Chamath, its extreme northern limit.

It is clear, therefore, that the Le-bo Chamath was on the northern border of Hivitia, for as this country lay between Mount Baal-Hermon (and Baal-Gad at its foot), and the Le-bo Chamath, when it is once settled that Baal-Gad was its southern limit, it follows of necessity that the Le-bo Chamath was the northern.

The Le-bo Chamath was also on the northern border of Israel. The whole of Hivitia, therefore, was part of the Promised Land; but the Israelites only possessed these northern territories for a very short period, as their usual northern boundary was Dan, which was only a few miles distant from Baal-Gad.

As Mitzpeh may be clearly identified with the Wady el Teym, it is plain that the Hivites were settled in Antilebanon, and the probability appears very great that the famous kings of Chatzor, or Hazor (on the slope of Hermon, immediately north of Baal-Gad), were of the Hivite race.

^b The Druses possess nearly the same country as the ancient Hivites, and, amidst all the changes which have taken place in Syria, nothing is more probable than that these mountaineers, undisturbed by all the revolutions of the lowlands, may have retained their original seats, from within a few centuries after the deluge to the present time.

^c נחש, in Hebrew, a Hivite (or, taken collectively, the Hivites), signifies, in Chaldee, "a Serpent."

close approach to the Arabic;^d and they are supposed to have derived this singular national appellation, like the Perizzites, Kenizzites, and other Canaanite septs, from their mode of life and the habitations in which they dwelt. They were originally a Troglodytic race, inhabiting, like serpents, the caves of the mountains; but they seem quickly to have risen above this barbarism; to have founded cities in the fertile vale of Cælo-Syria, and to have planted a colony on the shore of the Mediterranean, whose metropolis was the famous Gebal, the city of the mountaineers.^e Hence they ventured upon the Great Sea, not merely as a commercial people, but as a nation of conquerors.

The most famous of the Hivite kings of Gebal was Kinura, or the Harper, the *Kivvapas* of the Greeks,^f who was master of

^d That the language of the Hivites had an affinity with the Arabic, may be inferred from the fact that the Hivite names may often be best explained from Arabic roots. It will be sufficient to adduce three instances: 1. Gebal signifies in Arabic "the mountains," or "a mountainous country," and we find the name of Gebal also given to Mount Se'yr (a country colonized by the Hivites), which the Greeks corrupted into Gebalene or Gobolitia. 2. No etymology of Mount Hor can be traced to any other of the Semitic dialects, which suits so well as

that from the Arabic ^{سور} *سور*. 3. In the name "Misrephoth Mayim" (mentioned Jos.

xi. 8, as lying to the north of Sidon), all the Biblical critics whose works we have seen (including Gesenius), derive the word "Misrephoth" from the Hebrew Saraph, "he burnt." It is certain, however, that the proper derivation is from

the Arabic ^{سرف} *سرف* (*exundatio*), and this may satisfy us that Misrephoth Mayim

was on the south bank of the river Tamyras (about twelve miles north of Sidon), which is subject to very sudden and dangerous floods, at which times it is impassable. It was one of these floods which stopped the further pursuit of the Israelites after the Western fugitives of the forces of the Canaanite confederates under Jabin.

^e The circumstances which lead to the presumption that Gebal was a Hivite colony, are these; 1. The word "Gebal" is evidently an elliptical term for "the city of the people of the mountains;" or "the city of the mountaineers." It is absurd to derive it (as some writers have done), from the Hebrew "gebûl," a border, for it never formed the border, either of any district or any people. 2. The kings of Gebal were also the sovereigns of Aphaka, on the summit of Lebanon; now it is much more natural to suppose that the coast, in the vicinity of Gebal, was colonized by the mountaineers, than that these hardy mountaineers (inhabiting a country almost unconquerable if well defended), should have been reduced to vassalage by the effeminate inhabitants of the coast. 3. There is an old tradition that Gebal was a Hivite city, mentioned by James de Vitry (Gesta Dei, p. 1072). This may be cited in corroboration of the preceding arguments, though, taken separately, one could not attach to it much importance. "Post hanc [Sareptam] autem sequuntur alie civitates maritimæ, primo Sydon [Sidon] postea Berithum [Berytus], deinde Biblum [Byblus], quæ vulgariter hodie Gibelet [Jebeil] appellatur, in Phœniciæ provincia supra littus maris constituta; quondam Evæa dicta, eo quod Evæus, ut dicitur, sextus filiorum Chanaan ipsam fundaverit." The sixth of the sons of Canaan was the ancestor of the Hivites, and this tradition quoted by the Bishop of Acre, merely means that Gebal was founded by a colony of Hivites from the mountains.

^f The name of Kinura is derived from the instrument which the Hebrews called Kinnôr, a harp of ten strings, played upon with a plectrum.

a great part of Cyprus, where he founded some of the most famous cities of antiquity; and scarcely any of the barbarian kings have been so widely celebrated,—none so highly praised,—by the Greeks, as this conquering and inventive monarch. The Greeks, in fact, borrowed some of the most favourite tales in their mythology from the Hivite nation. To them they were indebted for the myth of Venus and Adonis, the true scene of which was on the summit of Mount Lebanon, and near the city of Aphaka. Adonis, according to mythology, was the son of Kinura, who erected three magnificent temples to Astarte, or Venus, where the Feast of Adonis was annually celebrated; one at Aphaka, in Lebanon, near the spot where the death of Adonis was supposed to have occurred; another at Byblus, and a third at Paphos at Cyprus, a city founded by this king, and whither the romantic tale of Venus and Adonis was first carried by the Hivites, for the edification of the Grecian poets.

But the depravity of Polytheism rendered these mythic stories, which as mere poesy may be admired, detestable in their results; and no human superstition ever conducted its votaries to more abandoned licentiousness than the worship of Baal, or the Sun, in the valley of Cœlo-Syria, and of Astarte, or the Moon, on the summit of Lebanon. The early Christian writers, with just indignation, have denounced the abominations of the two polluted cities of Aphaka and Heliopolis; and it would be neither profitable nor agreeable to withdraw the veil which time has thrown over their terrible descriptions.

The bravery of the Hivites was proved by the stand which they made against the Israelitic conquerors. The whole of the Hivite land was within the boundary of Israel; viz., the limits of that territory which the Israelites were permitted to conquer,

The Greek and Latin writers speak of Cinyras as the most beautiful of mankind, and the favourite both of Venus and Apollo (Astarte and Baal). Like Croesus he was one of the richest kings of the East. We need scarcely refer to the well-known proverb, "*Cinyræ opes*." His inventive genius was signalized both in great and petty discoveries. He taught the art of refining copper, and invented the lever, the anvil, tiles and scissors. It is to be observed the sacred writers speak of the people of Gebal as able workmen in stone and carpentry; so that the inventions of Cinyras were not wasted upon his countrymen. Homer and Pindar have both contributed to render the name of Cinyras immortal. The epic poet makes him contemporary with Agamemnon, and describes a magnificent breast-plate which the Cyprian sent as a present to the Argive king (*Iliad*, xi. 19); and Pindar (*Pyth.* ii. 27), informs us that the name of Cinyras was still celebrated by the Cyprian poets.

But it is evident that in the time of the Greeks the name of Cinyras had passed from the province of history to that of mythology. We may reasonably believe in the existence of this king, but he must have reigned (if at all), long antecedently to the period in which the siege of Troy (whether itself historical or mythological) is usually placed.

and of which the conquest was promised if they remained faithful to the worship of Jehovah. But as they relapsed into idolatry after the death of Joshua (Judges ii. 6—13), they lost this important conquest during the greater part of their history, and only appear to have possessed the Hivite country during the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon.

When the Israelites were lords of Hivitia, if we may be permitted to coin a new appellation, their boundaries extended northward, in the vale of Cælo-Syria, to the Le-bo Chamath, or entering in of Hamath.⁸ While the Hivites preserved, and when they regained, their independence, the northern boundary of Israel was at the city of Dan, which was near the south-east limits of Hivitia.

The Le-bo Chamath was exactly at the point where the southern limit of the kingdom of Chamath (or Hamath), was colimitary to the northern boundary of the Hivites, in the valley of Lebanon. Its true site has never yet been pointed out; but it is the city which, in the Roman itineraries, is called sometimes Lybo, and sometimes Conna (both corruptions of Le-bo Chamath), and though the distances do not agree (for, on this point, the itineraries are often exceedingly, nay, extravagantly incorrect), the site of Lybo-Conna is certainly to be found in the modern village of Lebouah, or "the Lioness."⁹

On the summit of Lebanon, and near the city of Aphaka,

⁸ This was the case in the time of David (1 Chron. xiii. 5), and of Solomon (2 Chron. vii. 8).

⁹ The northern boundary of the land promised to the Israelites, is described in Numb. xxxiv. 7—9, and Ezek. xlvii. 15—17. The text of Ezekiel is incorrect, but by comparing the two passages we find that the boundary commenced at the Great Sea, and extended from thence to 1, Mount Hor; 2 the Le-bo Chamath; 3, Tzedad; 4, Ziphron; 5, Chatzer hath-Tikôn; 6, Chatzar 'Eynan.

Gebal was certainly within the permitted limits of Israel (Josh. xiii. 5). Assuming this, then, as the northern border on the coast, let us draw a line in any modern map of Syria, from this city eastward. This line, on the summit of Lebanon, will pass a little to the north of Aphaka, or Aphek (a city allotted to the tribe of Asher), which marks the true locality of that district of Lebanon, called Mount Hor. In the vale of Cælo-Syria, it will pass near the village of Lebouah, which was certainly the Lybo-Conna of the Romans (see the Antonine Itinerary), and the Le-bo Chamath of the Hebrews. From thence the line is to be extended to the eastern brow of Antilebanon, in the valleys of which range the cities of Tzedad and Ziphron were probably situated. Having reached the eastern brow of this chain, the boundary turns southward, along the ridge of the mountains, to Hazûry, and Ain el Hazûry, which are certainly the sites of Chatzor (the city of Jabin, called by Ezekiel Chatzor hath-Tikôn, or Chatzor the intermediate, probably because it was situated half-way between Tyre and Damascus), and of Eyn-Chatzor, or Chatzor Eynan, or, as Ezekiel writes it, Eynôn.

This view of the northern boundary of Israel (which we believe to be original in its principal features), will, we hope, on the strictest critical examination, be found sufficiently certain to clear a point of sacred geography which has hitherto been found not a little perplexing.

was a district or peak, which Moses called Hor ha-har, or Mount Hor (Numb. xxiv. 7), a name which appears to have been applied to the whole country round Aphaka, but which was perhaps given κατ' ἐξοχὴν to the lofty peak of the Sannin. It was in this district that the scene of the death of Adonis was placed by the Syrian mythologists; and the very name of Hor appears to be derived from the Arabic ^{su}هور, signifying the act of prostrating or killing; for here the beautiful hunter was supposed to have been prostrated and killed by the tusks of the wild boar, on the banks of the river, near Apaka, called from his name;¹ while from the ground, moistened by his blood, sprung up the purple anemone.

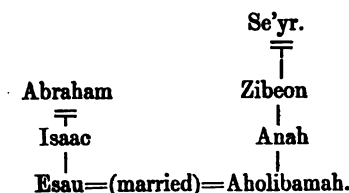
In this mythic region, sacred to the genius of old Syrian romance, and invested with a character of peculiar holiness by the superstition of the people, appears to have dwelt, somewhat less than a century before the entry of Abraham into Canaan, a Hivite chieftain, celebrated in Scripture under the name of Se'yr. Circumstances induced him to emigrate southward, with his household and slaves; and after passing through Canaan he finally settled in that country, which afterwards acquired the name of Edom.

To this mountainous region he gave the name of Se'yr, a name which it retained till the time of the latest of the Hebrew prophets who lived before the return from the captivity. But, in memory of Mount Hor in the Lebanon, he gave to one peculiar mountain in his new settlement the name of Mount Hor. It is called by Moses Hor ha-har, exactly the same name, and with the same peculiar construction, as Mount Hor in the Lebanon range.²

¹ See the eighth section of the beautiful little treatise *On the Syrian Goddess* (attributed, as it seems to us very erroneously, to Lucian), the notice of the river Adonis, in Maundrell's travels, and the exquisite passage in the *Paradise Lost*, book i., ver. 446. For his learning (such as it is), on the subject of the Syrian deities, Milton is indebted to the two barbarous and almost unreadable *syntagmata* of Selden. It is singular that neither Selden nor Milton should have observed, that Tammuz (or more properly Tammuz), is *not* the name of the deity, but merely the cry of lamentation (or funereal wail) of the Syrian women, on the death of Adonis. It is simply a corruption of the word Tamuth. The Hivites (being probably as incapable of pronouncing the "th" as the Ephraimites were of enunciating the "sh"), seem to have softened the difficult aspirate "th" to "z," in the same manner as a modern Frenchman or German often substitutes "s" for the same aspirate, pronouncing "sing" for "thing." Tamuz (or Tammuz) therefore, signifies "Thou art dead! thou art dead!" being exactly the same exclamation of wail which was uttered by the Grecian women on the same occasion, Ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνίς.

² Numb. xx. 22, 23; xxi. 4; xxxiii. 38. The syntactical construction of Hor ha-har is unusual, and this of course strengthens the presumption of a connexion between the two peaks of that name, in the Lebanon and Mount Se'yr.

The date of the settlement of the Hivites, under Se'yr, in the mountains to the south of Canaan, and the Dead Sea,¹ was about one generation prior to the time of Abraham. This very interesting fact we deduce from the marriage of Esau, the grandson of Abraham, with Aholibamah, the great-granddaughter of Se'yr.



CHAP. II.—*The History of the Hivites in Mount Se'yr.*

THE Hivites in Mount Se'yr¹ appear to have founded several cities: a great part of the population, however, certainly retained the old Troglodytic mode of life, familiar to their ancestors in Northern Hivitia.

The cities mentioned by Moses (in Gen. xxxvi. 32—39), were most probably founded by the Hivites.² If so, they are calcu-

¹ That the colony of Se'yr were Hivites is evident from Gen. xxxvi. 2, where it is said that Aholibamah (one of the wives of Esau) was the daughter of Anah, and grand-daughter of Zibeon, the Hivite. This exactly agrees with the genealogy of Se'yr in the same chap. v. 20—25; viz., 1. Se'yr; 2. Zibeon; 3. Anah; and 4. Aholibamah.

The circumstance of the Se'yrides giving the name of a particular peak in Hivitia (Mount Hor) to one in their new settlement, also establishes their Hivite descent, and seems to prove that their original seats in the Lebanon were in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor.

² The Hivites of Mount Se'yr are most frequently called in Scripture Chori (collectively), or in the plural Chorim; in our national version, Horites. This appellation is supposed to be derived from Chor (*a hole, or cavern*), and to mean "the dwellers in caverns" (or Troglodytes); as the Kenizzites obtained their distinctive name from the circumstance that their habitations resembled "nests" in the rocks. But against the derivation of Chori from Chor, we may observe that the Troglodytic mode of life was practised just as much by the Edomites (who succeeded the Se'yrides) as by the latter people; yet the name of Chori is never in any case given to the Edomites whom it would have suited equally well with the Se'yrides, if it had meant "dwellers in caves." Considering the very frequent mistake in the vulgar Hebrew text, of the letter Chêth (or Hbêyth) for Hê; it is quite as probable that the true name was Hôri, indicating that they were a people from Mount Hor in the Lebanon.

³ We infer this because the tell-tale appellations of Dimhabah (Plundertown), and Masrekah (Robbers'-hold) are not likely to have been bestowed on cities founded by the Edomites. The whole history of the latter proves them to have

lated to give us a very indifferent opinion of the moral character of this people, and their respect for the law of nations. The very names of their cities are a permanent record of the crimes of their inhabitants; for Di-nhahab signifies, in plain English, Plundertown, and Masrekah, which Gesenius erroneously derives from Sôrêk, a vine, in reality means neither more nor less than Robbers'-hold. The truth is the Hivites had great temptations to plunder. Along the base of their mountains, rich caravans must perpetually have passed, laden with the products of India, of Seba, and perhaps of the eastern coast of Africa, as ivory from Abyssinia, and gold from Sofala. It is easy to shew that a great caravan commerce existed in the East long before the time of Moses, or even of Abraham. To this plundering disposition of the Hivites is to be attributed the number of cities on the south border of Canaan, to whose names the appellation of Chatzor, or castle, is prefixed, as Chatzor-Yithnan, Chatzor-Hadattah, Chatzor-Amam, Chatzor-Gaddah, Chatzor Shu'al, and Chatzor-Susah.* None of these places (even when erroneously pointed as Chatzar, the construct state of Chatzôr, by the Masoretic critics), are to be understood as meaning "unwalled villages." It is usual in all countries, ancient and modern, European and Oriental, to add the name of *castle* to that of a city protected by a strong fortress. But rare, in-

been in all ages a peaceable and commercial people. Even Michaelis, who has in general not much good to say of the nations to the south of Canaan, is compelled to admit that the Edomites "had a well-regulated government, and a cultivated country" (*Comment. on the Law of Moses*, vol. i., p. 67. Smith's translation.)

Canon Stanley, it is true (*Sinai and Palest.*, p. 87) speaks of "the wild tribes of Esau, who hunted over the long slopes of Mount Seir" in the time of Moses; but it will be time enough to controvert the Rev. gentleman's opinion, when he has alleged even the shadow of an argument in support of it.

The Edomites then (a civilized and well-ordered people) were not likely to have plundered their neighbours, and we may infer that the facetious appellations of Plundertown and Robbers'-hold were bestowed upon the cities so called while they were occupied by an earlier people of different habits.

That the Se'yrides were a predatory people, we may presume, from the fact that Jehovah himself destroyed the Chori from before the children of Esau (Deut. ii. 22). If these Hivites had been peaceable and civilized, we can scarcely suppose that the people of Edom would have been provided with a country to dwell in at their expense. They had no doubt merited their expulsion by making themselves a nuisance to their neighbours, and a terror to the caravans which passed by their mountains.

* Many of these names are incorrectly divided in the vulgar Hebrew copies of the Book of Joshua, so as to form two cities instead of one. Thus we find Chatzor and Yithnan instead of Chatzor-Yithnan; Chatzor, Chadathâh (as two) instead of Chatzor-Chadathâh. Hence it is that the number of the cities on the border of Edom (Josh. xv. 21—32) which in ver. 32 are said to be twenty-nine, appear (when they are actually summed up, as they occur in the vulgar copies) to be thirty-eight. On this subject, see Reland's *Palestine*, pp. 143, 144 (Utrecht edition).

deed, are the cases where it is deemed necessary to perpetuate the memory of the fact, that any particular place, on a frontier line, exists in the miserable condition of an unwallled village. We may assume it to have been of all things the most improbable that the unfortunate neighbours of the predacious inhabitants of Plundertown and the Robber's-hold would place, upon their very border, a tempting exuberance of unwallled villages, and would add to the names of these places an announcement of their unprotected condition, as if for the express benefit of the Hivite depredators. But there is a reflux of tide in the affairs of nations, which often leaves the spoiler bare, a defenceless object for hostility to trample on. In the early days of the Hivite settlement happened that invasion of Chedorlaomer and his allies, the Cuthæan kings, as they are frequently called, from the distant shores of the Persian Gulf, in which Plundertown and Robbers'-hold were destined to become the prey of stronger plunderers and more formidable robbers (Gen. xiv. 6). But the Hivites of Se'yr seem soon to have recovered from their formidable harrying by these vile off-scourings of the old Assyrian dominion.

The next important event in their history was the fatal marriage, which ultimately caused their expulsion from Mount Se'yr. Esau, deprived of his birthright by his own imprudence, and the partial interference of his mother Rebecca, contracted an alliance with the house of Se'yr. He married Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the grandson of the old Hivite chieftain.^o After this

^o There are two lists of the wives of Esau, which are respectively as follows:—

GEN. xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 9.

GEN. xxxvi. 2, 3.

1. Yehudith, daughter of Beeri, the Hittite.

2. Bosmath (in our version erroneously written Bathshemeth) daughter of Eylon, the Hittite.

3. Machalath, daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebajoth.

2. Adah, daughter of Eylon, the Hittite.

3. Bosmath, daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth.

4. Aholibamah, daughter of Anah, the son of Zibeon, the Hivite.

There appears to us only one error of importance in these lists; and (that corrected) the two lists may be easily reconciled. The name of Bosmath given to the second wife (Gen. xxvi.) is an evident error: the true name was Adah, as in Gen. xxxvi. The name of Bosmath, written by mistake, was one of the names of the third wife, the daughter of Ishmael.

The two names of the third wife are both correct. Her name was probably originally Bosmath (or Fragrance), and was afterwards in consequence of some accidental injury changed to *חֲרָפָה* *ḥaraph* disease, (see Numb. xxvi. 33), and not to *חֲרָפָה* *ḥaraph*, as in the vulgar text of the Hebrew Bible.

The first wife was Yehudith, the daughter of Beeri, the Hittite. We may

alliance he remained in Mount Se'yr, where his descendants continued, in the midst of the Hivites, until that barren region was found to be too contracted for the subsistence of the two races, and it became evident that one or the other must depatriate. The Edomites, assisted by Jehovah, gained the victory in the struggle; and destroyed, probably, a great part of the Hivite colony; and drove the residue to seek new abodes, wherever Gad or Fortune, one of their national deities, might favour them. And now we should lose sight completely of the progeny of Se'yr, if a singular circumstance did not enable us to identify them with a Hivite colony, which the Israelites, in the time of Joshua, found settled in the midst of the Amorites, to the north-east of the Philistine Shephêlah, or Lowlands.

We have seen that the Hivites, on settling in Mount Se'yr, gave to one of its remarkable peaks the name of Mount Hor, evidently from a fond remembrance of their original seats on the mountains of that name in the long chain of the Lebanon. Exactly in the same manner, when driven from the original Mount Se'yr, they endeavoured to renew the cherished remembrance by bestowing on a small range of mountains which crossed their new territories, the name of Mount Se'yr.^p The same feelings almost invariably actuate the human race under similar circumstances, and it would be easy to shew from ancient oriental

assume that this wife died childless, and that on that account her name is omitted in Gen. xxxvi., because the object of the list contained in that chapter is to shew the progeny of Esau.

It was probably after the death of Yehudith, that Esau married his fourth wife, Aholibamah, the Hivite.

^p On the line of the northern border of the country, afterwards allotted to the tribe of Judah, was the city of Ba'alâh (an idolatrous name, which was afterwards changed by the Israelites to Kiryath Ye'ârim, or the City of the Woods). This city may be identified with the modern Kuryet el Enab. It was nine miles from Jerusalem on the road to Diospolis, or Lydda, the modern Ludd (see Eusebius, *Περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν, κ.τ.λ.*) The distance agrees with the situation of Kuryet el Enab, which is on the same road.

From Kiryath Ye'ârim, the north border of Judah proceeded westward to Mount Se'yr, and it passed to the north side of Har-Ye'ârim (or the Mount of the Woods), and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed to Timnath.

Beth-shemesh is evidently the modern Ain Shems. Eusebius describes it as being ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis. Eleutheropolis was certainly on the site of the modern Beit Gibrin, and Ain Shems is exactly ten miles from that site on the road to Nicopolis (now 'Amwas).

Timnath may be identified with a site, about three miles to the west of Ain Shems, now called Tibneh.

The exact position, therefore, and whole course of the northern Mount Se'yr may be distinctly traced by any traveller, who (venturing to deviate a little from the trite and ordinary routes) would make a short excursion for that purpose from Jerusalem. If he travelled further south to Shuweikeh, the ancient Shokah, he might discover in the neighbouring wâdy, the true scene of the death of Goliath, which monkish impertinence (for the edification of travellers) has removed northward to Kolonieh.

history, that the same fondness for the land of their birth, and the same desire to perpetuate the names of its cities, mountains, rivers, and valleys, in a distant country, actuated the old Asiatics, which has been so signally developed among the modern Americans.

In their new settlements, among the clans of the wide-spreading Amorites, and on or near the road from the city, afterwards called Jerusalem, to Joppa on the coast, the Hivites were possessed in the time of Joshua of four cities—Gibeon, Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kiryath Ye'arim.¹ Even in the deteriorated condition to which they were reduced, after their expulsion from Mount Se'yr, the Hivites of the Tetrapolis were no contemptible people; "Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and greater than Ai, and all the men thereof were mighty."²

CHAP. III.—*The History of the Gibeonites, in and after the time of Joshua.*

It is unnecessary to repeat the singular, but well-known story of the manner in which the Gibeonites and the other Hivites of the Tetrapolis deceived Joshua and the Israelites, in the camp at Gilgal.³ The descendant of Se'yr displayed, on this occasion,

¹ Gibeon is admitted to be the modern El Jib. As to the situation of Beeroth a doubt exists in consequence of a variation between the Greek text of Eusebius (*Περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν*, κ.τ.λ.) and the Latin translation by Jerome. Both agree that this city was seven miles from Jerusalem; but Eusebius placed it on the road to Nicopolis (or 'Amwas), and Jerome on that to Neapolis (or Nablous). Reland (*Palestine*, p. 618) finally decided in favour of Jerome; but it seems to us that the text of Eusebius is correct, because in Ezra ii. 25 and Neh. vii. 29, the cities of Kiryath Ye'arim, Chephirah, and Beeroth are all mentioned together, and distinct from Gibeon. If Beeroth had been on the road to Neapolis, it would have been nearer Gibeon than to Kiryath Ye'arim.

Of Chephirah nothing is known except that from the texts last quoted it appears to have been near Keryath Ye'arim.

² Josh. x. 2. That the people of Gibeon were Hivites, appears from Josh. xi. 19. In 2 Sam. xxi. 2, they are said to have been "of the remnant of the Amorites;" but this merely means that they settled in a part of Canaan previously inhabited by the Amorites.

The name of Mount Se'yr connects them with the Hivites of the southern Mount Se'yr, in the same manner as the name of Mount Hor connected the race of Se'yr with the Hivites of Lebanon; and each of these two facts corroborates the inference to be deduced from the other in such a manner as to amount to unquestionable evidence;—1. That the family of Se'yr originated in Mount Hor, of Lebanon. 2. That from thence they emigrated to the mountains afterwards possessed by Edom; and 3. That when the Se'yrides were expelled by the race of Esau, they obtained new settlements in Gibeon, and its three subject cities.

³ Josh. ix. It is remarkable that of all the Canaanite nations, these Hivites (of the remnant of the Se'yrides) were the only people who attempted to make terms with the conquerors. Why should they alone (a valiant and powerful

in an abundant degree, the old serpent-craft of the Hivites. When their fraud was detected, when the Israelites after three days' journey found themselves in the midst of the cities of their new allies, whom they must have imagined to be settled in some extreme corner of Asia, they were justly indignant at the deception which had been practised upon them. "And (Joshua ix. 22, 23) Joshua called for them" (the Hivites), "and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, *We are very far from you*, when ye dwell among us? Now, therefore, ye are accursed" [devoted appears to be the better rendering];¹ "and there shall none of you be freed from being bonds-

people, possessing a strong metropolis, and as able to defend themselves as the best of the southern Canaanites) have endeavoured to avert from themselves the impending calamity?

We imagine it was no fear of the Israelites which induced them to take these steps of submission; but the traditional remembrance, still strong among their sept, of the Deity, who had expelled their ancestors from the greater Mount Se'yr to make room for the better disposed race of Edom.

When they were questioned by Joshua, as to the motives of their journey to Gilgal, they replied, "From a very far country thy servants are come; because of the name of Jehovah thy God, for we have heard the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt."

If this were all, every nation in Canaan might have said the same; but we apprehend the Gibeonites could (if they had deemed it prudent) have alleged a reason which came more home to themselves. They might have said with truth, "The fame is still strong among us, that our ancestors were driven by Jehovah your God from their possessions in the greater Mount Se'yr; and we fear that he is now again coming to expel us, their descendants (the remnant of a once proud nation) from our humbler seats in this lesser Se'yr among the Amorite nation."

How much this motive for the submission of the Gibeonites would increase the interest of the story of their embassy, it is scarcely necessary to point out.

¹ It appears incongruous to suppose that any person accursed in the proper sense of the word, would be allowed to perform even the most menial offices for the service of the tabernacle. Every one will recollect the beautiful passage in the eighty-fourth Psalm: "For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand [elsewhere]. I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness."

It seems to us that the word *דָּבָר* here signifies *devoted*; though no instance, directly in point, can be found in the existing Hebraism. The context renders this meaning indispensable, "Now therefore ye are devoted, and there shall none of you be freed from being the slaves of my God."

The verb *Arar* is in this text a milder substitute for *Charâm*. Whatever was devoted by the vow of *Chêrem* was irretrievably given up, and could not (like things consecrated by a vow of *Neder*) be redeemed. If the object of the vow *Chêrem* were a man, he was doomed to certain and irremissible death; and it was a crime of the heaviest nature to save him. Hence we may conclude that the only legitimate objects of such a vow were enemies among the idolatrous nations taken as captives in war. Joshua would not use the verb *Châram* in application to the Hivites, because this would imply that they were doomed to death; from which it was his intention to save them. He therefore used the word *Arar*, which had originally exactly the same meaning except that it implied no such irremissible doom. The Greek *'Apà* is certainly of the same origin as the Hebrew *Arar*; and from *'Apà* are formed *'Apôquai* (*vota facio*), *'Apaiois* (*imprecationibus diris devotus*), and also *'Aπηρηρ* (*sacerdos*).

men, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water, for the house of my God.”*

It is, we believe, usually supposed, that the condition of the Hivites, as the slaves of the sanctuary, was exceedingly laborious and degraded. But this is very far from the case; it was, in fact, exceedingly honourable, and displayed in a signal manner the clemency of Joshua, and the good disposition, on this point at least, of the Israelites. They were allowed to retain their four cities, and the little district that depended upon them; they still dwelt under the shadow of their diminutive Mount Se'yr; and far from being looked upon as a race of degraded slaves, they were, in fact, treated as a singularly holy people; an inferior order of Levites, who were the proper guardians of the sanctuary, and the ark of the covenant; whose persons were protected by their office, and whom it was a sacrilege to destroy.” This is sufficiently evident from several occurrences related in sacred history.

1. When the Philistines were compelled by the Divine plagues inflicted upon them, to restore the ark of the covenant, which they had taken in battle, they placed it in an 'agalah (or bullock waggon), drawn by two milch kine, whose calves they had previously shut up at home, and permitted the cattle to take their own course, from Ekron to wherever they should be inclined, of their own free-will, or by supernatural influence; rightly conjecturing that, if the kine quitted their calves and proceeded (a distance of twelve miles or more) to Beth-Shemesh,

* Joshua and the Hebrew princes were willing to save the Hivites in pursuance of the treaty; but they were conscious that in so doing they were violating the Divine commandment, that the whole nation of the idolatrous Canaanites should be exterminated. As a species of expiation, therefore, for the breach of the commandment, they dedicated the Hivites to the service of the Lord; and that this offering was graciously accepted, we have abundant proof afterwards, in the manner in which the slaughter of the Gibeonites by the impious Saul was avenged.

† It may be considered that, under the circumstances, the Hivites really suffered no punishment. But it should be recollected that their services were obligatory, and that they received no payment for them. The priests and Levites were maintained at the expense of the whole nation of Israel; but this was not the case with the Hivites. In all ages they were doomed to be servants; and they were servants without wages or maintenance of any kind. It is true the labour was slight and service honourable; and it is creditable to them, that they seem even to the latest period to have performed it zealously. After the edict of Cyrus, twenty out of the twenty-four courses of the priests, notwithstanding the king's permission to return to Judea, preferred to remain in infamy and disgrace in the wealthy land of Babylonia. Not so the Hivites,—the men of Gibeon, Kiryath Ye'arim, Beeroth, and Chepherah, returned to their sacred duties of their own free-will, and when they were at perfect liberty to have shaken off the yoke of the temple. It cannot be denied then that their whole conduct shewed that they merited, by their obedience and gratitude, the indulgence shewn to them.

the nearest sacerdotal city, and which was also on the Israelite border, they must be influenced by the same Divine power which had prostrated the maimed image of Dagon, and inflicted its plagues upon the cities of Philistia. The kine, thus left to their own guidance, took the way towards Beth-Shemesh, which satisfied the Philistines that they were really conducted by the power of the terrible God of Israel; who thus led back the ark of his covenant to the land of his people." But the people of Beth-

* The history will be found in 1 Sam. iv., v., and vi. To render it more intelligible, it may be useful to observe, that it was the custom among the idolatrous nations of the East, that the images of their gods should on great festivals, and other solemn occasions, be placed in moveable shrines, in which they were carried about on the shoulders of the priests. Whenever these nations went out to battle, they also took with them the images of their gods carried in these shrines; and during the march, the priests bearing their sacred burden usually preceded them in the van of their army. If the result of the battle was adverse, the gods of the defeated nation became (if the expression may be allowed) prisoners of war,—the captives of the gods of the conquering people. Two instances of this are mentioned in Scripture, 2 Sam. v. 21, and 2 Chron. xxv. 14; but in the latter case, the vanquished deities became ultimately the conquerors over the superstition of the weak Amaziah.

To the Israelites, the ark of the covenant was exactly what these moveable shrines were to the heathen. It contained no image, because this was contrary to the nature of a pure worship, and to the express injunctions of the Mosaic law. But Jehovah was supposed to honour the ark of the covenant with a peculiar presence; and hence he was described in their sacred poetry, as the "dweller between the cherubim." In all their marches during the Exodus, after they quitted Mount Sinai, the ark of the covenant borne on the shoulders of the priests (Josh. iii. 14) preceded the tribes, and pointed out by its stopping the place of encampment (Num. x. 33). So in their battles the ark appears to have preceded them; for we find it mentioned as an exceptional case, that the ark did not accompany the army in the first expedition against 'Arád (Num. xiv. 44), the reason of which was that the expedition was not only unauthorized, but against the express injunction of Moses.

On their settlement in Canaan, this custom appears to have ceased (1 Sam. iv. 7). But in the time of Eli, the people (in their fear of the Philistines, who were encamped at Aphek) sent to Shiloh for the ark of the covenant in the confident expectation that it would lead them to victory. The ark was brought presumptuously by Hophni and Phinehas (the wicked sons of Eli) without consulting the oracle; and (apparently to punish their presumption) the Israelites were defeated; Hophni and Phinehas slain, and the ark taken by the Philistines. The lords of Philistia, then regarding the God of Israel as the captive of Dagon, placed the ark in the temple of that god; and the ark of Jehovah stood as a prize of war before the apparently victorious image of the fish god.

We need not relate how bitterly their hopes were deceived, nor how Dagon (converted into a devil by the erring glosses of early Christian superstition, and the poetry of Milton) was supposed to have—

"Mourned in earnest when the captive ark
Maimed his brute image."

Nor how the Philistines (afflicted in all their cities) learnt how little their victory availed them.

The priests and diviners (Kosemim) of the Philistines, when consulted, imagined that by yoking milch kine (whose calves were tied up) to the 'Agálah in which the ark was placed, they would obtain a sure indication of the cause of their calamities. If these afflictions were the result of mere chance, the kine

Shemesh, though priests of the family of Aaron, presumptuously opened the ark, an offence which caused a destructive pestilence in the city and its district. In this extremity, they sent messengers to Kiryath Yeârim, desiring the people of that city to fetch the ark. The people of Kiryath Yeârim, it will be recollected, were a part of the Hivite slaves of the sanctuary; and the priests of Beth-Shemesh, in sending for the Hivites, meant no more than to restore the ark of the covenant to the custody of the sacred slaves of the tabernacle; as more worthy than themselves of so holy a deposit.

2. In the same manner, the tabernacle itself, which was originally set up in Shiloh, and afterwards removed to Nob, a city very near the Hivite Tetrapolis,* was transferred from thence, apparently after the murder of the priests by Saul, to Gibeon, the chief city of the Hivites, for the convenience of placing the Nomade temple in the custody of the sacred slaves; and from that time to the days of Solomon, Gibeon became the chief high place of Israel (1 Kings iii. 4); and the whole territory of the Tetrapolis appears to have been regarded as a sort of Holy Land, as being the residence of the devoted servants of the tabernacle.

3. That a peculiar idea of sanctity was attached to the Hivites, is evident from the severe punishment inflicted upon the family of Saul, for the slaughter, by that king, of a considerable number of the people of Gibeon. A famine fell upon the land, in the time of David, which endured for three years (2 Sam. xxi. 1—14). David, reduced to despair, enquired of the Lord what offence on the part of the Israelites had caused this cala-

left to themselves would not quit their calves. If the God of Israel were the avenging power, he would direct the brute animals, contrary to their natural instinct, and conduct them to the nearest sacerdotal city, Beth-Shemesh.

In this point they were not deceived. The kine with their sacred burden set out from the city of 'Ekrôn, the modern 'Akir. They proceeded down the valley in a south-easterly direction, and passed by Timnah, the last town of the Philistines. From hence they proceeded to Beth-Shemesh (Ain Shems). To the borders of this city the lords of the Philistines followed them, and then perfectly convinced returned to their homes.

Beth-Shemesh is mentioned in Josh. xxi. 16, as one of the sacerdotal cities allotted to the children of Aaron. But the priests of this city, like Hophni and Phinehas, were greatly fallen from the purity of their sacred vocation; and the result shewed that even by their own admission, the Hivites of Kiryath Yeârim were more worthy servants of Jehovah at that time than the descendants of Aaron.

* Jerome (in *Epitaphio Paulæ*) places Nob (or Nobah) near Diospolis. It was very probably on the site of Beit Nubah, near 'Amwas. A modern theory places it on Mount Olivet, near Jerusalem; but the arguments in support of this appear insufficient; and the Jebusites must have been blocked up closely indeed, if it were safe to have placed the tabernacle of the congregation so near their city.

He learnt from the sacred oracle, that the cause of this plague upon the land was the murder of the Gibeonites by his ferocious predecessor. Thus apprised, David applied to the Gibeonites, and proposed to make them any atonement in his power, if they would pardon the crime of the homicidal king. The case has been represented as one of blood-revenge, which it certainly was not; but the divine interposition enabled the people of Gibeon to place themselves in the position of the Goël, or avenger of blood, claiming the death of the murderer of his kinsman; or rather to claim a still more extensive satisfaction than was allowed to the Goël by the Mosaic law.

They appear, however, rather to have treated the murder of their kinsmen as a crime against Jehovah himself, than an offence personal to themselves, in which they would be justified in accepting an atonement. Their reply seems to have been that

* The custom of blood-revenge among the Hebrews, and the Mosaic law limiting its operation, have been very much mistaken by some writers, who have confounded their operation with that of the custom of the modern Arabs in similar cases.

A diligent and very useful compiler, the late Dr. Kitto, thus relates his own view of the blood-revenge among the Hebrews: "David has been censured by some writers for consenting to the demand of the Gibeonites; but we have wasted the pains, which, at different times, we have taken, in expounding the doctrine of avengement for blood, if the reader has not perceived that the demand of the Gibeonites was one which the king could not refuse. They might have accepted the blood fine; but this was optional with them. It is a well-known principle of blood-avengement that the heirs and relatives of the blood-shedder are responsible for the blood in their own persons, in case the avenger is not able to reach the actual perpetrator" (*History of Palestine*, p. 491).

Dr. Kitto really wasted his pains in expounding a law which he evidently did not comprehend. The legitimate right of blood-revenge among the Israelites never extended farther than against the slayer himself. The Goël was in no case entitled to revenge against the relatives of the slayer. If it had been so, they must necessarily have fled with the homicide himself to the nearest city of refuge. But nothing of this kind is mentioned by Moses. It would often have been impossible to give notice in time to all the relations to escape; and the number of refugees, under such circumstances, must have been a grievous and often intolerable inconvenience to the stationary inhabitants of the city of refuge.

The Gibeonites did not make any claim to revenge of blood; they expressly negated any such demand. Their claim was founded upon the Divine interference, and the necessity of offering an atonement to terminate the famine; they treated it as a compliance with the demand of the Lord, that the relatives of the guilty (themselves implicated, though not as actual murderers) should perish as an expiation for the people.

It is clear that the seven persons delivered to the Gibeonites were not concerned in the actual commission of the murder; because they were delivered up not as murderers (and therefore within the law of blood revenge), but as relatives of the homicide, whose sacrifice was required by a higher power than that of mere human institutions.

But for the famine and this announcement of the Divine will, it is perfectly clear that no one would have required the blood of any of the surviving relatives of Saul.

of men who considered it their duty to assert their dignity as the servants of the Lord; and to shew that they occupied a proud and important position, which even the kings of Israel would act rashly in daring to violate. "We will have no silver, nor gold for Saul, nor for his house; neither for *us* shall any man in Israel be slain. The man that would have consumed us, and that devised that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel, let seven men of his sons be delivered up unto us, and we will hang them up unto Jehovah" (2 Sam. xxi. 5, 6). The expression, "hang them up unto Jehovah," with the disclaimer, "let no man of Israel be slain for us," satisfactorily proves that the perfidious murder of the Gibeonites by Saul was looked upon as a peculiar offence against the Lord himself in the person of his servants; and this is further proved by the subsequent relation of the actual punishment. "And he" (David) "delivered them" (the seven descendants of Saul) "to the Gibeonites; and they hanged them, on the hill, before Jehovah." If a heavy crime had not been committed against the Deity himself, by the sacrilegious murder of the Gibeonites, as a people peculiarly devoted to Him, the expression, "hanged them up before Jehovah," would surely be superfluous and unintelligible. There was a further crime, of course, comprised in the violation of the treaty entered into by Joshua with the Gibeonites; but this was not of such a nature, nor so immediately directed against the dignity of the Deity himself, that the punishment should be regarded as a solemn expiatory sacrifice, offered to the offended majesty of Jehovah.

Considered in this light, the whole affair assumes an aspect totally different to that in which it has been placed by preceding expounders of the Scriptures. 1. The Gibeonites are completely exonerated from the charge of being influenced by a savage desire of revenge. 2. Some extravagantly absurd imputations, which have been made against the conduct of David, fall at once to the ground; nor, 3, can there be any charge of cruelty with respect to the descendants of Saul; since the expression, "the bloody house," seems to shew decisively that the seven sufferers were implicated indirectly in the savage cruelty and injustice of that ferocious king, who, on a mere suspicion, and that ill-founded, put to death in one day eighty-five of the priests of the Lord, and exterminated every living creature in the city which they inhabited, even to the sucking children and the brute animals (1 Sam. xxii. 18).

One point only remains to be noticed. We apprehend that an important error in the vulgar Hebrew text gives a false colouring to this solemn act of justice. There seems reason to

suspect that the execution took place not at Gibeah of Saul,* as stated in the sixth verse of 2 Sam. xxi., but on the hill of Gibeon.

The execution, at Gibeah of Saul, would have appeared a superfluous act of cruelty, calculated to embitter the feelings of the criminals, without any advantage to the purposes of public justice. At the conclusion of the narrative we learn that they were hung up upon "the hill before Jehovah." This could only have been on the hill of Gibeon, where the tabernacle of the congregation at that time remained. The verse which specifies Gibeah of Saul as the place of execution, contains proofs of inaccuracy which have startled some of the old translators;^a and which seem to justify us in correcting the particular text, so as to make it agree with the general context. The sixth verse thus corrected would be rendered into English as follows; "Let seven of his sons be delivered unto us, in Gibeah of Saul; and we will hang them up to Jehovah, even on the hill of Jehovah;"—*be-har Yehowah*, instead of *bechîr Yehowah*. This exactly agrees with the terms of the ninth verse, *ba-har liphney Yehowah*.

With this observation, we conclude these remarks;—which, we hope, will be found to throw a useful light upon some of the most obscure portions of sacred history.

H. C.

* Gibeah was the birthplace of Saul, and the seat of his family. The execution of the seven criminals in this place would have been rather an insult and degradation to the family of Saul, than a solemn act of public justice for an offence against the Lord.

^a Some of them omit the words " *bechîr Yehowah* " (the elect of Jehovah), and they might well do so, for although Saul was undoubtedly the anointed of the Lord, yet to advert specially to this, (at the precise moment when he was charged by Jehovah himself with a great crime,) would appear little better than a sneer and sarcasm, imputing an injudicious choice to the Deity. Saul fulfilled the purposes for which he was elected, by a wisdom infinitely higher than that of mere humanity; and yet it is certain that he was in some respects a great criminal. The Gibeonites clearly would not have chosen the time when they treated him as a murderer on a large scale to have termed him, *par excellence*, the elect of Jehovah. It seems to us, therefore, beyond a doubt, that *bechîr Yehowah* is an error of transcription for *behar Yehowah*.

ANCIENT AND MODERN COMMENTARIES ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.*

THIS commentary is different, in its entire style, method, and tone, from any modern work which has been written on the Gospels—certainly from any that has been written since Quesnel's *Reflections*. In what, then, does this remarkable difference consist? Does it consist in the fact that other commentaries are doctrinal, whereas the *Plain Commentary* is devotional? This does, in part, express the difference, but without qualifications, only to a very imperfect degree, for on some doctrines, as, for example, on the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the incarnation, and the person of our Lord, the *Plain Commentary* is infinitely fuller and better than any and all of the others. If, however, by this difference is meant that other commentaries on the Gospels (we are speaking of the best) are mainly occupied with doctrinal inferences which more properly belong to a work on the Epistles, while the *Plain Commentary* is mainly occupied in considering the meanings of the identical words and facts recorded,—in a word, that the one is occupied chiefly with doctrinal conclusions, the other with the person of our Lord,—then much has been said, but much which needs qualification still.

For one mind, truly religious in its way, will handle the recorded facts of our Saviour's life after a very different manner from that in which another mind, truly religious in its way, will delay upon them. We remember to have heard an Easter sermon, evidently *intended* to be constructed upon the true ecclesiastical theory of the homily, which, from the minute precision with which it manipulated the facts of the record, became painful "even as an operation,"—and yet we have read homilies in which the same incidents were dwelt upon with equal minuteness, and only to edification. He who remembers that the Lord Jesus is the Son of God, may safely enter upon the holy ground of His "smallest" human acts; he who does not so remember, he who has not had it laid to his heart as no power on earth except the church hath commission to lay it, that "God and man is one Christ" in the unity of the person of the Lord, is always in danger of losing his reverence when he enters upon that holy ground. Not rightly or reverently will he think of

* *A Plain Commentary on the Four Holy Gospels*. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 2 vols. 8vo. 1859. pp. 938. (A reprint of the work published by J. H. and J. Parker, Oxford.) We reprint this paper from the *American Quarterly Church Review*. It is valuable as expressing the views of a large school of modern divines.—Ed. J. S. L.

the movements of the Lord Jesus, who neglects to remember that every motion of the Son of Man is the motion of the Son of God. If the primary fact, that the Word was made flesh, be the great mystery of godliness, then every recorded act and bodily movement of the Saviour is a substantive part of the revelation of that mystery. It surely were not necessary that the Son of Man should pass from place to place by walking,—the fact then that He, being the Son of God, did so pass in space during the period of His mortal sojourn, is a fact having simply an infinitely profounder significance than if it had been written, it might be of John the Baptist, that he passed through the wilderness after the manner of a spirit. The view of the incarnate Word, walking, speaking, motioning with His hand, is assuredly a view which is given by the inspired Gospels,—we mean, such is the form of the inspired record, and this record is assuredly its own justification. We are no more at liberty to neglect to notice the smallest act of our Lord, than we are to neglect to notice the smallest word. In the case of the merely human subjects of inspiration, their common human acts may be of comparatively small importance—we know them to be men, and take for granted that they act accordingly; but in the case of that man, who was the Son of God, His every act and deed are a veritable part of the mystery of godliness: to say of any of these, in a disparaging sense, that they are small, is to use language, the implication of which can be little thought of by those who venture on it.

But we are too speedily anticipating the main body of our subject. It had been our intention, in these introductory remarks, to have exhausted a list of negatives, and in the process to have eliminated most of the attributes in which the *Plain Commentary* is *unlike* the modern generally. After remarking that “*rationalistic*” was *not* in our list, for the reason that we wished purposely to keep out of comparison works so painfully distinguished in this respect as most of the later specimens of Biblical interpretation are, and because the class of commentaries we had in mind in running the contrast,—the so-called “*Evangelical*,”—are *not* to be included, without constant qualification, under this wretched term of rationalistic—we will pass over the several negative attributes set down in our list, and take up the two positive affirmations which we find at the bottom of it.

The words *patristic*, and *profound*, will give us, we think, the positive discrimination, whereby the *Plain Commentary* shall be found essentially to differ from the general body of modern interpretation. The like characteristics will appear, of course, in the expository and devotional writings of such men as Andrews and

Herbert, and of our early writers generally who really appreciated the Fathers, but, for the same reason that the modern habit produces no devotional forms constructed upon the particulars of our Lord's life and person, modern comment has lost the power of habitual edification in the same line. Prayer now constructs its petitions upon certain scholastic (particular) *doctrines*, such as justification, the new birth, experience of grace, etc. Ancient prayer constructed its petitions upon Christ, that it might *know Him*, the power of His resurrection, the fellowship of His sufferings. Had it fallen to the modern habit to make the litany, (the mere supposition is startling,) the petitions commencing "By the mystery of thy holy incarnation" would never have been thought of. The ancient devotional offices are marked by a spiritual articulation making them to differ, in their way, from the elaborate abstraction which characterizes the modern, even as the channelled shaft in Gothic cutting differs from the pragmatic tameness of the pilastered Italian pier. And so, remote, as we fear, our illustration may seem, the entire patristic style and method, the whole body of their writings, differs from the modern. As the Gothic builders took the cue of nature, and followed her leadings, and produced a style at once mystically glorious and articulately real, so the Fathers, with a like child-like faith, bent over the very words of inspiration, followed where they led, traced them where they marked, believed whatever resulted from their collation, and produced a body of comment which—to pursue the illustration—bears a like relation to the Scriptures that the cathedral bears to nature—it is its counterpart. Now this cannot be said of the modern commentaries. The best that can be said of them is that they may be the counterpart to a given portion of the subject-passage; we know of none that professes to take up each word of inspiration and follow out its meaning in the way of Scriptural collation, as does the *Plain Commentary*. But this is precisely the method of the Fathers. They believed the words of Scripture to be the words of God, and they believed all that is implied when it is said of each and every word, 'that it is a word of God,' and they laboured with reverent assiduity to ascertain the full meaning, in each instance, according to its Scriptural usage, *not* according to the demands of a foregone dogmatic conclusion,—not according to a habit which places a mental process where inspiration has placed a perpetual reality. When, for example, our Lord spoke of water to Nicodemus, the Fathers believed that water was meant,—what was further meant by water they ascertained by a careful study of the inspired symbolism. They never built up a spiritual interpretation by means of a process which destroys the letter, as

is with such painful frequency the modern usage in building up a doctrinal interpretation. We venture to say, that no case of patristic comment can be produced, even from Origen himself, in which the letter of Scripture has received such treatment as the third and sixth chapters of St. John have received at the hands of modern commentators. That the patristic method has resulted in *mystical* interpretations, follows of course; such is the inspired method itself. There are very few quotations in the New Testament from the Old, which do not acquire their force from this fact. But if by *mystical* is meant unreal and vague, then we hold the term to be far more deservingly applied to the productions of the modern school. In themselves they—the modern commentaries—may be straightforward and four-square as a piece of Dutch gardening; but in the attempt to make them connect fully and exhaustively with the Scriptures commented upon, they will be found vague to the last degree, vague with the kind of vagueness which characterizes everything which is so extremely artificial. It is in fact the indefatigable reality of the patristic comment, which, more than anything else, confounds our present mental habits. We will venture to make the same remark as it respects the Holy Scriptures. It is easy enough, for example, to spiritualize the account of the temptation in Paradise, at the expense of the letter, in the same way that *water* is interpreted to be *spirit* in the third of St. John and then dropt out as if the word were not there,—it is the literal fact which most confounds the prevailing method. It is easy to say of the incident narrated in St. John ix. 6, that it is symbolical of this or that; but to construct a spiritual comment of which the fact itself shall form the perpetual and substantial ground, is not an easy task. The modern method of spiritualizing the articulate realities of mystical Scriptures is of a piece—to revert again to our architectural illustration—with the “revived-classic” way of idealizing the mystic precision of the Gothic groining into the smooth impertinence of the Roman ceiling! It is indeed wonderful to see with what ease the modern comment is able to ignore the outstanding facts of inspired writ. Wonderful, that is, when we consider whose words are the subject of comment;—when considered on mere metaphysical ground, independent of the sanctions which we should suppose would operate to restrain it, and which not so operating, the modern comment is growing more and more *irreligious*—the phenomenon ceases to be wonderful. It is part and parcel of the universal sway of a scientific method. The spirit which is so analyzing the world and all things, that the concrete reality everywhere has come to stand to our minds as the mere result of the operation of laws, instead

of being the pure creations which they are,—even the same spirit has entered the domain of Scripture, and hewed the living trees of inspiration into timbers.

It is no part of our intention to cast unqualified disparagement upon the works of modern commentators. The pious labours of Henry and Scott in this line, are still most useful—more so than most that have followed them. Nor do we deny all utility to the modern school, strictly so called, and which has taken its growth from the German exegesis. It is confessedly of the utmost importance that we should know we have the text of Holy Scripture, and that we should be acquainted with the power of every word of the same, *so far as science can help us*,—which we take to be the sum and substance of what German scholars have been doing in the matter. As it respects the temper of mind in which they—the best of them—have sat over their work, may we be saved from it! It is only pernicious. It will communicate itself to minds otherwise reverent of Holy Writ. We have never known a single instance of a Biblical scholar having to any extent devoted himself to the study of their labours, who has wholly escaped the contagion of their irreverent spirit. Neander, Olshausen, and Tholuck we take to be the best of the German commentators, but if we are to attain to the benefit of their labours only at the expense of losing our dread of their irreverence, then it is our hope that we may remain in happy ignorance of that benefit. But now, both as it respects the strictly modern exegetical school, and the less modern “evangelical” expository schools of Biblical interpretation, we feel compelled to say of the whole of them, that on the score of a profound and fruitful comprehension of the inspired Word, they are well nigh infinitely behind the Fathers. We do not, as we have said, put down the labours of the modern commentators at nothing; we cannot believe that any one generation has been without some useful cotemporary helps for the understanding of Holy Scripture, and we may hope that the toils even of infidel lexicographers shall be made in some way to contribute good service—we would thankfully admit the portion of good in all—but we must maintain that in comparison with what the patristic commentators attained to, the whole body of the modern is but a portion—a fragmentary and superficial portion. The richest comment of the evangelical school has never found Christ in the Canticles as Theodoret has—all that has been written on St. John is fractional and superficial indeed, when compared with St. Augustine. What the modern way of interpretation is to *result* in, we cannot tell,—we hope for the best; but that it shall result in much, except as it goes back to the patristic *method* of

handling Scripture, we can never believe. If we are not at present in a transitional condition, which is to be perfected by a reverting to this method, then we are prepared to say, "Let the modern comment go, let it pass away for nought, let us have the Fathers and nothing but the Fathers." Perhaps Owen on Hebrews, and Tholuck on St. John, are, on the whole, the most classical specimens of the post-patristic school;—we would be willing to test the whole question as to the comparative merits of the ancient and modern comment, by placing St. Chrysostom alongside the one, and St. Augustin alongside the other. Or, we would be willing to test the question thus—take *any* commentator who has written for the last two hundred years, and *he* will be found invariably the most instructive and the most profound, who is most familiar with the writings of the Fathers. Daillé on Colossians is altogether the richest piece of comment which we have found among the continental Reformed—its richness is due to its familiarity with patristic exposition, a richness which Daillé's polemical attitude to the Fathers on other grounds, and the hardening dogmatism of his theology, could not wholly exclude. A man cannot range in *these* gardens without bringing away something of their fragrance and fruitage—a man may range, or tramp rather, over the beaten ground and amid the shingle glare of much modern comment, and bring away little but dryness in his spirit. What he *does* gather of "prosperous fruit" will generally be some waif from the patristic field.

Or, yet again, we will offer one more test; let the devout man, and the man that is seeking to become more and more devout—let this man, whose devotional food among uninspired writers has been drawn from any of those commonly called evangelical—let him become familiar with the meditations of Augustine, or the Imitation of A Kempis—and we venture to say that in every case the thought of going back to his old favourites will be a thought as of dryness, dissatisfaction, and painfulness. And now we will go on to say, that for the same reason the same result will follow the familiar (uncritical) use of the *Plain Commentary*. If the reader's handbook on the Gospels heretofore has been among some of the latter works, he will throw the volume from his hands and remove it from his house; if it has been in Scott, he will retain his Scott for occasional reference; but he will make the *Plain Commentary* his *vade mecum*; he will find the wonderful things of the law set forth in a way he never saw before; he will find words, incidents, and events, surcharged with meanings which he had passed over as common things; he will find his attention drawn to the most edifying meditation of divine mysteries; he will find Christ everywhere.

It may seem hard if we shall say that the *Plain Commentary* differs from the modern generally, in that it is full of Christ; but such is nevertheless the fact. The best that can be said of the best of modern comments is, that it is full of the doctrine of salvation. The Gospels, according to the will of the Spirit, are full of Christ; of the Epistles, it may be said, that they are full of the doctrine of Christ. The Gospels never leave us without the presence of the Lord; it is of Him that they speak from beginning to end, and speak in such a way as to keep the person of our Redeemer in constant view. The Epistles may for a moment leave the Lord's person, if we may so speak, in order to discourse of His work and the effects of it. But only for a short mental moment do even the Epistles thus hold the doctrine of atonement apart from the person of the Saviour. It is true that the Apostle to the Gentiles does, in one of his Epistles, stop to argue the question of justification, but he argues in such a way as to shew us that this, as well as every other doctrine, is nothing apart from His body, whom God raised up. Whatever of argumentation is done by inspired writers, upon the work of atonement, is so done as to *unite* that work with the flesh of the Word, never so done as to divide them. While, therefore, it is an obvious and allowable distinction to say that the Gospels give us the history of the Lord, and the Epistles give us the doctrines of salvation; yet it must ever be borne in mind that no inspired writing gives any doctrine of salvation apart from the person of Christ; that the substance of the Gospels is the substance of the Epistles; that the beginning, middle, and end of the one is that of the other; Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, the Son of God, crucified for our sins, raised for our justification; God manifest in the flesh, made manifest by the church in the saints. In accrediting, then, to the modern comment a fulness of the doctrine of salvation, we must not be understood to admit that it has this fulness in a way analogous to the inspired Epistles. It has it somewhat as the early chapters of the Epistle to the Romans would have it, had the doctrine of the resurrection and of baptism been left out. *The modern comment has separated the doctrine of the atonement from the person of the Lord.* Of this, there can be no more certain evidence than the fact that we find so many of its readers who can speak much of Christ, and yet have little abiding impression of the flesh of the Son of Man. We narrate a simple fact, when we declare that we were once put to it, and found it no easy labour to help an aged believer, who had been living upon the "doctrine of justification," to realize her Christian hope as existing in that body which Thomas handled.

The doctrine of salvation is tied to the person of Christ, in

the Epistles, by means of the doctrine of the church and sacraments. We are justified by the faith of Him, into whom we are baptized. Now, it is for ever impossible for the critical method—and such is the method of all unpatristic comment—to hold fast to this use of the church and sacraments. Nay, it is impossible for the critical mind to hold fast to the meaning of a New Testament symbol. How can anything short of faith manage with such sayings as, “I am the vine, ye are the branches.” “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of one of these, ye have done it unto Me?” *The church, Christ’s body; do this in remembrance of Me; baptized into His death, burial, and resurrection*; these are the very instruments of the true comment, but these are the very instruments which the critical comment cannot possibly manage. It is possible to conceive such a commentator being doctrinally orthodox on the separate questions; it is *not* possible to conceive of his doing otherwise than laying each separate doctrine carefully away in a box by itself. Nothing short of a spirit of implicit faith in the words of inspired Scripture can understand that every *verbum Dei* of Holy Writ, is *verbum Deus* of the Holy Gospel; and such alone is competent to make a comment which shall be to any adequate degree a counterpart of that concerning which it undertakes to speak.

Take a single phase of this vast subject—that of the fact of our Lord’s resurrection. Now, what modern comment makes any such use of this fact as the inspired writers of the Epistles made? What substantive, ever-present place, for example, has the fact of Christ’s risen body, in the scheme, as now held, of justification by faith, or of the emotional sense of the experience of grace? Have we not heard thousands of sermons on justification and the new birth, that gave the hearer no bodily Christ—that left him with an abstract of the doctrine of salvation? And is it not to this abstract that but too often the name of Christ is given? The one word of invitation to sinful men, by the Gospel, is, “Come unto Me and be saved.” Now, if any man think he can discuss the doctrine of the atoning work of Christ, and make it clear for men, otherwise than by discussing the same in connexion with the very person of Christ, let him know that he is undertaking that which was not undertaken by inspired writers, and that he is assuredly dividing what God has joined. Such doctrine *must* trouble men’s souls. Whoso leaves a man with a doctrine of salvation which is not the doctrine of Christ’s person, assuredly he leaves the man in a dry spot. And this is what the *Plain Commentary* does not do, but does its opposite to a wonderfully successful degree. It strikes us with constant wonder that *any* modern mind has been able so gene-

rally to attain to the patristic method. We would far rather put this volume into the hands of a person anxiously inquiring after the way of salvation, than any volume of sermons or manual of directions we have seen. And for the same reason we should rejoice to see it in the hands of every one who is in any way called to give religious teaching—parents, pastors, and trainers of Sunday-school classes.

The other kind of teaching, doctrinal teaching, so called—doctrinal teaching done in any other way than that which the *Plain Commentary* follows—is always exposed to the danger of leaving the individual with a mere mental abstract of the truth; with a formula, instead of the reality. However useful doctrinal formulas may be in theology, they are of little use in holy living. It is assuredly of use to know that we are justified by faith; it is of no use to know the doctrine, if we hold it apart from Him into whom we are baptized. Each and every doctrine of salvation possesses substantive truth only in Christ—the doctrine, or the preaching, or the thinking of it, which does not draw the individual to Him, is an empty beating of the air. “O that I might get near Him, that I might touch but the hem of His garment, that He would give me that living water, that He would give me His flesh to eat;” these are the demands of the universal heart of man in his time of need; and these are demands which no mere doctrine of salvation can ever satisfy. It is the “*mystical man*,” namely, the spiritual, which makes these demands; and the mystical man is that very man which perishes, if it have not reality and fact given to it. Of this word, *mystical*, we shall attempt no further definition than merely to say that it always and invariably has its foundation in that which is most express, actual and real; and that it is always destroyed by substituting a thought in the place of that foundation. Now, there is a system of religious teaching, the immediate object of which is to set forth union with Christ—and there is a system, the immediate object of which is to set forth union with the doctrine and experience, so called, of salvation. The one system makes constant use of the personal history of the Lord, and of His personal representatives, such as the church, the sacraments, His presence in the saints, in the poor, in the maimed, in little children. The *doctrines* with which this system operates, will be the doctrines of the creed; which doctrines are remarkable in this respect, that they cannot be dealt with apart from the person of the Redeemer. The other system makes little real use of the personal history of the Saviour; scarcely any of the doctrine of His person. It rather esteems such kind of teaching to be unprofitable, possibly unspiritual. It would judge it more salutary,

for example, to preach a course of sermons on the attributes, abstractly considered, than to shew forth the character of the Godhead as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ. It prefers thinking about "experiences," to meditating on Christ. It is more at home with the clouds of Sinai than with the child in Bethlehem. It takes more naturally to the Sabbath than to the day of the Son. The fact that the air we live in has felt the movements of the incarnate Word, has no reality for it. It prefers to go back to the "Word made flesh," and to pass by the "Word made flesh," as if there were anything which has been made known to us of God, out of Christ. Of course this system makes little use of the church as Christ's body, or of the sacraments, or of the poor, or of sufferers, or of children, or of the things of the natural world and of providence, as His bodily and personal representatives. Indeed, it has no conception of the symbol, "The church Christ's body," other than as a figure of speech! This, too, the system which complains of the figurative comments of the Fathers! Now, we say that the system which thus sets forth the doctrine of Christ, must, in the nature of things, often impart the figure of the doctrine without imparting any substantial symbol of the reality; in a word, must leave the individual with a subjective notion, to which he gives the name of one who is the Son of God. We have no difficulty in saying that such is a most unwholesome system of teaching. If any man think he have warrant for it in the doctrinal teachings of the Epistles, let him see if he can find an Epistle without the church, the sacraments, the presence of Christ in the saints, and in the world; let him consider that solemn charge of the apostle, especially claimed to be doctrinal, "*Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead according to my Gospel.*" The *Plain Commentary* throughout proceeds upon the principle that the doctrines of salvation are to be promulgated as growing out of Christ; in no sense out of human thought. It simply follows the lead of the Gospels on which it is commenting. And if at any time carried beyond its direct guidance, it is careful to proceed in an equal line of direction. When it ceases to represent the Lord in immediate connexion with His personal history, it goes on to do so in the way directed at the close of the Gospels. Neither of these methods can the other system adhere to. The personal acts of the Lord stand rather in its way; its thought cannot comprehend them, its mind cannot dwell upon them, it is so accustomed to ideas that *things* are an obstacle to it, it is so used to figures that forms and deeds have little reality for it; much less, then, can it take its stand, in teaching, alongside the sacramental representatives of the

ascended Saviour. Not having learned to be at home throughout the Gospel history, it cannot be expected to find itself at home at its end. He who has not found the Lord in all which He has done, will not be likely to "make disciples" in all the way which He has commanded.

But more than this, and back of this—the modern system, (we continue to call it so merely for convenience, meaning, of course, the non-patristic,) this Puritan system, which has effected the separation, of which we have been speaking, between the doctrine of salvation and the very person of the Word, has made a deeper separation in the Lord's person. It is no part of our intention to do more than refer again to this mysterious subject. But we feel that it is at this point more than any other that the modern way of dealing with the records of inspiration, and especially with the Gospel history, comes short. There are many things which the critical mind can hold together: the two natures of our Lord in one divine person, is what it cannot hold together. The critical mind, and by the critical mind we mean that which places its own reasonings and figures where the words and the forms of Holy Writ alone have place and residence; this critical mind, this abstract doctrinal faculty, can never frame its speech rightly in speaking of the incarnate Word and wisdom of God. It ever speaks as if there were two persons—as if the Son of Man were a separate being from the Son of God. The modern view could by no conceivable possibility have framed the Athanasian Creed.

If for no other reason than that we might learn to think and speak rightly of the divine wisdom, would we rejoice to know that a copy of the *Plain Commentary* were in every Christian family. We know of no single book, certainly of no commentary, which would promise so much. It is, by the way, a point very plainly to be noticed that the right phraseology, as it respects the proper view of our Lord's person, has been preserved by church writers only. We do not mean to say, that continental and denominational theology has entirely lost the true doctrine; we do mean to say, that neither in thought or speech is it familiar with the truth; nor are we able to see how this should be expected. We have already made the remark, that to the church has been committed the keeping of the mystery. Blot out the church, and assuredly there remains no body on earth to say that God is three in the unity of one, and that God the Word, and Jesus the Lord, are one Christ. And if there were any other body to say it, it would say it in vain, because human reason is not competent to say it otherwise than in vain.

There is no fuller test of the modern lack of a right fami-

liarity with the orthodox faith at the most serious point under consideration, than the almost utter incompetency of modern comment in dealing with the narrative of our Saviour's life. It seems able to perceive readily the Divine person, only in its miraculous acts. The Saviour walking on the water astounds it into adoration; Jesus walking on the land, excites no adoring wonder; it can only be because it sees in that Jesus some other than the person of the Word of God! Whereas, if it looked rightly upon the one Lord, Son of David and Son of God, it could never forget that His acts are all divine, all miraculous, and all infinitely significant. The right view sees the Son of God, our Lord and God, as readily seated at the well of Sychar, or standing by the grave of Lazarus in the hands of men,—as on the mount of transfiguration. Indeed, with a certain profounder readiness, inasmuch as it is more wonderful that God should be seen and handled, than that Christ should take on His own glory. It is not, however, with the ordinary human acts of our Lord that the critical method owns itself at fault, it is able to make no more account of them than if they were the acts of a human person; nor is it with those acts which are more manifestly divine, for these readily excite its wondering adoration. The class of incidents in the life of our Lord, which reveal as by a touchstone this most serious incompetency of modern interpretation, are those confessedly *mystical*; such as His action in curing the blind and the dumb with earth and spittle, in suffering virtue to pass through His garment, in taking bread after His resurrection. Of these acts, the most the critical system can say, is that they are “symbolical;” and *symbolical*, on its lips, means—the shadow of a shadow—means simply *nothing*. The acknowledged mystical acts of our Lord the *Modern Comment* can make nothing of, except by a process which evaporates the fact in which alone the mystery consists. And how should it be otherwise? Has it not done the same with the sacrament, which is the very instrument of the mystical vision of inspired words? Has it not—we must ask it—has it not done the like with the very body? Is it any wonder, then, that it should fail to recognize in the human the ever divine, and in the mystical the truly natural? It owns the Word, it sees the flesh; the Word made flesh it does not always see. It fears to worship Jesus in the tomb. It cannot remember that the Word made flesh is the substance of the revelation of God. It does not see that Word *in* the word; the word of inspiration, the word of creation, or the word of providence. It is not aware of Christ as at the head of the whole creature, does not behold Him in the church, does not perceive Him by the angels. How, then,

should it not be put to confusion when it hears that from out His own flesh He breathed on them the Holy Ghost, or when Thomas thrusting his hand into that flesh was constrained to say, "My Lord and my God."

When the Word was made flesh He took and made part of his Divine person the dust of the ground. This earth is *not* the same that it was before the feet of the Son of Man trod upon it. This air is not the same that it was before the Son of God breathed it. This water is not the same it was before the Lord drank of it, and was baptized in it. This bread is not the same it was before the Lord ate of it, and took it into his hands and blessed and multiplied it. It is *something* that God the Son hath taken into himself the creature which he made. *What* that something is, we cannot tell; but we know that it *is*, for there is no profounder reality and truth than the body of the Lord Jesus. If *this* be not so, if *he* rose not from the dead, then are we of all creatures most miserable. Such acts, therefore, as our Lord's healing, raising the dead, multiplying bread by the touch of his hand; acts which must be symbolized into emptiness and made as if they were not by the critical mind, are those which are the very household symbols of the faith of his Divine person. Every act, proper to the human nature of our Lord, was at the same time the act and deed of the Divine person of the Word. If no word of God has ever been in vain, so no act of Christ was ever in vain. The movement of the hand of Christ is the movement of that Being by whom the worlds were made, in whom all things subsist, and by whom all things are reconciled unto God. It is for ever impossible to acknowledge this, except by the faith which acknowledges our God and Redeemer as one Christ. That faith, which is the truth as *it is* in Jesus, sees equally in his natural and in his "supernatural" acts, one Redeemer, one Lord.

The entire Gospel history, and every iota of the same, is, to faith, the history of Emmanuel. It believes that in that history every word of God is real and true. It believes that when the body of the Lord came into the world the Son of the Highest came. If it has been anxious to let no word of Jehovah, when the ministry was that of angels, escape its reverent heed, it will be careful most surely that it shall lose no word of Him who is the "builder of this house." Every act, and deed, and incident of Christ is such a word. It cannot sit when Jesus speaks, it cannot stand when Jesus walks, it will not sleep when Jesus kneels. It will think, and yearn, and meditate, over everything that is said of him, as of a thing the most veritable, real, and true, of all the things it can bring into connexion with its own

being. To its view the whole period and enclosure of the Gospel history, every event, every incident, every movement of the narrative—the air, the ground, the fields, the streets, of these and all, it is *something* that the God of heaven came into personal contact with them through the body of his flesh. And such is, in reality, the virtual belief of the Christian world. Every Christian heart feels that Jacob did a natural thing in raising a monument on the ground made holy even by the vision of the Son of Man. The holy places of the Holy Land still attract the heart of Christendom. The stoutest Puritan that ever lived, if he really believed that Jesus of Nazareth was his Lord and God, would fall down before the authentic mark of the footprint of his Saviour—would have the same feeling in view of the marks of the tracings of his finger on the ground, which he would have in view of the identical tables written in the mount. The air, the water, the ground, the winds and skies, the streets and cities, the houses and the tombs, and the whole era of the Gospel histories, are, to the earnest and longing vision of faith, filled with such tracings, even with the marks of the progress of the Son of God from Bethlehem to Olivet, in the work of man's salvation; and every such tracing is of the very body, the very hand, the very breath, of God the Lord.

Is not the Gospel record in some veritable way a counterpart of the Lord himself? And is it possible that a book, written on the "manly and sensible" scheme demanded by the age, could answer the religious needs of nineteen centuries of men, possibly to some extent of angels, and of the centuries yet to come? If a mere human book becomes universal in the proportion it is mystical, as all books containing true poetry are, must not every word of the Bible possess a mystical power? If the Word of inspiration had been uttered from the throne of God immediately, should we judge that any one of the words so spoken were merely a common word? How then any the more common, because given through the ministry of angels and men? How any more common, because brought by the Word himself? And because we say the words possess a mystical power, do we thereby unsettle their sense and reality? We do not, except to the mind which sees not that the breathing which conveyed the Spirit to the Apostles was the breathing with which the Saviour slept in the ship: and the mind which does not so see, makes the acts of Christ phantasmal, and much of the Inspired Word anecdotal! It must be remembered that these Fathers, who are so charged with *mystifying* the Word of Inspiration because they believed the Spirit of God in every word and incident, are the very men who cling to the flesh and

body of Christ, in a way which the same school considers carnal! No, it was *because* they believed that the flesh of Jesus was conceived by the Holy Ghost, that they believed it to be true flesh; and it was because they believed the words of inspiration filled with the same Spirit, that they believed them to be real and living words. The modern world does not, as it seems to us, approach towards having the unconquerable sense of the divine reality of either the Word of Inspiration, or of the flesh of the Word, which was patent to the Fathers.

We say that the modern process obliterates the letter, substituting its own mental conclusions. The patristic method finds the solution of the mystery *in* the letter, and ties it to the letter; in a word, the patristic comment on the Word of inspiration is precisely of the same nature with its comment on the person of the Word. It separates not the doctrine of salvation from the body of the Lord, it divides not the person of the Word from the flesh of the Son of Man. To them it *was* the very words of inspiration, which were spirit and life; it was *not* the human, mental conclusions concerning these words. The Fathers believed that the pronunciation of the inspired Word had power; the modern spirit, where truly Christian, believes the same, and *gives* the Word to the sick when their minds are at the weakest, and to the insane and insensible, who seem to have no mind at all; but it goes directly in the face of its own theory in so doing. If the Word of inspiration is not a mystical Word, then it can be of no service to the man whose mind is not at the point of "manly thinking." Thanks be to God, that the heart of man need not in all things follow his head; blessed be God that we all know of humble saints to whom the Words of Inspiration are a power which dictionaries and grammars know nothing of! Thanks be to God that that Book of Psalms, which no mortal man has ever written of with full intelligence, not even the Fathers who have done the most and best of all, can nevertheless be learnt upon the knees. But let the modern comment undertake to teach one how to pray the sixty-ninth Psalm. The most it can do is to divide and insulate the parts: "This verse is Messianic; that portion belongs to the author alone; the imprecations are prophetic; this is the-anthropical, that anthropological." On the other hand, hear St. Augustine: "We that are made the body of Christ, let us not fail to recognize our own voice in the Psalms, and other Scriptures. Christ—wheresoever in those books, wheresoever in those Scriptures, I am journeying and panting for breath, in that sweat of our face which is part of our sentence as men—Christ is there openly or secretly to refresh me. He only who

finds no pleasure in these holy manifestations of Christ, is *turned unto fables*." The one, in phrases the very sound of which is chilling, can but apportion the passage into parts severally distinct and conflicting, as it respects any real unity of appropriation; the other, with a language whose every word savours of the unction of the sanctuary, encloses the whole passage, still severally divided, in the one ark, in relation to which the man of prayer is both actively and passively *Theophorus*. Even so and always is the modern comment *divisional* throughout, and so it must be, because it is under the guide of the intellect; at the same time, therefore, it is and must be *visionary*. The patristic alone is constructive and properly edifying, inasmuch as it is under the guide of faith. Union with Christ, by the church his body, by the saints his members, by the sacraments his representatives, and by faith his gift; this gives the key to its method. It believes that every word of Scripture is a word of God, that every event and incident concerning the Saviour is an event and incident concerning Emmanuel, and with child-like faith it tarries by that word and meditates upon the incident, until it feels a meaning. Now, this child-like faith in the Word of inspiration, is that in which consists the immeasurable profoundness of the patristic comment, and which is the manliness of the full stature of the "child of the kingdom." The patristic comment has a sense and consciousness of the very and everywhere present Word, and wisdom, and goodness of God in Christ, the like of which is not known to the modern. It has a body, and a spirit, to which the excessive intellectualism of the modern is but as a Docetic vision. Not until thought and prayer shall have become far more deeply coincident than they are in the present age, may we expect the prevailing modern comment to give us any real assistance in the Psalms, or on the Gospels.

All that we have said of the patristic comment, we have been saying at the same time of the *Plain Commentary*; except that the *Plain Commentary* is restrained by the pressure of the times from fully carrying out the patristic method. It is, indeed, as it seems to us, rather too cautious, at certain points. We will give an example. Speaking of the miracle of the loaves (page 691), "It cannot be without an object, that St. John has thus reminded us that these were '*barley* loaves.' What may that object therefore be presumed to be? And why do all the Evangelists so often state that the loaves were *five* in number? Are we simply to see in the material of the loaves an indication of the *season* of the year: in their number, a careful distinction of the present miracle from that other occasion when *seven* loaves

furnished forth a banquet for four thousand? The perfect safety of such criticism forcibly recommends it to writers and readers of every description; and, very far are we from disparaging a style of remark which we believe to be in itself perfectly true, and which is doubtless highly valuable also. But the question arises, Is this the *whole* truth? May there not have been yet another object in the writer's mind for dwelling on the fact that the present miracle was wrought with *five* loaves of *barley* bread? But we forbear to speculate. It shall suffice to have invited the reader's attention to the subject, and to have avowed our own suspicions. The reference of the present miracle to the coming sacrifice of Christ, and to the benefits consequent thereon, is, however, something more than a mere matter of opinion."

We quote this passage as shewing the author's general carefulness in the above description of symbolism, and at the same time to enter a protest against the times, which necessitate such caution on the part of so competent a writer. Suppose that in these five loaves, or in the five porches, or in the five books of Moses "the Prophet," or in the five stones which David drew from the water of the brook, we are reminded of our own five senses, and then of the flesh of the Word to which we are united in our baptism, in which we have the keeping of the law, and conquer Satan, and have our healing, and live the life of grace; is *this* of no utility? One certainly would not make the doctrine of the Incarnation to grow out of the number five; but in a book which is characterized from Genesis to Revelation by mystical numbers, one is certainly at liberty to draw all possible edification from them. It is not mystification so to do, it is reverence, and the very highest good sense. Or suppose, in reading the other miracle of the loaves, the number *seven* should remind us that He who wrought with the *five*, is one with Him by whom the world was made? Again, we ask, have we gained nothing? Is it nothing if a *number* has brought us nearer to the truth that God and man are one Christ; that by the flesh he gives, the world hath life; that he has overcome the Goliath who for "forty days" has been accursing our souls? The comment which denies us, this is the comment that sees no Spirit in the wind, finds no Christ in the water, gives no angels to the children, and speaks with a conciliatory beseeching towards science when it speaks of *any* miracle! We would rather be a child and believe all things, than be the grown man who can walk upon the earth once pressed by the feet of the Son of God, and have a care to diminish miracles!

But while the *Plain Commentary*, wisely, perhaps, for the sake of the times, abstains from a considerable portion of the

field of patristic symbolism, it does not by any means fail to find edification from those portions of the inspired record which the critical method passes over as mere human accidents in the grammar of the narrative. One could make a very instructive volume of excerpts from the *Plain Commentary* on parts of the inspired narrative, which the general method passes over altogether. It is, indeed, this characteristic of the book which makes it so singularly rich and edifying. And it is this which gives it its proper name of "*Plain*" *Commentary*, and which results in its being so profound. We shall but repeat ourselves in saying that it is because it bends over every word as over a word of God. It is the same quality which makes the volume so exceedingly valuable to the sick. We wish not to go into the metaphysics of the matter, but we all know that we become recipients of truth by very different mental processes;—and among these the act of *meditation* is confessedly the most fruitful kind of thinking done upon divine things. It is characteristic of this act that it is done upon *things* rather than upon inferences and conclusions. Our Saviour is not only the teacher of the way, he is the way,—he is truth, and life, and wisdom itself. We shall always do well to fix our view on the *things of Christ*, on the concrete forms of divine realities, at least as much as the Gospels simply followed will lead us to do. It is not upon doctrines that we meditate, it is upon facts, incidents, looks—it is upon Christ; a single, well-remembered look of a departed friend will do more than anything else to bring him to mind. We can confidently say that the *Plain Commentary* is a book never to be taken in hand without profit, when we are in that state of mind which longs for spiritual refreshment, and cannot bear the thought of mental agitation. Scott is far too *hard* a book for such a state of mind. Doddridge is a weariness. What, then, shall we say of the rest? The *Plain Commentary* is a blessing for the sick, for those who keep days of private fasting, and for all who desire an inexhaustible fund of devotional reading, and are tired of the private thoughts even of the pious. We know of a Christian lady who lately died a most remarkably pious death, from whose hands the *Plain Commentary* was never absent during the period of her illness. For the space of a year she read no other books, studying it thoroughly and verifying all the references. We have, in several instances, recommended this book to young persons when in a more than usually serious state of mind—and always with the same good effect—that of a most cordial interest in its pages, and an expression of gratified astonishment at its singular richness and suggestiveness. No book we know of will so take the mind by the hand, so to speak,

and lead one forth amidst the things of holy Inspiration. We have already compared the word of inspired Scripture to the word revealed in creation. He who takes us by the hand and points out to us the beauty of natural objects, does more for us than the man who reads us a chapter on æsthetics—so the *Plain Commentary* does more than the *Modern Comment* generally. Nor are we led under its guidance simply to the little rivulets and the narrow spots of the vast scene of the Gospel history—we are in the hands of a leader who follows whither *he is led*—and who, with the equal reverence and simplicity of one who knows no greater or smaller among the things of God, bends over the lily of the valley or lifts his believing vision upward from the base of the great mountains. For power of statement as to the great mysteries of godliness, and the practical bearings of the same, the book is incomparable. If we were asked for a volume which should best tell one what may be known of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the practical bearing of the whole subject of the atonement, we should unhesitatingly say the *Plain Commentary* is the best. If we were asked what would you recommend a commencing sermonizer to do, with a view of enriching his discourses, and of avoiding the prevailing complaint of emptiness and tediousness of the modern sermon, we would propose that for the space of a year the *Plain Commentary*, with Augustine on St. John, should be the constant study.

Let us give an instance of the writer's habit of drawing instruction from those parts of the inspired narrative which we generally pass over as having no more than a *mere* narrative force. We will quote a short paragraph from p. 675, where at the end of his comment on the fiftieth verse of the fourth chapter of St. John, he says,—

“It seems worth pointing out that as our Saviour abode for ‘two days’ at Sychar, and then restored the young man, so also when he heard that Lazarus was sick ‘he abode two days in the same place where he was,’ and then announced his intention of going to ‘awake him out of sleep.’ Were not these acts typical of his own resurrection ‘on the third day?’ according to that of the prophet,—‘After two days will he revive us; in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight.’”

Again, we ask, is there nothing edifying in this—is there no gain here as compared with the method which finds no remembrancer of Christ in the incidents mentioned? “But it adds nothing to the sum of my knowledge of Christ.” Nay, but it does. It may not add anything which one could write down precisely, nevertheless it adds to the sum of your knowledge

of Christ, whenever you make one more thing, experience, or want, to remind you of him. When you awake from sleep and are reminded that of Christ it was said, "I laid me down and slept, I awoke, for the Lord sustained me," when you see a little child eating bread and are reminded that Christ ate bread—you have increased the sum of your knowledge of Christ.

Again: test the modern and the patristic comment in the following passage.

"They bring unto him one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his speech; and they beseech him to put his hand upon him. And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spit, and touched his tongue; and looking up to heaven, he sighed, and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened."^b

The patristic method of dealing with a passage such as this, in which every word is mystical and every word *was done*, is simply this,—it believes the Incarnation to be a reality, namely, that the Word, or God, the Second Person of the adorable Trinity, was made flesh, so as that God the Son and the human nature of Christ are one Lord in the Divine Person of the Saviour. It believes, therefore, the hand, the finger, the mouth, the spittle, the eyes, the sigh, and every particular part of the action, to be the very property and deed of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. So believing, and so *having learned* to believe, the passage became full to overflowing with Christ—the Messiah of whom the law and the prophets spoke—it was to them what the account of the giving of the law is to us, but *with the Incarnation added!* The modern "evangelical" comment can make nothing of the passage, because it is too rationalistic to realize the terms in which it is given, and it is too reverent of the Lord Jesus to make them mythical. It can do nothing but pass them by! And yet not thus can it stultify itself at *every* point—let us again give thanks that it can *pray* these mystic words. It can on that ground cry to the Lord Jesus to stretch forth his right hand—to touch the burdened heart—to lay his finger on the stammering tongue and lip—to breathe upon the fainting spirit—to shed down the perpetual dew of his grace. Let us see, then, if the *Plain Commentary* has been able to extract edifying matter from these divine words. Alas, that it has to be so cautious—alas, that in the Psalms and Canticles the features of our Lord should have come to shine so dimly, that, having arrived at the reality in the person and members of him in whom we live and move, we should be so blind to the glory, and so dead to the sweetness of the flesh that

^b St. Mark vii. 32.

giveth us our life,—nay, that the fragrance of his mouth should have become a cause of offence !

“Wherefore did he proceed so to deal with him? Since bodily ailment is the constant type of spiritual infirmity, consider whether it may not have been implied by this act of our Lord, that the deaf ears are *then* only effectually unstopped, when they have received into them—been *penetrated* as it were by—the finger, which is only another name for *the* SPIRIT of God ; as was explained in the notes on St. Luke xi. 20. Consider whether our Saviour, by this act of his, may not have been doing in symbol, what he is elsewhere declared to have done in reality,—when it is said of the eleven apostles, ‘*then opened he their understanding.*’ Further, by transferring the moisture of his own divine mouth, twice to the eyes—once to the lips—of an afflicted creature, was he not satisfying, symbolically, those well-known petitions of the Psalmist,—‘Open thou mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of thy law ;’ ‘Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew thy praise?’ Were not those two acts an indication—the one, that ‘the commandment of the Lord’ (‘*the word of his lips*’) ‘is pure, *enlightening the eyes* ;’ the other, that ‘the tongue of the stammerer is ready to speak plainly,’ when the Redeemer hath fulfilled his covenant,—namely, that he will *put his Spirit in the mouth* of the seed of Jacob for ever.”^c

After commenting on the incident of our Lord’s looking up to heaven, the writer proceeds to remark concerning that which is said “*He sighed,*”—

“This is more difficult to explain. But since, at the rising of Lazarus, our Saviour is said to have not only ‘wept,’ but also to have groaned in the spirit, and been troubled ; and since the occasion seems *then* to have been the tears of Mary and of the Jews who came with her, joined to the grief of his own human heart for Lazarus, his friend ; may it not be that a feeling of compassion (excited by some unrelated circumstance) occasioned the sign of external emotion here recorded by the Evangelist? His notice of it will be felt to be the more affecting when it is coupled with St. Paul’s assertion of our Lord’s fellow-feeling with his creatures, and especially when the origin and history of physical evil is considered. This last remark, indeed, suggests that the human sympathies of the Saviour were co-extensive with human sufferings and sorrow ; and, (as it is said in another place,) that ‘his tender mercies are over all his works,’ to the end of time. So that the sigh of ‘the first-born among many brethren,’ here recorded, was expressive of his pity for every other child of Adam who shall be similarly afflicted for ever.”

It strikes us that these words promise to be words of comfort to the deaf to whom they may come, and that even those who theoretically recoil from such a mode of interpretation, will devotionally press the same to heart what time they feel them-

^c *Plain Commentary*, p. 326.

selves, by reason of infirmity, burdened in spirit. It also seems to us that such interpretation exalts the dignity of the Saviour, and is according to the analogy of faith, from beginning to the end of Holy Writ. The passage in hand also reminds us of the one point we are seeking to make in our entire discussion of this subject—that it is by patient meditation on the narrative given, every word of which is divine, that the most fruitful and salutary views of Holy Scriptures grow up in the mind. Take the inspired words, “He sighed and looked up to heaven”—let one think of them—and meditate upon them—especially let one who is burdened in spirit do so—let him dwell upon the image of that Saviour, of whose body he is a member, as so doing—and will it not help the man in his sorrows, will it not add to his knowledge of Christ? It certainly strikes us that any Christian objector to the patristic method, if set in the midst of infidel reasoners to defend the truth, would be glad enough to implore the Lord Jesus to lay his finger on his lips, nay, to touch his tongue with the moisture of his Divine mouth. Just what it means, that the holy spittle from the incarnate Word should have been applied to the flesh of the elect, we may not know, but since the incarnate Word did himself so apply it, and since God the Holy Ghost has taken care that we should know it, we might suppose no one of Christ’s worshippers should find difficulty in *thinking of it*—we know that no one, who had learned to find Christ in the Book of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, as the Christian Fathers may teach us, would ever stumble at *such* a record in the Holy Gospels.

We will indulge in one more extract. The author is commenting on St. Luke x. 42, 43.

“Mary had chosen *one* thing: Martha was troubled about *many*. The double repetition of her name is a note of special earnestness.”^d

“He reads the Gospel to little purpose who finds here nothing beyond the account of two sisters,—one engrossed with worldly business, the other devoted to religion; of whom one incurs rebuke, and the other commendation. Martha is a great saint, no less than her sister; and St. John’s record is express, that ‘*JESUS loved Martha*.’^e She is here engaged in the active service of CHRIST, and doubtless had chosen for herself a very blessed portion, when she determined to minister to the human want of her LORD. Behold, he has journeyed, and is weary, and ‘hath not where to lay his head.’^f She has invited him to her dwelling, and he has come to bless ‘her house’ with his presence. Shall she not exert herself in an hour like this? and by the pains she takes to entertain him well, seek to testify the largeness of her gratitude, and love, and joy? If

^d Compare St. Luke xxii. 31.

^e St. John xi. 5.

^f St. Matt. viii. 20, and St. Luke ix. 58.

hospitality be ever honourable,^g how much more on an occasion like the present !

"Not until she seeks to draw her sister away from CHRIST, therefore, is a syllable addressed to her in the way of reproof. The act of hospitality, which so occupies her, cannot but be most acceptable in the eyes of her Divine guest, who says not, that she has chosen a *bad* part, but only that Mary has chosen a *better*.

"*Why better?*" asks Augustine. 'Because *it shall not be taken away from her.*' From thee, the burden of business shall one time be taken away, for when thou comest into the heavenly country, thou wilt find no stranger to receive with hospitality. But for thy good it shall be taken away, that what is better may be given thee. Trouble shall be taken away, that rest may be given thee. But in the meantime, *thou art yet at sea ; thy SISTER is in port.*'

"These words prepare us for another remark of the same great writer ; namely, that Martha was occupied, as the Church of CHRIST is occupied here below, in the active service of CHRIST ; Mary, as the same Church will be engaged hereafter in heaven,—in devout adoration of his perfections. Our Fathers in the faith delighted in taking a somewhat similar view of the entire transaction,—when they pointed out that these two sisters respectively symbolize the active and the contemplative side of the religious life ; both excellent—yet the contemplative the more excellent of the two ; for it is 'that good part which shall not be taken away,'—but rather endure throughout the ages of eternity, and become perfected by the presence of him who is its object.^h The practical life has its own honours, and its own reward. Those who pursue it are only *then* to be checked, when they would cast blame on the conduct of such as have chosen the Word of GOD for their study,ⁱ and CHRIST himself for their portion."^j

It is time for us now to confess that all the above quotations from the *Plain Commentary* are of passages objected to in a late review of the work, and have been made accordingly with the view of shewing what amount of legitimate and edifying comment the passages in question might contain. It would be impossible for us to attempt to set forth the merits of this remarkable book, by way of a selection of extracts of our own. We have never read one page of the work without profit and delight,—we could not make selections where all is so excellent. For one who has never used the work, and is desirous of knowing what it is like, we would say, turn to any page in the *Comment on the Gospel of St. John*. For one who would become acquainted with most of its characteristic excellencies, without a regular reading, we would say, take the review of the work in

^g Rom. xii. 13 ; 1 Tim. iii. 2 ; Titus i. 8 ; Heb. xiii. 2 ; 1 Peter iv. 8.

^h Compare St. John xvi. 22.

ⁱ Ps. cxix. 18, 24, 54, 72, 97, 103, 105, 127, 162, etc.

^j Ps. xvi. 5 ; lxxiii. 26 ; cxix. 57 ; cxlii. 5, etc., etc. *Plain Commentary*, p. 493.

the April number of the *Protestant Quarterly*, and turn successively to every passage, against which the reviewer has brought his objections, and *read the passage through*. We make the proposition in no spirit of disrespect towards the *Quarterly's* article. There is good reason in some of its objections, and some reason in most—and as they go over a considerable portion of the volume, a reference to the places will make the reader acquainted with the general character of the commentary, and at the same time shew what degree of force the objections really possess.

The review in question contains one sentence, at which we must be allowed to express unqualified surprise and regret. In the thirty-fourth verse of the nineteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, it is written—"But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water." In the thirty-fifth verse—the verse following—it is written, "And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith truth, that ye might believe."

One of the most popular, and one of the most pernicious of modern notes on the Gospels, has affirmed of this remarkable passage, that what is here called water "*appeared to be such to St. John,*" but was in reality a "*serous matter resembling water;*" and that the "*effect was a natural one, and would follow in any other case!*" Of language such as this, the author of the *Plain Commentary* says, that they who use it "*know not what they say.*" We should suppose that every orthodox believer in inspired Scripture would agree with him, and say at least as much. Surely, it cannot be the deliberate purpose of the author of the review in question to take sides with an interpretation which is no whit short of downright, wilful rationalism? And yet, he says, according to the reading of the sentence referred to, that "*he [the author of the Plain Commentary] might have thrust aside, with somewhat less of abhorrence, the critical comments of men who have studied the Scriptures in no undiscerning or profane spirit,*" and "*who may have thought they discovered a natural cause for the effect which followed the wound inflicted by the spear, without supposing they were to be dismissed with the sentence, 'they know not what they say.'*" If the affirming that to be a resemblance of water which the Holy Spirit, with a solemnity of iteration which will scarcely find a parallel in the records of inspiration, has declared and pronounced to be water, is not a studying of the Scriptures with a profane spirit, we would ask what is. Is *this* a quality of that "*Biblical criticism*" which shall not only be diligent, reverential, and learned, but also open, honest, wise, and com-

prehensive; which shall not so seek for obscurer meanings and doubtful and distant relations as to pass by such as are broader and more obvious, and which shall never speak of a "pious supposition," and seek to exercise a kind of holy ingenuity where the question is but one of "TRUTH?" If so, may we keep to the suppositions of the Fathers, which at least are pious, and to the ingenuities of the Fathers, which at least are holy.

A short paragraph of the commentary will help us to a concluding remark. The comment is upon the words, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me."

"A wondrous declaration, truly, if we consider who is the speaker.[†] O! to have known what he said on this subject to Cleopas and his companions as they went to Emmaus! But the books of Moses are in our hands. *Where* then does he write of CHRIST? Shall it suffice to appeal to ten or twenty places in the Pentateuch—such as the reader will find enumerated at the foot of the page? Surely those places do not come up to the largeness of our Lord's statement! Where does Moses say that 'CHRIST should suffer?' or 'that he should be the first that should rise from the dead?' or that he 'should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles?' And yet St. Paul found some, if not all of these things in 'Moses.'^m The plain truth is, that *we do not thoroughly understand the Bible*: and the next best thing to understanding it, is to know that we understand it not."ⁿ

It is very certain that we do thoroughly understand the Bible exactly in proportion as we understand it to testify of Christ. It is equally certain that, for some reason, the patristic method of interpretation did find Christ spoken of in the Scriptures far more frequently, and, we think, far more thoroughly than the modern; "the cross of Christ shines dimly" in the *Modern Commentary*. Our own belief is, that the reason of the difference between the two methods is to be found in the fact, that the ancients had a *sense of the Church* which we have, comparatively, lost; which, in our case, seldom deepens to more than a sentiment. They use familiarly a language concerning the church as Christ's body, concerning the elect as Christ's members, which strains our spirits to comprehend; except it be at such time as our spirits are at the point of prayer. Here, indeed, we can *feel*, what the Fathers were able to *write*; but what the prevalent Biblical apparatus gives little assistance in. We will venture to say of all who make the Psalms their daily manual, that they have found the Lord in a thousand places

[†] Compare St. John i. 45; St. Luke xxiv. 27; Acts xxviii. 23.

[†] Gen. iii. 15; xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxvi. 4; xlix. 10; Numb. xxi. 9; Deut. xviii. 15, 18.

^m See Acts xxvi. 22, 23.

ⁿ *Plain Commentary*, p. 687.

where no *Modern Commentary* finds him. And this remark suggests another consideration, which must be taken into the account in seeking to make out the reason of the profound Messianic characteristic of the patristic method; those Fathers commented on the Bible *from their knees*; modern scholars, for the most part, comment on the Bible *from their desks*.

This much, however, we can distinctly perceive as to the *modus operandi* of the patristic method, that it sought after Christ in Holy Scripture by the aid of obscure intimations, of remote allusions, of those identical things which we call the "little things," and the "natural order" of the narrative—in a word, by the aid of that very class of things which we cannot doubt our Lord himself brought to view for the two disciples on the way to Emmaus—cannot doubt, because such is the almost universal character of the Messianic verifications given in the New Testament. Let one take up the argument of our Lord's Messiahship with a view of convincing a Jew, and see what he would do if required to abstain from the so-called "small things" of the prophetic fulfilment. It is at this point especially that the intellectual pride of the modern method, which goes by the name of sense and manliness, finds its chief cause of offence, and it is at this point it must return to faith and let the child teach the man. When modern criticism has bowed in reverent wonder, as it should, over the mystery of godliness in the manger at Bethlehem, over the verification of prophecy in the unparted garment; when it remembers how its own heart has been sustained by what these Divine lips uttered concerning the sparrow's fall, and considers how the "small things" of the Word of inspiration have ever been the very strongholds of the whole earthly body as it bears forward under its earthly trials—then perchance may arise the thought, "What as yet have we, or could we bear, more than *intimations* of heavenly and eternal verities,"—and so may it come to take a wise and salutary heed of that which is written, "If I have told you of earthly things, and ye believed not, how could you believe if I told you of heavenly?" then will it be careful never to call that common which has been sanctified by God, or that little which has come forth of his Son.

When such shall come to be the happy case with it, it will begin to find that its comment will make more of the analogy of faith than of the analogies of language, it will trace a prophetic hint with greater earnestness than now it traces a verbal form, and it will find the Lord Jesus in that very word which as yet it only takes to be one of the "parts of speech." The result will be that the modern comment shall become truly edi-

fyng where now it is "exceeding dry;" it will be spiritually profound, where now it is intellectually vain and superficial; it will be a delight where now it is a weariness; it will be everywhere as a natural, rich and fruitful garden, where now it is for the most part an artificial and most unsatisfying plot. Of the truth of this the *Plain Commentary* furnishes, we think, a most remarkable and triumphant illustration. It is our belief that, if we can be brought to that habitual meditation on the life and actions of our blessed Lord to which these precious volumes invite us, we shall be brought to that very thing which most we need, and in which the age we live in helps us forward least. May the *Plain Commentary* soon find a place in the hands of every family of the church; we are sure its "comfortable words" will soon find their place in every heart.

THEORIES OF BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.*

WHEN Joseph Scaliger, animadverting on Eusebius, burst forth in a paroxysm of chronological enthusiasm, "Hail, venerable Olympiads, ye guardians of time, ye vindicators of the truth of history, ye bridlers-in of the fanatical licence of chronologists!" he did no more than was necessary, as time has proved; for the present age has witnessed a most determined attempt to subvert the commonly received chronology, on which Scripture is in some measure silent, and which a strict comparison between history and the great era of Grecian chronology can alone enable us to refute.

Before entering upon an examination of Mr. Parker's mode of setting aside so well established a portion of chronology as the six centuries preceding the Christian era, it will be well to notice the conclusions at which the several authors whose works head our present article, have arrived respecting the date A.M., and our nearness to that important epoch of the world, of which

* *The Annals of the Old and New Testament.* By James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.

A New Analysis of Chronology. By the Rev. William Hales, D.D.

Fasti Hellenici et Fasti Romani. By Henry Fynes Clinton, Esq., M.A.

Sacred and Profane Chronology. By J. W. Bosanquet.

Chronology. By Franke Parker, M.A., with an extended table in folio.

The Parian Chronicle, subversive of the Common Chronology. By Franke Parker, M.A.

The First and Second Advent. By the Rev. B. W. Savile, M.A. Chapters xi. and xii. *Chronology.*

bishop Newton^b makes mention as “an old tradition both among Jews and Christians, that at the end of 6000 years, the Messiah shall come and the world shall be renewed, the reign of the wicked one shall cease, and the reign of the saints upon earth shall begin.” And though as regards the prophetic conclusion to which tradition seems to point, we may say with Iræneus, “It is safer and surer to wait for the completion of the prophecy than to conjecture and to divine about it, as when the end cometh we shall know better whence to date the beginning,” we cannot forget what one, whom Scripture has pronounced to have been “full of the Holy Ghost and of faith” (Acts xi. 24), though his writings may never have been esteemed canonical, hath taught respecting the hidden meaning of the demiurgic creation—“Consider, my children,” says St. Barnabas, “what that signifies—God finished them in six days:—the meaning is this, that in 6000 years the Lord God will bring all things to an end.”^c

Hence the natural anxiety which has been manifested by so many to ascertain the age of the world since the creation of man. How wide the variations of different authors are in respect to the date of the creation may be seen in Hales’ *New Analysis of Chronology*, where upwards of 120 different opinions are given, and which the writer says “might be swelled to 300,” while in his own list the difference is so great that the first exceeds the last no less than 3268 years.

Time has sufficiently refuted the calculations of the greatest number of these chronologers, if the declaration of St. Barnabas be accepted as true, and that of Hales among the number; for, having adopted the chronology of the LXX. in preference to that of the Hebrew text, he dates the Christian era A.M. 5411, and consequently the 6000 years would have terminated according to that estimate, A.D. 1589. It is unnecessary to enter upon a consideration of the reasons for preferring the chronology of the Hebrew text to that of the LXX., as it has already been so well done by Clinton in the appendix to vol. i. of his *Fasti Hellenici*, but we may remark incidentally that, if the chronology of the LXX. be accepted, we make Methuselah live fourteen years beyond the deluge, which is contradicted by the express statement of Scripture. So that while we think with St. Augustine “it is incredible that such laudable and honourable fathers as the LXX. were, would record an untruth,” we would accept his solution of the discrepancy between the two as follows; “One might the easier believe that the error was committed in the

^b See his fourteenth *Dissertation on the Prophecies*.

^c See his *Catholic Epistle*, § xv.

transcription of the copy from the Ptolomies' library, and so that it had a successive propagation through all the future copies. This may be well suspected indeed in Methuselah's life, and in that other, where there is twenty-four years' difference in the whole sum. But in those where the fault is continued, so that one hundred years in the one are still overplus before the generations, and wanting after it; and in the other, still wanting before, and overplus after, still agreeing in the main; and this continued through the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and seventh generations: this professes a constancy in error, and proves rather an industrious endeavour to make it so, than any negligent omission to let it pass so. Thus the difference in the Greek and Latin from the Hebrew where those years are first wanting, and then added, in order to procure the consent of both, is neither to be called the malice of the Jews, nor the diligence of the LXX., but the transcriber's error who first copied it from the Ptolomies' library."^d

Archbishop Usher, whose system of chronology has been more generally accepted than any other, and which has been introduced in our Bibles, with one memorable exception which we shall have occasion to notice in the course of this article, dates the Christian era, as is well known, A.M. 4004, which would make the 6000 years terminate A.D. 1996. Clinton gives A.M. 4138 for the Christian era, which would bring the 6000 years to a close A.D. 1862. Savile makes it four years later than Clinton. And Parker, by adopting A.D. 1858 as the termination of the sixth millenary, seems to be refuted by the year which has passed.

A tabular statement of the leading dates in Scripture epochs, as severally adopted by Usher, Clinton, and Parker, will convey to the mind at one view the differences which exist between the three. They may be stated as follows:—

	USHER.	CLINTON.	PARKER.
	A.M.	A.M.	A.M.
From Adam to the Deluge	1656	1656	1656
„ the Birth of Abraham	2008	2008	1948
„ the Call of Abraham	2083	2083	2023
„ the Exode	2513	2513	2453
„ the Building of the Temple	2993	3125	3045
„ the Fall of Jerusalem	3415	3551	3514
„ the Fall of Babylon	3466	3600	3584
„ the Christian Era	4004	4138	4142

All agree in fixing the date of the deluge according to the Hebrew text. The first difference respects the date of the birth

^d See St. Aug. *De Civitate Dei*, l. xv. ch. 13.

of Abraham. Usher and Clinton agree in placing it when Abraham's father Terah was 130 years old, Parker antedates it by sixty years, making it to occur when Terah was in his seventieth year, which opinion accords with the computation of Josephus.⁶ As Scripture must be our sole reference in this dispute, we naturally inquire what is therein stated on the subject? Abraham removed from Charran to Canaan *after his father's death* (Acts vii. 4); and at the time of his removal was seventy-five years old (Gen. xii. 3—5). Terah died in Charran aged 205 (Gen. xi. 32). Now $205 - 75 = 130$, the age of Terah when Abraham was born, according to Scripture. Usher observes, "When Terah had lived seventy years, there was born to him the eldest of his three sons (Gen. xi. 26); and he, not Abram (who came not into the world till sixty years after), but Haran, father-in-law of the third brother Nachor, died and left a daughter married to her uncle Nachor. . . . Sarai, who was also called Iscah, the daughter of Haran, Abram's brother (Gen. xi. 29), was ten years younger than her husband Abraham."⁷ This confirms the fact that Haran, the father-in-law as well as elder brother of Abraham, was sixty years his senior. Clinton remarks that "the erroneous date for the birth of Abraham, placing the call of Abraham into Canaan sixty years before the death of his father, is contrary to Gen. xi. 32; xii. 1, 4; and on this account in the Samaritan copy the *life of Terah is reduced to 145 years*, that his death might be adapted to the supposed time of the call."⁸ Parker meets this difficulty respecting the positive declaration of Scripture that Abraham left Charran after his father's death, by repeated statements that "Acts vii. 4 cannot be correct," "must be held to be incorrect,"⁹ a mode of interpretation which no chronologer, who allows the unquestioned reading of Scripture its proper weight, can for a moment allow. Far better to have the simple faith of the old woman, who replied to the taunt of the sceptic, that she would believe Scripture if she had therein read that Jonah had swallowed the "great fish" instead of the reverse, than to attempt to set aside a plain statement of the Word of God, by pleading the necessity of its incorrectness.

Assuming then that the date of Abraham's birth has been correctly placed by Usher and Clinton, the next important point to ascertain is the true date of that memorable event in the history of Israel, the Exode from Egypt. Those two distinguished *savants* Bunsen¹ and Lepsius² have discussed this subject at

⁶ *Antiq.*, i. 6, 5.

⁷ *Annals*, p. 4.

⁸ *F. H.*, vol. i., p. 290.

⁹ See *Chronology*, pp. 37, 38.

¹ *Egypt's place in Universal History*, i. pp. 171—178. 38.

² *Einleitung*, pp. 316—3.

length, but inasmuch as according to the one, "the sojourn of Israel in Egypt lasted for 1440 years," while the other authority declares that "only about ninety years intervened from the entrance of Jacob to the Exodus of Moses, and about as much from the entrance of Abraham into Canaan to Jacob's Exodus; so that from Abraham to Moses only about 180 years, or if we wish to make the most of it, 215 years passed," we are constrained to reject such chronological conclusions, which are alike hostile to Scripture and to each other, for it is affirmed both in the Old Testament (Exod. xii. 40) and in the New (Gal. iii. 17) that "the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years," which is clearly explained by the reading of the Samaritan pentateuch to include the time they sojourned "in the land of Canaan" as well. Hence no difference exists between those writers whose chronology we are reviewing in respect to the interval between the call of Abraham and the Exode. It is only in regard to the date B.C. that their differences are manifest. Thus Usher dates the Exode B.C. 1491; Parker, B.C. 1689; Clinton, B.C. 1625; Savile, B.C. 1620. The last two are so nearly in accord, that we may accept them as one and the same. If a preference may be given to the date of the latter for the Exode, it must rest upon his deduction from Scripture for the years which intervened between that event and the Christian era agreeing with the chronology of Julius Africanus, who places the Exode in the reign of Amos, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, and which when worked out produces the result B.C. 1620. And also the same writer notices a somewhat singular confirmation in favour of that date by applying a tradition, attributed to some of the early Christian Fathers, that the word *μωυσης* according to the principle of Greek notation represents the numbers 1648, and thereby signifies the duration of the Mosaic dispensation, which is the exact number of years between the first passover at the time of the Exode, B.C. 1620, and the last, when "Christ our passover was sacrificed for us," previous to the introduction of the Christian economy A.D. 29, the year of the crucifixion.*

The important difference, however, existing between the systems of which Usher and Clinton may be considered the most eminent representatives, is the number of years which elapsed between the Exode and the building of the temple, and which necessarily affects the B.C. date of the Exode from Egypt. Usher, as we have already seen, dates the Exode B.C. 1491, Clinton, B.C. 1625, a difference of more than 130 years during

* See *First and Second Advent*, pp. 166, 181, 186.

that period of Jewish history. We read in 1 Kings vi. 1, "It came to pass in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord." If the expression "in the 480th year" of our present Hebrew text was clearly Scripture, there would be an end to the question, and Usher's B.C. date for the Exode must be accepted as correct. But there are two sorts of proof against the present reading. There is both positive and inferential proof against it. Josephus writing in the first century of the Christian era evidently knew not the clause, for he gives 612 years in one place,¹ and 592 years in another,² according to our present copies, as the interval between the Exode and the building of the temple. And Origen, one hundred years later, quotes 1 Kings vi. 1, without the disputed clause. Jackson³ remarks, "That it was not originally either in the Hebrew or Greek text, may with great certainty be inferred from the computations of the ancients, both Pagan, Jewish and Christian writers—e.g., Theophilus, the ancient bishop of Antioch⁴ says that it appeared from the Tyrian records that Solomon's temple was built 566 years after the Exode." So Clemens Alexandrinus⁵ calculates, apparently from Demetrius (a Jewish historian of the third century B.C.) that 592 years elapsed between the Exode and the fourth of Solomon. Moreover we may infer from the New Testament that considerably more than 480 years intervened between those two periods. St. Paul in his speech before the rulers of the synagogue at Antioch makes special mention of this very period, which may be thus divided:—

	years.	
The Israelites in the Wilderness.....	40	Acts xiii. 18.
Time not mentioned for dividing the land	0	" 19.
To Samuel the Prophet	450	" 20.
Saul's reign.....	40	" 21.
David's reign	40½	2 Sam. v. 5.
Temple began in the fourth year of king Solomon.....	3½	1 Kings vi. 1.

In all 574 years.

If we allow seventeen years as the time for dividing the land, and the "days of the elders that overlived Joshua," (one of the very few conjectural periods of Scripture, some of the Jews in

¹ *Antiq.*, xx. 10, 1.

² *Antiq.*, viii. 3, 1.

³ See *Chronological Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 133, etc.

⁴ *Ad Autolyc.*, l. iii. p. 31.

⁵ *Strom.*, i. p. 337.

Seder Olam reckoning it at twenty-eight years,⁹ others at only the odd eight years, and a middle and more probable opinion at seventeen years), which St. Paul omits to reckon, we have 94 years (the difference between 480 and 574)+17 or 111 years, as the variation between Josephus, who gives 592 years (*i.e.*, current or 591 complete), and our present reading of 1 Kings vi. 1, which dates the building of the temple in the 480th year after the Exode. Moreover as 111 is the exact number of years comprised in the six servitudes, which are recorded in the book of Judges, we may account for the way in which the expression "in the 480th year" crept into the text, by supposing that the transcriber, when introducing a date, purposely omitted the mournful period of the 111 years' captivity, between the Exode and the building of the temple. Clinton, who adopts the longer interval mentioned in our present copies of Josephus, *viz.* 612 years, makes it out by lengthening the time forty years, when Joshua, and subsequently Samuel, governed Israel, and depressing the last servitude twenty years by intermingling it with the length of Samson's rule as given in Judges xv. 20, thus raising the whole interval between the Exode and the building of the temple, or twenty years more than we are able to allow. As this is confessedly the most difficult chronological portion of Scripture to settle with perfect accuracy, we must be content to refer those who desire to investigate such things to the Scriptures themselves, with the apostolical exhortation, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

As regards the duration of the regal government of Judah from the building of the temple until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, there is a very general agreement amongst the above named chronologers. There are however two exceptions. Parker quotes Josephus¹⁰ to prove that Solomon died at the age of ninety-four, having reigned eighty years, in opposition to the Hebrew text which reads, "The time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years" (1 Kings xi. 42). As there never has been a dispute about the reading of this text, we must naturally conclude that our present copies of Josephus have incorrect figures respecting the age of Solomon and the length of his reign. And happily there is incidental proof of this. Josephus in one place¹¹ quotes Menander to shew that Ethbaal king of Tyre and Zidon (mentioned 1 Kings xvi. 31) was contemporary with his son-in-law Ahab king of Israel. In another place¹² Josephus gives eighty-four years, from the annals

⁹ *Antiq.*, viii. 7, 8.¹⁰ *Antiq.*, viii. 13, 2.¹¹ *Contra Ap.*, i. 18.

of the same Menander, as the period which intervened between the first year of Hiram king of Tyre (who was reigning when Solomon succeeded his father David, 1 Kings v. 1) and the first year of Ethbaal, or as called by the Greeks, Ithobalus. Now Scripture gives sixty-two years as the interval between the last year of Solomon and the first of Ahab, and this added to the eighty years of Solomon's reign, according to our present reading of Josephus, would give 142 years and upwards between the time of Hiram the contemporary of Solomon, and Ethbaal the contemporary of Ahab, in place of the sixty-two which Scripture gives. Therefore we may safely conclude that Solomon's reign could not have lasted eighty years; for otherwise Ethbaal must have been dead long before the time when Ahab was reigning, and with whom Josephus, as we have seen, makes him contemporary. While pointing out this error, probably that of a transcriber, let it not detract in any degree from the valuable testimony which Josephus brings to bear, both as an historian and chronologer, on all points connected with the history of the Jews. Joseph Scaliger, in the Prolegomena to his work *De Emendatione Temporum*, thus deservedly eulogises him: "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers, nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greeks and Latins, and this because his fidelity and his compass of learning are everywhere conspicuous."

There is one more place wherein a difference exists respecting the reign of a king of Judah, and for which there appear to be better grounds than for lengthening the reign of Solomon. Savile in his chapter on chronology gives twelve years to Amon in contradistinction to the Hebrew text, which only allots two years for the length of his reign. This is done on the authority of the Codex Alexandrinus, where δώδεκα ἔτη is still plainly legible at 2 Kings xxi. 19; and which is supported by the Chronicle of Eusebius, who gives the same reading "secundum LXX. interpretationem." This may be established on the authority of Herodotus, where the longer period is required in order to coincide with the profane history of that time. Accepting the well known date of the battle of Marathon, B.C. 490 (though as we shall have occasion to notice Parker denies this), the revolt of the Medes and the fall of the Assyrian empire may be proved from Herodotus to have taken place B.C. 716; but according to the chronology which only allows two years for Amon's reign, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, and the memorable destruction of his host, is dated B.C. 714, i.e., two years *after* the fall of the empire according to Herodotus, whereas if

we allow twelve years to Amon, this would raise the date of Sennacherib's expedition to B.C. 724, which we may receive as the true date. And if, as appears from 1 Kings xix. 36, 37, the rebellion of Sennacherib's sons, Adrammelek and Sharezer, and the accession of Esarhaddon, occurred soon after that overthrow (Tobit i. 21, says fifty-five days, and Josephus' quoting Berosus, says, after the destruction of his army, Sennacherib fled to Nineveh, where he abode "*a little while*" before his sons were guilty of parricide); and if we allow eight years for the length of Esarhaddon's reign according to Alexander Polyhistor, 724—8 gives B.C. 716, as the year when the first Assyrian empire was overthrown by the revolt of the Medes, and thus the chronology of Scripture and Herodotus are made to agree. That early Christian writers felt there were ten more years wanting in the reigns of the kings of Judah than those copies allowed which gave only two years for Amon's reign, we may gather from the fact that Clemens Alexandrinus, and Theophilus bishop of Antioch, concur in making Amaziah reign thirty-nine instead of twenty-nine years, as all the copies, both Hebrew and Greek, universally declare.

Having thus arrived at that point in chronology where sacred and profane history may be said to meet, viz., at the termination of the regal government in Jerusalem, and the destruction of the temple and city in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 8—10), we come to the important question raised by Parker, concerning the commonly received chronology from the time of the Babylonish captivity to the Christian era, which may be stated as follows according to Usher and Clinton. The destruction of Jerusalem is dated B.C. 587; and the fall of the Babylonian empire "*in the night that Belshazzar was slain,*" B.C. 538. Parker dates the former event B.C. 629, and the latter B.C. 559. He is thus at variance with the commonly received chronology forty-two years, and twenty-one respecting those two events.* Before proceeding to an examination of the grounds for these dates, it will be necessary to remind our readers that Mr. Bosanquet, the author of *Sacred and Profane Chronology*, has proposed to curtail the same period by about the same number of years that Mr. Parker has proposed to lengthen it, so that while the one would raise the date of the capture of Babylon by about twenty years, the other would depress that same amount of years below the date of the commonly received chronology. Bosanquet rests his conclusion for so doing upon the grounds that "*Darius the Mede the son of Ahasuerus,*" described in the Book of Daniel, as succeeding to the throne of Babylon on the death of Belshazzar, must be the same person as Darius the

* *Antiq.*, i. 1, 5.

* See Parker's Extended Table, pp. 8, 9.

Persian the son of Hystaspes, who is represented by Herodotus as succeeding to the united thrones of Egypt, Persia, and Babylon after the intervening reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses and the usurping Magi. As this subject has been very fully discussed in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, we need not enter afresh on that disputed point of history. And if anything further be needed in confirmation of the mistake, which we think Mr. Bosanquet has made in thus lowering the chronology of that period, though apparently supported by the testimony of Demetrius in his *Book on the kings of Judah*, we would refer him to Parker's *Chronology* (see pp. 341, 342), where the point in dispute is fairly handled, and which answer we deem to be conclusive.

We have already seen that Parker is in excess, over the common chronology, forty-two years for the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, and twenty-one years for that of the fall of Babylon. Moreover he makes an interval of seventy years between those two events, for which the common chronology only allows fifty, in accordance with what is stated in Scripture. It is clear from 2 Kings xxv. 8—10, that the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple took place in the nineteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. It is no less clear from a comparison of Jeremiah xxv. 1, with Daniel i. 1, 2, that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar coincided with the third and fourth years of Jehoiakim king of Judah, when the seventy years' captivity began. Further it appears from Jeremiah xxv. 11, 12, that the termination of the seventy years' captivity must have synchronized with "the punishment of the king of Babylon." That this refers to the death of Belshazzar, and the dividing of his kingdom to the Medes and Persians, no one has ever doubted. As Scripture is silent respecting the length of the reigns of the kings of Babylon from Nebuchadnezzar to Belshazzar, the difference between Mr. Parker and the common chronology, respecting the number of years which elapsed between the fall of Jerusalem and of the Babylonian empire, must be decided by the three canons, though the differences between them at this period of the history of Babylon will speedily appear. In Cory's *Ancient Fragments* they are given as follows, and we add Mr. Parker's dates for the sake of easy comparison.

	The Canon of Ptolemy. years	Eccelesiastical Canon. years	Astronomical Canon. years	Parker. years mths.
1. Nebuchadnezzar.....	43	43	43	43 0
2. Evil Merodach	2	5	3	2 0
3. Neriglissar	4	3	5	4 0
4. Labarosoar.....	0	0	0	0 9
5. Nabonnedus	17	17	34	37 0
6. Cyrus.....	In all 66	68	85	86 9

Of these canons that of Ptolemy seems to be most correct, as more nearly agreeing with the chronology of Scripture. It gives, indeed, only sixty-six years from the first of Nebuchadnezzar to the last year of the king who immediately preceded Cyrus, and who is called Nabonnedus, in place of the seventy years required by the prophecy. But we are warranted in allotting forty-five years to Nebuchadnezzar's reign instead of forty-three, for this appears from Scripture to have been its full length, as the king of Babylon took Jehoiachin prisoner in the eighth year of his (Nebuchadnezzar's) reign (2 Kings xxiv. 12), and Evil Merodach succeeded Nebuchadnezzar in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity (2 Kings xxv. 27), and $8 + 37 = 45$. This may be explained by supposing that Nebuchadnezzar reigned two or more years conjointly with his father, for Daniel and Jeremiah both appear to date his reign from his first march upon Judea, and Berosus evidently alludes to this when he speaks of Nebuchadnezzar being made governor of the revolted provinces, Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, and of being intrusted with part of the army before his father's death.* If we add to this one year for Laborosoar's reign according to Berosus, though omitted in the canons, we are brought to the seventieth year from the first of Nebuchadnezzar, and thus Scripture and the canon of Ptolemy may be said to agree. In the ecclesiastical and astronomical canons, as preserved by Syncellus, a fatal mistake is detected in both. Although the former gives sixty-eight years for the interval between the first of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, it terms Neriglissor Belshazzar, and allows seventeen years to Nabonnedus *after* "the punishment of the king of Babylon" in the seventy years' captivity, and by a singular confusion of times terms him as well "Astyages, Darius Ahastuerus, and Artaxerxes." The latter improves upon this mistake, by allotting thirty-four years to Nabonnedus, "who is Astyages," and the predecessor of Cyrus, thus making eighty-five years in all from the first of Nebuchadnezzar to the time of the great king of the Persian dynasty. Mr. Parker has elongated this period still further, giving thirty-seven years to Nabonnedus, though upon what authority we are unable to discover, thus making eighty-six years nine months in all. Had the compiler of the two canons alluded to above lived in the present age he would have avoided the mistake, which it is worthy of note that Ptolemy, who preceded him several centuries, and, being a heathen, had no prophetic system to uphold, did not make, for Sir Henry Rawlinson has discovered from a cuneiform inscription,

* See Joseph. *contra* Appion, l. i., c. 19; and Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, l. 9.

that Nabonnedus or Minus admitted his son Bel-shar-ezar (Belshazzar) to a share in the government, who therefore was actually reigning in Babylon when "Darius the Mede" took the kingdom, according to Daniel. This happy discovery, and like many other things truly deserving the name of great from its simplicity, enables us to reconcile Scripture and profane history. It explains a difficult passage in Dan. v. 29, where the Prophet is said to have been proclaimed by order of Belshazzar, "the *third* ruler in the kingdom," Nabonnedus and his son the co-regent being respectively first and second. It likewise confirms the truth of Berosus' account, who states that when Cyrus was marching upon Babylon, Nabonnedus fled to Borsippus, where he was subsequently captured, and treated well by his conqueror, thus escaping the doom which overtook his proud son on the night when he feasted his thousand lords.

There is a harmony, then, between the account given in Scripture, the canon of Ptolemy, and the words of Berosus respecting the seventy years' captivity, as handed down to us by Josephus, which is most satisfactory, and which plainly overthrows the chronology of Parker, who dates the *commencement* of the seventy years from the seventeenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, contrary to Scripture, and their *termination* in the thirty-seventh of Nabonnedus, for which there is no authority in so doing. Josephus* expressly says that Berosus describes how "Nabopolassar sent his son Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt and *against our land*, with a great army, upon being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon, when it so happened that our city was desolate during *the interval of seventy years*, until the days of Cyrus, king of Persia." By which it appears that the seventy years' desolation must be dated from Nebuchadnezzar's first attempt upon Jerusalem during his father's lifetime. The common chronology and Mr. Parker so far agree as to make the fall of the Babylonian empire synchronize with the termination of the seventy years' captivity, and the succession of Cyrus, allowing some undefined but very brief interval for the reign of Darius the Mede at Babylon after the night that Belshazzar was slain. The great and important difference between them is, that whereas according to the former these events should be dated B.C. 538, where, as we have already observed, Scripture and profane history may be said to meet, Parker would raise

* Contra Appion, l. 19.

them more than twenty years, and date them B.C. 559. Here is the point on which we are distinctly at issue. Hitherto the chronology from the fall of Babylon to the Christian era has been considered as well settled as the period commonly known as A.D. Having witnessed, therefore, so vigorous an attempt to *subvert*, as the title of one of Mr. Parker's works implies, so ancient and apparently so well established a system of chronology, it behoves us to give a candid and analytical examination to the hypothesis which he so boldly proposes in its place.

Mr. Parker seeks to support his views by the testimony of Julius Africanus respecting the termination of the Babylonish captivity, by the imperfect list of Athenian archons handed down by Diodorus Siculus, and above all by the Parian marble, which he has pronounced to be "subversive of the common chronology." As a necessary corollary he antedates all the leading events which happened before the death of Alexander the Great, such as the Peloponnesian war, and those three well-known chronological epochs, the first Olympiad, the building of Rome, and the era of Nabonassar, by about twenty years, calling to his aid history, astronomy, and prophecy, in support of this herculean task. We accept the challenge which he has so fairly thrown down, and while desirous of combating with none other weapons than those becoming a Journal consecrated to Sacred Literature, we trust before we have done to be enabled to prove that, so far from subverting the common chronology of that period, every fresh examination must add to its stability and testify to its truth.

1. The statement of Julius Africanus,^{*} on which Mr. Parker rests, is to this effect: "The most remarkable captivity of the Hebrews, when they were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, lasted seventy years, as Jeremiah foretold, and Berosus, the Babylonian, makes mention of Nebuchadnezzar. And after the seventy years' captivity, Cyrus became king of the Persians in the year in which the fifty-fifth Olympiad (*i. e.*, B.C. 560—559) was celebrated, as you may find from the books of Diodorus, and from the histories of Thallus and Castor, and also Polybius and Phlegon, and also others who have paid attention to Olympiads; for they all agree as to the time. Cyrus, then, in the first year of his reign, which was the first year of the sixty-fifth Olympiad, through Zorobabel made the first and partial dismissal of the people when the seventy years had been fulfilled, as is related in Esdras by the Hebrews. Therefore the histories concur both as to the reign of Cyrus and the end of

^{*} *Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.*, p. 487.

the captivity." Without stopping to enquire whether "by the first year of Cyrus' reign," Africanus means his first year over Persia alone, or Persia and Babylon united, which union took place at the death of Darius the Mede, and about the twenty-first year of his reign, it will be sufficient to observe, as Clinton does,* that "the date of Cyrus' reign in Persia is established by this unanimous consent, although Africanus, who preserves these testimonies, has unskilfully applied to the first year of Cyrus in Persia transactions which belonged to the first year of Cyrus at Babylon, twenty-one years afterwards." But we have further proof that Africanus made this mistake, which we can produce on the authority of Africanus himself. In his list of Manetho's Egyptian Dynasties, as given in the text of Dindorf, we have the length of each king's reign from Vaphris, the seventh king of the twenty-sixth dynasty, "to whom," as Africanus remarks, "the remainder of the Jews fled when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians," to Darius, the last king of the thirty-first dynasty, who fell before the victorious arms of Alexander the Great. As all are agreed in placing that event B.C. 331—330, we have only to add the years between the time of Darius and that of Vaphris, and we find that the nineteen years which Africanus gives as the length of the latter's reign, extended from B.C. 593—574. And as it was during his reign, according to Africanus, that the Jews fled into Egypt on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, it accords with the common chronology which places that event B.C. 588, and not with Mr. Parker, who dates it B.C. 629. Whether, therefore, the fall of the Babylonian Empire is to be dated fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, as Scripture shews, or seventy years after, as Mr. Parker contends, it is equally clear that Africanus is against him, when the chronology of the former comes to be sifted, on the very point on which he mainly rests for support.

2. Another argument which Mr. Parker brings forward is this. That as there are certain Athenian archons mentioned in the orations of Lysias and Demosthenes, which do not occur in the lists of Dionysius Halicarnassus and Diodorus Siculus, on whose histories the common chronology of that period is said to rest, we must accept it as a proof that about twenty years have been omitted by all the historians and chronologers of the third and fourth centuries B.C. That Demosthenes does mention the names of archons, which are not found in the lists of Diodorus, is unquestionably true, as Clinton, animadverting on Corsini's reference to Chæronidas and the *archon pseudeponymus* question,

* *Fæsti Hellenici*, vol. ii., p. 2.

has shewn. That eminent chronologer has justly pointed out that "the name of an *archon pseudeponymus* (instead of the true archon of the year), frequently appeared in the title of a decree or other formal document, yet there is no example of an *archon pseudeponymus* being mentioned instead of the real archon by writers, when in the course of historical narrative or otherwise, it was their purpose to designate the date of any particular fact."^a Even if this were not the true solution of the question respecting the *archon pseudeponymus*, though we believe it to be so, it is possible to suppose that certain archons eponymi may have died during their year's tenure of office, as occurred not long ago in the case of the mayor of the borough where this article is written, and the names of their successors may have been used by one author, and of the deceased archon by another, when describing events in the same year. Or there might have been a resignation of office to account for this change of names. To apply the argument to affairs of our own country, what writer, centuries hence, would be warranted in saying that a year had been omitted in the history of England, because he found, on reverting to ancient authorities, that some spoke of Lord Derby as being Prime Minister A.D. 1859, whereas others shewed clearly that Lord Palmerston held the office during that year, remarkable as it was for the battles between France and Austria in the plains of Italy? Indeed, so little faith has Mr. Parker in his own hypothesis respecting this matter, that when he comes to enumerate the different archons in the column of his extended table allotted to the "archons of Athens, Dionysius H. and Diodorus S.," incredible to relate, he simply *repeats the names of seventeen archons twice over*. Between the years B.C. 339—322, common chronology, without a word of warning, he actually introduces the names of seventeen archons, as if they were recorded in the works of Dionysius and Diodorus, for which he has not a shadow of authority, and then leaves four years blank in order to make up his twenty-one missing years!! We frankly own that we stand aghast at such a mode of treating history. There is no way of accounting for this but either as an oversight or as done intentionally. If the former it is lamentable, if the latter it is unpardonable.

3. Having thus shewn that "the testimony of Demosthenes" can hardly be considered, as Mr. Parker terms it, "irresistibly subversive of the common chronology," we must next notice his strongest point, the Parian chronicle, which he terms "the great bulwark of Africanus," or rather, as we have seen it should be

^a *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii., p. 363.

written, of Africanus' mistake, respecting events which happened nearly eight centuries before his time, in support of his strange idea that, "between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander, upwards of twenty years have been omitted by the historians and chronologers of that well-established period."

The *Parian Chronicle*, called by Selden the Epoch Marble of the Arundel Collection, was purchased in the East with many other relics of antiquity by Mr. William Petty, in the employ of Thomas Earl of Arundel, and brought over to this country about the beginning of the year 1627, and placed in the gardens belonging to Arundel House in the Strand. During the period of the Commonwealth, Arundel House being often deserted by its owners, some of the marbles were defaced or broken, and others either stolen or used to repair the house. It is said that the upper part of this most precious chronological marble in particular, was worked up in repairing a chimney in Arundel House! The fragment now remaining begins with these words, *εσκευασε και νομισμα* (l. 46, epoch 31). In the year 1667, what remained of these curious relics were presented to the University of Oxford, where they are now preserved in a room adjoining to the public schools, called the Museum Arundelianum. The first edition of the inscriptions was published by Selden in 1628, the year after their arrival in this country. Subsequent editions were published by others in 1676 and 1732; but the best is that which Dr. Chandler brought out in 1763, in which he has corrected the mistakes of his predecessors, and supplied the lacunæ which exist in many places by many valuable and happy conjectures. In its original state the *Parian Chronicle* exhibited a chronological detail of the principal events of Greece and the neighbouring states, beginning with the accession of Cecrops king of Athens, B.C. 1582, and ending with the archonship of —yanax at Paros, and of Diognetus at Athens, B.C. 264. As the chronicle of the last 90 years was lost, the part which now remains ends with the archonship of Diotimus, B.C. 354. It may be well to remember that from the archonship of Callias, or Calliades, B.C. 480, the year of the battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis, to the archonship of Nicocles, B.C. 303, we have an unbroken series of Athenian archons by the combined assistance of Diodorus and Dionysius Halicarnassus. The last-mentioned writer enables us to continue the list to B.C. 292, when Philippus was archon. The names of a few more have been recovered, as may be seen in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, but between B.C. 293 and B.C. 264, we have no list of authors to refer to for settling the dispute between Mr. Parker and the common chronology.

According to the latter, the archonship of Diognetus, the last mentioned in the existing fragment of the Parian marble, should be placed B.C. 264; the former raises it to B.C. 282, a difference between the two on this starting point of eighteen years.

Though we have no positive proof of the name of the compiler, or the date from which the calculations of the marble are made, still by comparison we may approximately decide this latter point. It is true that the author of four dissertations subjoined to the true LXX. version of Daniel, discovered in the Chigian library at Rome, A.D. 1772, ascribes the authorship of the Chronicle to Demetrius Phalereus, and thus ingeniously supplies the lacunæ at the beginning of the inscription, which was too much defaced to be legible when brought in this country.

[Δημητριος ὁ Φανοστρα] ου [Φαληρευς, εκ των συ] μπαν [των
ἱπαρχον]των [χρο]νων ανεγραψα, etc., etc.

But this is not sufficient to help us in deciding its date. Hales in his new *Analysis of Chronology* (vol. i., p. 288), remarks that "it is obvious the chronicle was constituted upon two distinct and independent principles of computation. The former, *analytic*, reckoning upwards from B.C. 264, the fixed date or radix at the bottom; the latter, *synthetic*, reckoning downwards from the reign of Cecrops, through the succeeding kings, and perpetual decennial and annual archons. It is observable and has been remarked by Selden, and all the editors of the chronicle, that there is a difference of about twenty-five years between the two methods of computation; and that this difference is not accidental, but designed, running uniformly through all the dates of the *heroic* period, from Cecrops to the destruction of Troy, whereas, in the second or *historic* period (according to the division introduced, on Selden's authority), the two methods agree to the end." Had Mr. Parker noticed this he would probably have avoided the lengthened argument which he introduces in his "chronology" respecting the time of the Trojan war, which belongs to the *heroic* period, and the date of which must be considered as conjectural rather than fixed. There is another peculiarity in the Parian marble, which Clinton notices, "that the compiler places the annual archons who preceded the Peloponnesian war one year higher respectively than the Julian year with which they were in reality connumerary." Mr. Parker has failed to detect this peculiarity as the following examples will shew. The battle of Leuctra fought *after* the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 371, common chronology) is placed by the marble in the 107th year of its era. Now 282 B.C. (Parker's date of the marble) + 107 = 389 B.C. The battle of Marathon fought *before*

the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 490) is placed in the 227th year of the marble, and B.C. $282 + 227 = 509$ B.C. Mr. Parker places both these events a *year lower* in his extended table than they should be according to his own interpretation of the marble, but he makes the same interval for events which *preceded* the great war as for those which *succeeded* it, without recognizing the peculiarity which Clinton has noticed.

As we have not yet decided the important question respecting the date of the archonship of Diognetus, on which all the chronology of the marble rests, we must test the correctness of the common chronology, and Mr. Parker's respectively, by comparing the most legible dates and events recorded on the marble with the statements of other, and in some instances superior, authorities, viz.: those of contemporary historians. Starting then from the death of Alexander the Great, B.C. 323, wherein all parties are agreed, the divergencies respecting events recorded on the marble may be stated as follows:—

Epoch	Common	Mr.
	Chronology.	Parker.
	B.C.	B.C.
77. The death of Artaxerxes, Agathocles being archon at Athens.	357	374
73. The battles of Lenctra, Phrasiclides archon	371	388
65. Cyrus marches against his brother, Callias I. archon.....	406	424
63. Dionysius Tyrant of Syracuse, Euctemon archon	408	428
58. The Meteoric stone in Ægos-potamos, Theagenidas archon ..	468	486
52. Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis, Calliades archon	480	498
49. Battle of Marathon, [Phœnippus] II. archon	490	508

We must test these several dates by the light of history, commencing with the battle of Marathon, and working downwards to the time of Artaxerxes' death.

Epoch 49. What remains on the marble reads thus, "Since the battle at *Marathon* was fought by the Athenians against the Persians the Athenians defeated e nep of Darius who commanded, 227 years the second being archon at Athens." The common chronology dates this battle B.C. 490, Parker B.C. 508. How are we to decide who is right? Herodotus (vii. 1—4) shews that it was fought in the fifth year before Darius Hystaspes' death, which took place B.C. 485; and according to the computation of both the astronomical and Ptolemy's canon Era of Nabonasar 262-3=B.C. 485. The name of the archon is not legible on the marble, but we learn from Plutarch^b that *Phænippus* was archon the same year that the battle was gained at *Marathon*. By the registers it appears that *Phænippus* was archon in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad=B.C. 490. The name of the archon (Aristides) in the year following *Marathon* is legible in epoch fifty of the marble, which agrees

^b *Life of Aristides.*

with Plutarch, who likewise mentions that fact. It is true that the marble dates Darius' death only one year after *Marathon*, whereas Herodotus allows five years, but as the latter was born about twenty years after the battle was fought, whereas the marble was not engraved until two centuries later, the testimony of the historian is much to be preferred on this point.

Epoch 52. We read on the marble, "Since Xerxes joined together a bridge of boats on the Hellespont, and dug through Athos, and the battle was fought at *Thermopylæ*, and the sea-fight by the Greeks at *Salamis* against the Persians, in which the Greeks were victorious, 217 years, Calliades being archon at Athens." The marble allows ten years between *Marathon*, and the two famous battles of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis*, which agrees with all the Greek historians, and consequently these events are dated B.C. 480 common chronology, and by Parker B.C. 508. The archon of that year (*Calliades*) is confirmed by Herodotus (viii. 51) Dionysius (*Antiq.*, ix.) and Diodorus (xi. 1). But Diodorus affords further proof on this point. He dates the archonship of *Calliades*, and the battles of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis*, "in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, celebrated at Elis, in which Asyllus the Syracusan was victor."^c The seventy-fifth Olympiad = B.C. 480. And we can produce decisive proof of the correctness of Diodorus on this point. By the recovery of the long-lost part of the chronicon of Eusebius, in the Armenian language, we are enabled to test any event happening in an Olympic year, by referring to his correct list of the Olympiads, which extends from the first, when Coræbus the Elean conquered in the Stadium (B.C. 776) to the 249th, in which Antoninus the son of Severus was emperor over the Romans (A.D. 217). In the register of the seventy-fifth Olympiad (B.C. 480) Astyalus the Crotoniate is stated to be the victor in the Stadium, which agrees with Diordorus, because Astyalus or Asylus, though a Crotoniate, professed himself to be Syracusan, as we learn from Pausanias (vi. 13).

Epoch 58. We read on the marble, "Since the stone fell in *Ægos-potamus*; and Simonides the poet died, having lived ninety years, 205 years: Theagenidas being archon at Athens." Diodorus (xi. 15) states that "Theagenidas was archon of Athens in the seventy-eighth Olympiad (B.C. 468), wherein Parmenides Possidoniates was victor." Dionysius (*Antiq.* ix.) and Plutarch (*Mor.*, p. 835, *A*) agree as to the archonship; and Eusebius' chronicon gives "Parmenides Posidoniates, as victor in the Stadium in the seventy-eighth Olympiad." Diogenes (*Laert.* ii. 9) Plutarch (*Lys.* c. 12) and Pliny (xxxvii. 10) speak of the

^c Diordorus, xi. 1.

stone which fell at Ægospotomos, though the last of these three refers it to "the *second* year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad," in place of the *first*. The archonship of Theagenidas is consequently fixed B.C. 468; Mr. Parker makes it B.C. 486.

Epoch 63. The marble reads, "Since Dionysius became tyrant of Syracuse, 144 years: Euctemon being archon at Athens." If the figures in this epoch be correct, and we shall endeavour to prove they are so, $144 + 264$ B.C. (the date of the marble, common chronology) = 408 B.C., the date of the archonship of Euctemon, which Mr. Parker places B.C. 428. To be consistent with his own theory Parker should have raised it one year higher B.C. 429, for his date of the marble is 282 B.C., and his reading of that epoch is 147 years in place of 144, and $147 + 282 =$ B.C. 429. It is true that in the edition of Selden it reads *HAAAAIIII*, 147; and in Dr. Chandler's edition *HAAAAIIII*, 144. It will be seen how slight the difference is between *II* and *II*, and considering how illegible the marble must have been in Selden's time, we must not be surprised at this slight error which Chandler has properly corrected. Clinton commenting on other discrepancies between those two editors of the *Parian Chronicle*, writes that "a friend having at my request examined the marble at line 54, assures me that the numbers are too much defaced to be deciphered. We may reasonably doubt, then," Clinton adds, "whether even in Selden's time they were sufficiently distinct to be legible, and may question the accuracy of the numbers which he exhibits."^d That we have the means of proving by the marble itself 144 years to be the correct reading, the following evidence will shew. By a very happy circumstance (one of the only two instances which occur in the marble) events are recorded of three consecutive years. Thus at Epoch 65, the archonship of Callias I. is placed in the 142nd year of the marble. At Epoch 64, Antigenes is named archon in the 143rd year, and at Epoch 63 Euctemon is the archon in the 144th year according to the reading of Chandler. Selden places these figures respectively, [1]41, 145, 147. Now Chandler's reading is the exact order in which Diodorus places these three archons in the three consecutive years of ninety-third Olympiad, *i. e.*, B.C. 408, 7, 6. Thus we have proof, by comparing Diodorus with the marble, that the archonship of Euctemon should be placed in the 144th year of its era, and not in the 147th, as Parker has placed it; although, indeed, he seems to admit the fallacy of his own conclusions, as in the list of archons, in his extended table, he is constrained to place them according to Chandler's interpretation of the marble and

^d *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i., p. 420.

not according to Selden's. Having thus settled the correct reading of the marble, what is the true date of the archonship of Euctemon and the reign of Dionysius? The former event is placed by Diodorus (xiii. 19) "in the ninety-third Olympiad, in which Eubotas of Cyrene got the victory," adding in the following chapter, "In this Olympiad, the Synouris (a new race by a brace of mules in a chariot so called) was added to the Olympiad games." In the chronicon of Eusebius it is written, "Olymp. 93, Eurotas Cyrenean, victor in the Stadium; the Synouris was added, and Evagoras the Elean conquered." In Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (ch. ix.) the addition of "the Synouris, in which Evagoras was victor," is placed in the ninety-third Olympiad. And if any additional testimony were required, we read in Xenophon,* "When the ninety-third Olympiad was solemnized, Evagoras the Elean was conqueror in the chariot-race, Eubotas the Cyrenian in the foot-race, Euctemon archon at Athens," etc. Thus the ninety-third Olympiad is fixed to B.C. 408, common chronology, during the archonship of Euctemon, but Mr. Parker places it B.C. 428. With regard to the commencement of the reign of Dionysius of Syracuse, the marble places it during the archonship of Euctemon, while Diodorus and Xenophon place it two or three years later, although both agree in reckoning it during the ninety-third Olympiad. And if Mr. Parker is inclined to prefer the chronology of the marble to that of Diodorus, because its compiler lived nearest to the time of the events which he records, *a fortiori* must he accept Xenophon's testimony as preferable to that of the marble, for Xenophon was in his prime, about forty years old, at the ninety-third Olympiad B.C. 408, when Dionysius became tyrant of Syracuse.

At Epoch 65, the marble reads, "Since So . . . ocles, having lived . . . 1 years, died, and Cyrus we . . . 142 years, Callias the First being . . . chon at Athens." By supplying the lacunæ, as Dr. Chandler has done, it is easy to understand that the death of Sophocles, and the commencement of Cyrus' designs upon his elder brother Artaxerxes, took place in the 142nd year of the marble, and during the archonship of Callias. We have already offered proof for dating the archonship of Callias B.C. 406, in opposition to Mr. Parker's date, B.C. 424. And this is further confirmed by the allusion to Cyrus' treason at that time, which Chandler naturally conjectures must be the meaning of the obliterated portion of the marble. According to Clinton, "Cyrus' journey into Upper Asia was undertaken in the beginning of B.C. 405. On the arrival of Cyrus, the king was still

* *Hellenica*, l. 1, 2.

living, but died soon after.” Assuming, then, that the journey of Cyrus, the death of his father Darius Nothus, and the accession of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Cyrus’ elder brother, are to be placed according to the common chronology, B.C. 405, this accords with the archonship of Callias, which is reckoned from the summer of B.C. 406 to the summer of the following year, in opposition to Mr. Parker’s date of B.C. 424. It may be sufficient to add that Xenophon, who accompanied Cyrus in his subsequent expedition against his brother, and the historian of the celebrated retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, Diodorus, the canon of Ptolemy, and the astronomical canon, all agree in fixing the accession of Artaxerxes Mnemon to B.C. 405.

At Epoch 73, the marble reads, “. . . was fought between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, in which the Thebans conquered; 107 years: Phrasiclides being archon at Athens.” This clearly points to the battle of Leuctra, fought according to the common chronology, B.C. 371, but, according to Mr. Parker, B.C. 388. Diodorus (xv. 6) places the battle of Leuctra and the archonship of Phrasiclides in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad, B.C. 371, “when Damon the Thurian was victor,” and as this perfectly coincides with the Olympic register, as given in Eusebius’ chronicon, it confirms the common chronology, and not that of Mr. Parker. We now come to the last instance wherein we shall have occasion to notice the marble. At Epoch 77, we read, “Since Timotheus, having lived ninety years, died . . . reigns . . . cedonians; and Artaxerxes died; and Ochus his son . . . gained the victory; ninety-three years, Agathocles being archon at Athens.” Without stopping to notice the question, which Mr. Parker has contended for at great and unnecessary length, as to the name of the king who was reigning in Macedon, and which the defacement of the marble prevents us from deciding, it will be sufficient to notice the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the accession of his son Ochus, as having occurred during the archonship of *Agathocles*, and in the ninety-third year of the marble era, which in the common chronology would be B.C. 357, and according to Parker, B.C. 374. Diodorus does not give the exact year of the death of Artaxerxes, but during the archonship of Molon, B.C. 362, common chronology, he states, “not long after, the king of Persia died, having reigned forty-three years; Ochus succeeded him, and governed twenty-three years” (xv. 11). Thus their united reigns equal sixty-six years. Ptolemy’s canon and the astronomical canon give one year more, but though there is a degree of

uncertainty concerning the number of years that Artaxerxes and Ochus respectively reigned, for the historian gives the former three more years than the canons allow, as it would fall between the years B.C. 360 and B.C. 357, we see in this a sufficient agreement with the marble, which places the death of the father and the accession of the son in the ninety-third year of its era; in other words, $264 + 93 = 357$, B.C., the year in which Diodorus places the archonship of *Agathocles*. Mr. Parker dates all these events B.C. 374, grounding his reasons for so doing upon the fact that, as Plutarch states, Artaxerxes reigned sixty-two years (Clinton justly remarks on this point, "it is not probable that these are the genuine numbers of Plutarch"), therefore all the events in history which preceded that reign, must be thrown back about twenty years. We are by no means prepared for so startling a theory, and indeed, here Mr. Parker contradicts himself, for instead of terminating the sixty-two years' reign of Artaxerxes, as he should have done for consistency's sake, B.C. 374, the year which he allots to the archonship of Agathocles, during which Artaxerxes died, according to the marble, he has in his extended table placed the archonship of Agathocles in the fifty-second year of Artaxerxes, while he has dated the death of that king and the accession of Ochus ten years lower down, viz., B.C. 364.

We have now tested Mr. Parker's chronology in seven different epochs of the marble, and we think it is not too much to say that in every one of them it has been found wanting, and that it is a great misnomer on his part to publish a work entitled *The Parian Chronology subversive of the Common Chronology*, when in reality it confirms the common chronology in no slight degree.

We must further notice the three great eras of the eighth century B.C., which are all confirmatory of the common chronology, and independent of events referred to in the marble. Thus the well-known epochs, the first Olympiad, the building of Rome, and the Era of Nabonassar, respectively dated B.C. 776, 753, and 747, are placed by Mr. Parker B.C. 796, 771, and 767. On these three points we have distinct, separate, and conclusive testimony in favour of the common chronology, and against Mr. Parker's hypothesis.

We have already called attention to the chronicon of Eusebius, containing the Olympic register from the first Olympiad, B.C. 776, to the two hundred and forty-ninth, A.D. 217, and we have a singular confirmation of its correctness by verifying it with what Pausanias says respecting the Olympiads in his description of Greece. Pausanias, writing in the second century

of the Christian era, remarks that the memorials of the Olympiads go on without interruption, since the first prize given for the stadium was won by Corœbus the Elean; that he found the list perfect, when he inspected the public register at Elis, except in the 211th Olympiad, A.D. 65, "which," he observes, "is the only Olympiad omitted in the register of the Eleans."⁹ In the chronicon of Eusebius, at the 211th Olympiad, occurs this note, "This Olympiad was not celebrated, Nero having postponed it till he could be present. But it was celebrated two years after." So Censorinus, in his valuable work, *De die Natali* (cap. 21), marks the year in which he wrote it A.D. 238, in the consulate of Ulpian and Pontianus, by its reference to some of the most remarkable eras, and among the rest states that it was the "1014th year from the first Olympiad, reckoned from the summer days on which the Olympic games were celebrated." Now 1014—A.D. 238=B.C. 776. Can there be the slightest doubt of that being the true date, and not B.C. 796, for what Mr. Parker calls "the first Olympiad of Diodorus," or that there are any grounds for distinguishing between that Olympiad and the first recorded one in which Corœbus was Victor, as in his extended table he appears disposed to do?

So also with regard to the date of the building of Rome: while a certain difference exists amongst the ancients,—Varro, Plutarch, Eutropius, and Valleius Paterculus make it B.C. 753, Dionysius, Cato, and Livy, B.C. 751, Diodorus Siculus B.C. 750, and Fabius Victor, the most ancient of the Latin historians, B.C. 748,—we do not recollect ever having met with so unaccountable a date as that which Mr. Parker has adopted, viz., B.C. 771. Censorinus, in his work we have referred to above, follows the computation of Varro, which, as it was held in the highest estimation among the Romans, judging from the praises bestowed upon him by Cicero, must be accepted as authoritative by us. Dr. Jarvis, in his valuable work entitled *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church* (part i., ch. 2), comes to this conclusion, "According to these computations (of Varro), the ninety-first year of Rome began the twenty-first of April preceding the 1014th year of Iphitus, which began at the summer solstice. The difference between 1014 and 991 is twenty-three. Five complete Olympiads, or twenty years ended at the summer solstice. Consequently, twenty-three years would end at the summer solstice; and the foundation of Rome must be dated from the twenty-first of the preceding April, i. e., in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, or April 21, A.J.P. 3961," which is B.C. 776.

⁹ Phocic., 892.

So as regards the Era of Nabonassar, B.C. 747 common chronology, but according to Parker B.C. 767. The only authorities we can appeal to on this point are the three canons, Ptolemy's, the ecclesiastical, and the astronomical, as given in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, and they all with uniform consent place the first year of Nabonassar B.C. 747. On referring to Mr. Parker's extended table we found to our surprise that while he dates the first year of Nabonassar B.C. 767, he has in the same column placed 747 opposite the first year of the Christian era. How could we explain this? Why, after some search we found he had adopted a similar plan, which we have already been compelled to condemn, with respect to his list of archons from Diodorus, he has, without a note of warning, simply repeated *twenty years twice over*. From 425 N. E. to 445 N. E. he has introduced the very same figures as a fictitious representation of the years which he requires in support of his fanciful and untenable system.

But if *history* is against Mr. Parker's astounding theory about the lost twenty years between the time of the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander the Great, no less so will *astronomy* prove to be, when it comes to be analyzed with the rigour which the subject demands. Struyk, in his *Introduction to Universal Geography*, has collected the accounts which Thucydides, Xenophon, Ptolemy, Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, Polybius, Cicero, Livy, Dion Cassius, and many others, have given of eclipses happening either in their own time, or recorded in the authentic documents from which their respective works were compiled; and it is well worthy of note that in every single instance they verify the truth of the common chronology, by their invariable agreement with what the science of astronomy has enabled us to discover. As science teaches us that in every year the number of eclipses cannot be less than two, nor more than seven, while the average number is four, it is not difficult to find an eclipse for any year that may be wanted by referring to the great work of the Benedictines, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*. But the real proof required is to shew that the eclipse which science has detected must have coincided *with the period of year* that it was witnessed by the recording writer. Thus without stopping to notice the eclipses recorded by Herodotus, as the long discussion respecting the eclipse of Thales, which happened between one or two centuries before he was born, proves the inutility of referring to his history on a question of this nature, we refer to the two first names in our list above, as those who have recorded eclipses which they themselves must have seen, and if their testimony accords perfectly with the common chronology, and not with that of Mr. Parker, we have sufficient evidence for accepting

the one in preference to the other. Be it remembered that Thucydides and Xenophon flourished in and after the Peloponnesian war; and, therefore, during the very period that Mr. Parker considers this singular omission of twenty years to have taken place. Now we have five eclipses recorded by those distinguished historians, two of which it will be sufficient to notice in testing the accuracy of the common chronology.

In the first year of the Peloponnesian war B.C. 431, Thucydides (ii. 28) writes, "In the summer, on the first day of the month, according to the moon (at which time it seems only possible), in the afternoon, happened an eclipse of the sun." According to the astronomical tables, a solar eclipse was visible at Athens, at 4 p.m., August 3rd, B.C. 431.

In the last year of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 404, commonly known as the year of anarchy, Xenophon^a mentions a solar eclipse "in the year in which Crocinas the Thessalian was Victor at the Olympic games, and Pythodorus was archon at Athens, whom the Athenians, because he was appointed during the oligarchy, never name in their list of archons, but style that year *the anarchy*." We learn from the astronomical tables, that a solar eclipse was visible at Athens about 9 a.m., September 2, B.C. 404; from Diodorus (xiv. 1), that "in the ninety-fourth Olympiad, B.C. 404, Cocynas of Larissa (a town of Thessaly) was victor, and that in consequence of the dissolution of the government, Athens was involved in *anarchy*;" he omits therefore the name of the archon for that year, the only instance in his history of such an omission; and from Eusebius' *Chronicon* that "in the ninety-fourth Olympiad, Crocinas, Larissæan, was victor in the Stadium." With such a combination of testimonies, both historical and astronomical, can any one doubt for a moment, that the period of the Peloponnesian war, which lasted according to Thucydides 27 years (l. v.), extended from B.C. 431 to B.C. 404, according to the common chronology. As Mr. Parker dates the war B.C. 451—424, how does he meet the astronomical proof which tells so strongly against him?

First, as regards the eclipse of Thucydides, which occurred in the summer at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, Mr. Parker offers a choice of three eclipses in order to fit his chronological system. Either a solar eclipse of March 30, B.C., at 9 in the evening; or one on September 22, of the same year, at half-past 11 in the evening; or a third, an annular eclipse, on the 20th of March in the year following, i.e., B.C. 451, at quarter past 5 in the morning.ⁱ Now as regards the first and second of these eclipses, as they both occurred *in the night*, they could not

^a *Hell.*, l. ii., 3.

ⁱ See Parker's *Chronology*, pp. 780—2.

have been seen at Athens, nor indeed in any part of the then known world. Of the third, as it took place in the *spring* of B.C. 451, and between 5 and 6 in the *morning*, *certainly* it does not accord with Thucydides' statement, which reads "in the afternoon of a summer's day." Mr. Parker indeed supposes, what is indeed true, that as Thucydides divided his annals into summers and winters, any March or September eclipse would suit his record of "a summer eclipse." But a very slight reference to Thucydides will prove that such an interpretation of his language will not stand good here. He mentions (ii. 2) that the war began two months before the expiration of the archonship of Pythodorus, which terminated at the summer solstice of B.C. 431 common chronology, or B.C. 451, according to Parker, and he records the eclipse (ii. 28) in dispute, as having happened "in an afternoon of the same summer," therefore he must mean some eclipse between the months of May and September in the first year of the Peloponnesian war. Mr. Parker meets the little additional difficulty concerning it being an "afternoon" eclipse in so candid a manner, that we should be doing him an injustice if we did not give the explanation in his own words: "We have learnt from Censorinus," he tells us, "that the Athenians reckoned their civil day from sunset to sunset, *and the middle of this day would be sunrise*; and if we might interpret the *μετὰ μεσημβρίαν* of Thucydides as meaning this, the calculated hour would agree with Thucydides." But he adds with commendable candour, and charming simplicity, "it seems more probable that Thucydides, by *μετὰ μεσημβρίαν*, meant after the middle of the natural day." With which wise conclusion every Greek lexicographer will cordially agree. We have omitted to mention in confirmation of the common chronology, that Thucydides observes in this eclipse "the sun appeared in the form of a crescent," which exactly agrees with the afternoon eclipse of August 3, B.C. 431, when according to the astronomical tables eleven digits were then eclipsed.

As this eclipse of Thucydides is so conclusive in determining the date of the *commencement* of the Peloponnesian war in favour of the common chronology, it is unnecessary to notice at length the eclipse recorded by Xenophon in order to decide the date of its *termination*. Mr. Parker has indeed referred to Xenophon, and quoted him in the same manner as we have done, but he has omitted to notice that the eclipse, together with all the other events mentioned by the historian, took place *in the ninety-fourth Olympiad*, which was B.C. 404, the date of the end of the war according to common chronology, and not B.C. 424 according to Mr. Parker.

We are aware that Mr. Parker (pp. 787-8) attempts to

destroy the value of all ancient eclipses as a chronological test, in consequence of the difference which has arisen between those two distinguished astronomers, Professors Airy and Adams, respecting the exact allowance of the moon's secular acceleration to be made in the calculation of eclipses in the time of and prior to the Peloponnesian war. It may, therefore, be consolatory to the adherents of the common chronology to know that we are warranted in affirming, in Mr. Adam's own words, that so far from this being in reality the case, all that his valuable discoveries in that branch of astronomical science shew is this, that "eclipses about the time of the Peloponnesian war would take place one hour and a quarter later than the present tables give." He likewise justly concludes "that the dates received for the Thucydidean eclipses cannot be disturbed."

Lastly, we must notice the subject of *prophecy*, on which Mr. Parker appears to lean in support of his favourite hypothesis, and as being subversive of the common chronology. We need not stop to comment on some of his prophetic speculations, such as Daniel's vision (chap. viii.) respecting the cessation of 2,300 sacrifices during the pollution of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, which Mr. Parker by some most extraordinary system of hermeneutics, difficult to understand and impossible to defend, contends that it means 200 years, and terminated at the crucifixion (see p. 755), as it has nothing to do with our chronological differences. But another famous prophecy, which ought to, and in reality does, afford us some help in determining chronology, must be examined with some care. We have already seen that Scripture chronology may be said to terminate with the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, and the termination of the seventy years' captivity, which we believe we have shewed is correctly dated according to the common chronology, B.C. 538. The famous prophecy of Daniel commonly known as that of *the seventy weeks*, helps us further onward in our chronological search. In the year that Darius the Mede succeeded Belshazzar on the throne of Babylon, Daniel was favoured by a visit from an angel, who was instructed to communicate to him God's intentions towards Jerusalem and its inhabitants, which may be briefly summed up as follows:—That in the course of seventy weeks or hebdomads, as they might be more appropriately termed, everything relating to the Jewish people should be accomplished; that a further explanation of these seventy hebdomads is given by their division into three portions, consisting of seven hebdomads, sixty-two and one; that at the termination of the sixty-two hebdomads the Messiah should be put to death, counting from the time when the decree was given to build up the walls and city of Jerusalem. Now we are

aware that a great variety of interpretations have been given of this famous prophecy, as may be seen in one of the works which heads our present article,^j and we desire therefore carefully to avoid expressing an opinion on anything save that which has a chronological bearing, which we believe the prophecy has, by referring to the exact year when it may be said to have commenced, and also to the time when the sixty-second hebdomad terminated by the death of the promised Messiah. The obvious meaning of the Hebrew word שבועות (plural) translated "weeks," and by the LXX. "hebdomads," must be the same in all the four times in which it occurs, and has been so accepted by the unanimous consent of both ancient and modern commentators. The word etymologically signifies the numeral *seven*, but that it is to be understood a seven of years, and not of days, or of weeks, or of months, may be proved from the fact, that nothing but the interpretation of the term in this sense will enable us to see how the prophecy has been fulfilled. The natural interpretation of the prophecy is as follows:—From the time of the decree for rebuilding of Jerusalem, to some object which is not specified in the Scripture, but which we may fairly conclude refers to the completion of the city, is seven hebdomads or forty-nine years. From that time to the cutting off of the Messiah is sixty-two more hebdomads or 434 years, making in all 483 years from the decree to that fixed point in chronology, the crucifixion of Christ. As the remaining single hebdomad or seven years affords no help in a chronological point of view, it is unnecessary to consider the many opinions put forth in reference to its fulfilment. Now if we can only discover the time of two important historical events, the decree for building Jerusalem at one end of our chain, and the crucifixion at the other, with an interval of 483 years between them, we may reasonably conclude that our interpretation of that part of the prophecy is correct, and likewise that it is confirmatory of the common chronology in preference to the theory advocated by Mr. Parker.

Such evidence we believe we can produce. Discarding at once the common opinion of dating the crucifixion A.D. 33, both upon astronomical and historical grounds, for the true passover day, *i. e.*, the fourteenth day of the moon, or of the month called Nisan, which fell that year on Wednesday, April 1, as the astronomical tables prove; and the opposition of Sejanus (who was put to death according to Tacitus, October 18, A.D. 31) to Tiberius' proposition to the Roman Senate to admit Christ with the other heathen gods whom they worshipped,^k alike com-

^j See *The First and Second Advent*, pp. 11, 12, by the Rev. B. W. Savile.

^k See Tertullian, *Apol.*, 5, and Orosius, *Hist.*, vii. 1.

bine to shew that the crucifixion could not have taken place so late as A.D. 33, we are constrained to adopt the conclusion to which Clinton, Lardner, Adam Clarke, and Browne in his *Ordo Sæclorum* among the moderns, and Tertullian, Lactantius, Africanus, Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Sulpitius, and Idatius among the ancients have come, that the crucifixion really took place during the consulship of the Gemini, *i. e.*, A.D. 29. This question, which is very fully discussed in Savile's *First and Second Advent*, may be thus briefly stated. Tertullian writing, probably in Rome, towards the close of the second century when the *Acta Pilati* were still extant, as in his *Apology*, c. xxi., he speaks of "the things relating to Christ, of which Pilate, in his conscience already a Christian, sent to Tiberius," and also of the supernatural darkness at the crucifixion, which "remarkable event," he says, "you have recorded in the archives," expressly states the year, the month, and the consulship when the crucifixion took place, as well as alludes to the prophecy of Daniel to which we are referring. His words are,—“In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Christ suffered, whose sufferings were completed *within the time of the seventy hebdomads* under Tiberius Cæsar, Rubellius Geminus, and Rufius Geminus being consuls, *in the month of March at the time of the Passover.*”¹ The fifteenth year of Tiberius extended from August 19, A.D. 28, to August 18, A.D. 29. The consulship of the Gemini from January 1 to December 31, A.D. 29; and the Passover that year, according to the astronomical tables, fell on March 17, which agrees well with the language of St. John (xviii. 18), that when our Lord was led into the palace of the high priest, the servants had “made a fire of coals, *for it was cold*,” an incidental argument in favour of a very early passover, which must have been the case in the year of the crucifixion. And the Quartodecimans of Cappadocia appear to have kept their *pasch* or anniversary of the crucifixion in the month of March, on the grounds that the *Acta Pilati* dated that event on the sixteenth of the calends of April, *i. e.*, the 17th of March.² With such testimony we can have very little doubt of the crucifixion having occurred in the year of our Lord 29.

Admitting then that the crucifixion must be dated from the passover of A.D. 29, and calculating the prophecy backwards, 483 years as a starting point, we are brought to the passover of B.C. 455. Are there any grounds for thinking that a decree was issued for rebuilding Jerusalem in that very year? If we examine Scripture closely, we find there are four different

¹ Tertul., *Adv. Jud.*, viii.

² See Epiphanius, *Hær.* 50, n. 11.

decrees given by several kings of Persia relating to the Jews after the Babylonish captivity. Ezra records the first three as having been given respectively in the first year of Cyrus, the second of Darius, and the seventh of Artaxerxes; but none of these, however, refer to the building of Jerusalem, but only to the temple and the worship therein. Whereas the last of the four issued in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to Nehemiah distinctly refers to the rebuilding of the city, and its broken-down walls, which are so repeatedly referred to in the second chapter of the Book of Nehemiah. Moreover, the decree appears to have been issued "in the month of Nisan," which we know was the time of the passover. Our Bible chronology, which speaking generally is that of archbishop Usher affixed to our English Bibles by bishop Lloyd, about 150 years ago, gives B.C. 446 as the twentieth of Artaxerxes, according to the calculations of Ptolemy's canon. But in this instance bishop Lloyd appears to have substituted a date adapted to his own theory of the prophecy. For Usher^a had clearly shewn that the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign should be reckoned *nine years earlier* than the date commonly given. And this he did upon the authority of an almost contemporary historian, Thucydides, who declares that Themistocles' flight into Persia took place after Artaxerxes had come to the throne, instead of during the reign of his father Xerxes, as later writers usually represent it to have been. The date of Themistocles' flight may be deduced from Thucydides (lib. i., 98, 137) to have been B.C. 474-3; and Eusebius in his chronicon places it in Olympiad 76.4=B.C. 473. As this would allow only twelve years for the reign of Xerxes in place of twenty-one, allotted to him by the canons, we may conclude with Whiston,^o "that about the twelfth year of Xerxes he made his youngest son Artaxerxes king regent," which coincides with a cuneiform inscription on a monument at Hammamet, deciphered by Dr. Hincks, "that a certain functionary held office in Egypt, six years of Cambyses, thirty-six years of Darius, and *twelve years of Xerxes*." That Nehemiah gives the twentieth year of Artaxerxes calculated from his joint reign with his father, and not from the time of Xerxes' death, we may conclude from the usual custom of Scripture writers; witness the statement in Jer. xxv. 1, and Daniel i. 1, respecting the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which must have been during his father's lifetime, according to the testimony of Berosus, and also what St. Luke (iii. 1, 23) says respecting the baptism of Christ in the fifteenth

^a See *Annals of the Old and New Testament*, in loco.

^o See his *Literal Accomplishment of Scriptural Prophecies*, p. 73.

year of the government (τῆς ἡγεμονίας) of Tiberius Cæsar, not "*the reign*" as the word is unfortunately translated, shewing that it refers to the time of his associated power with Augustus, between two and three years before the latter's death, as the language of Tertullian proves, when he places the crucifixion "in the fifteenth year of *the reign* of Tiberius." We are therefore warranted in dating the accession of Artaxerxes in a similar manner, and especially as in this instance it accords with contemporary history. Dating the first year of Artaxerxes B.C. 474-3, the passover of his twentieth year would fall B.C. 455, the time when we learn from Scripture that the decree was given for rebuilding the city, and the broken-down walls of Jerusalem. We have already remarked, that the time from the passover B.C. 455 to the passover A.D. 29, is exactly 483 years, the interval required for the fulfilment of the prophecy. And by a singular coincidence, which is noticed by Mr. Savile,^r in each of those years the passover, which by God's command was kept on the fourteenth day of the moon, *fell on the seventeenth of March*; so that, supposing Artaxerxes' decree for rebuilding Jerusalem was issued on the fourteenth day of "the month Nisan," which is mentioned by Nehemiah, *on that very same day 483 afterwards*, the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter when the "Messiah was cut off," by being nailed alive to the cross on Calvary.

From this interpretation Mr. Parker dissents *in toto*; and by a most inconsistent and arbitrary mode of proceeding, he proposes to understand the prophecy as follows:—

1st. That the seventy weeks have a double meaning, in one case meaning 700, and in the other seventy years, but both ending in the second of Vespasian, *i. e.*, B.C. 69-70.[†]

2nd. That the seven weeks may mean 490 years, because $70+7=490$, and Jesus told Peter to forgive an offending brother seventy times seven (p. 741).

3rd. That the sixty-two weeks represent 620 years, extending from the last year of Cyrus to the year in which Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus (p. 749).

4th. That the one remaining week is to be understood "in a certain sense" of the seventy years which intervened between the birth of Christ and the fall of Jerusalem (p. 754).

We shall be curious to hear if this novel and inexplicable mode of interpreting Daniel's famous prophecy of the seventy weeks has any defenders or disciples, but we frankly own that we have not been able to discover throughout Mr. Parker's work a single argument in its favour. It is true that he quotes

^r *First and Second Advent*, p. 26.

[†] See *Chronology*, p. 738.

Eusebius in support of his opinion that the prophecy which declares "Messiah to be cut off," has nothing to do with the crucifixion of Christ, but must be interpreted of Herod's destruction of the high priest Hircanus, the last appointed out of the sacerdotal family by succession, which happened B.C. 36. To say nothing of this theory failing chronologically, it is so contrary to the plainest principles of interpretation, to make "Messiah" in the *first* clause of the prophecy to refer to Christ, and in the *second* to the line of high priests, as far as a certain one called Hircanus, but no farther, though the line continued upwards of a hundred years until the destruction of Jerusalem, that it really does not deserve refutation.

We have now tested Mr. Parker's chronology, or rather that part of it which requires the introduction of twenty additional years about the time of the Peloponnesian war, by the light which contemporary history, incidental testimony, the ancient canons, both sacred and profane, astronomy and prophecy afford, and we are bound to say that so far from the "Parian marble being subversive of the common chronology," as the title of one of his works declares, every fresh investigation of this interesting subject, every test which the ingenuity of man has discovered in analyzing such intricate matter, only confirms the opinion we have expressed in this article, that the chronology from the time of the Babylonish captivity to the Christian era is too well established to be overthrown. We will pay Mr. Parker the deserved compliment of saying there is much in his recently published work on chronology, notwithstanding the blemishes which we have detected, which is a valuable addition to literature on that peculiar branch of scientific research. It is a learned and laborious work, but we are sorry to be obliged to add it is very confused. It wants the simplicity of either Usher's or Clinton's great works. And the student will have some trouble in obtaining the author's opinion on dates of historical events for which he may be in search. It is perplexing to find an English chronologer in the present day, who generally avoids adopting the well-known era B.C., and who when he does use it, is obliged to distinguish between "*our* B.C. and the common B.C." (see p. 393, etc.), who prints the numbers of the years before Christ upside down, as in his extended table, and who, as we have already noticed, introduces in the column of the Athenian archons, and of the era of Nabonassar, about twenty names and years twice repeated in order to support a theory which cannot stand. But with all this, we thank him for the information he has collected on the subject, and has now sent forth to battle its way in this investigating age of ours.

A word in conclusion on Scripture chronology in general. We have seen how far superior in a literary point of view, leaving out of question for a moment the subject of inspiration, the chronology of Scripture is to all that remains of profane historians with regard to what is termed the heroic period, or times anterior to the captivity of the ten tribes; the first recorded Olympic, the building of Rome, and the era of Nabonassar, all of which took place during the eighth century of B.C. With the exception of one brief interval during the time of Joshua and the Elders, where we are compelled to be conjectural, though the differences amongst chronologers on that point is limited to a period of about ten years, and of another between the termination of the Babylonish captivity, and the issuing of the decree for the rebuilding of Jerusalem in the twentieth of Artaxerxes, which interval is sufficiently and consistently supplied by the concurrent testimonies of Herodotus, Thucydides, Ptolemy's canon and the cuneiform inscriptions, saving these two lacunæ, we may discover in Scripture a perfect system of chronology, from the creation of Adam to the most wonderful event which has happened in the world's history, the cutting off of the promised Messiah, the crucifixion of the Son of God.

When, moreover, we recollect that it is the chronology of inspired, and, with the exception of the præ-exode period, of contemporary writers, whose testimony has always been confirmed, wherever such confirmation is possible, by the writings of independant historians, we are satisfied that their statements cannot be overthrown. Let us then meditate with becoming awe at the conclusion to which such chronologers as Clinton and many others have come concerning the present age of the world, who have deeply investigated the subject, and which indeed is the chief use of the study of sacred chronology, that nigh 6000 years have rolled by since the ever-memorable fiat went forth from the Almighty's lips: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness;" that we appear from chronology to be on the verge of that expected Millennium to which "the signs of the times" seem now so clearly to point—that promised period of rest for which all things of "creation, now groaning and travailing in pain," are anxiously longing, concerning which theologians have preached, moralists written, and poets sung,—which influenced the inquiring minds of such holy men of old as Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Lactantius, Augustine, and others; and which was "generally believed," as Bishop Newton^r says, "In the

^r *On the Prophecies*, Dissertation xxv.

three first and purest ages ; and this belief, as the learned Dodwell has justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive Christians ; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection."

"The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which heaven has heard for ages, have an end,
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
Whose fire was kindled at the prophet's lamp,
The time of rest, the promised Sabbath comes.
Six thousand years of sorrow have well nigh
Fulfilled their tardy and disastrous course
Over a sinful world ; and what remains
Of this tempestuous state of human things
Is merely as the working of a sea
Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest."

Cowper's *Task*.

"The animals, as once in Eden, lived
In peace. The wolf dwelt with the lamb, the bear
And leopard with the ox. With looks of love,
The tiger and the scaly crocodile
Together met, at Gambia's palmy wave.

* * * *

The desert blossomed, and the barren sung.
Justice and mercy, holiness and love,
Among the people walked, Messiah reigned,
And earth kept jubilee *a thousand years*."

Pollok's *Course of Time*.

Who, after reading these exquisite lines, will not be ready to exclaim with him who next to "the sweet singer of Israel" was more highly gifted in the realm of song than any other of the sons of men, and whose very prose was poetry itself : "Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all kings of the earth ; put on the visible robe of thy Imperial Majesty ; take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father has bequeathed to thee ; for *now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creation sighs to be renewed*."

ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. xii.

(Continued from No. XIX., p. 99.)

BEFORE proceeding to analyze the emblems in this chapter, it is needful to observe that the third woe, whose speedy approach is announced in the fourteenth verse of the preceding chapter, has yet to come; for we look in vain for any trace of it in the five concluding verses of the eleventh chapter.

The twelfth chapter commences with a new series of emblems of a character totally different from that of any of those previously presented to our view. The first of this new series is called "a great wonder, or sign in heaven," thus clearly indicating it to be a symbol. This sign was "a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." It is hardly necessary to remark that this figure cannot be a representation of any real person, but must be an allegorical representation of some great moral principle. The true meaning of the type becomes evident at the end of this chapter, where the seed of this allegorical woman are described as "they who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." It is thus rendered obvious that this woman is a personification of pure Christianity. The emblem is one of great beauty, and strikingly portrays the leading characteristics of the Christian religion. Christ is called the Sun of Righteousness. Hence the woman is represented as being clothed with the sun, to indicate that pure Christianity is distinguished by perfect righteousness. It is only in the Christian religion that such a perfect righteousness can be found; for it possesses the perfect righteousness of Christ himself, which, by virtue of the union subsisting between him and every member of his Church, is transfused throughout the whole body. In other religious communities there may be upright men, but their righteousness being of necessity imperfect, the aggregate righteousness of the religious body, viewed as a whole, cannot be perfect, because it wants the righteousness of Christ, which alone is perfect.

This same remark applies to all those false systems of Christianity which do not recognize the righteousness of Christ as their true glory, and as the sole ground upon which their members are ultimately glorified. Such other systems may be clothed with a feeble phosphorescence, but none of them are clothed with the sun.

As the righteousness of Christ embraces the perfection of every grace, and in a more especial manner the grace of charity

or love, which was so conspicuous in his character, so the righteousness, typified by the sun, clothing this personification of pure Christianity, embraces the idea of the perfection of charity, which is itself the bond of perfectness, binding together, as it were, and blending into a harmonious whole all the other virtues, so as to constitute a perfect righteousness.

The moon, again, is an emblem both of the faithfulness of God and of the principle of faith in man. In the eighty-ninth Psalm, the divine promise to David with respect to his throne is—"It shall be established for ever as the moon and a faithful witness in heaven." Hence, according to the structure of Hebrew verse, the moon is here designated as "a faithful witness in heaven." It is a witness to the faithfulness of God, because the regularity of her phases and motions is a token of God's faithfulness to his promises, while the lunar influence over the tides is also an emblem of the divine faithfulness in the regulation of the tide of human affairs for the benefit of his adopted sons. But the moon, as "a faithful witness," also represents the principle of faith in the human mind. She reflects the light of the sun; so faith reflects the light of the sun of righteousness. She is regular in her courses, and returns at her appointed season. So faith is regular in the performance of every moral duty, and strict in the observance of every divine ordinance. The moon elevates the waters of the globe, and thus regulates the tides; so faith elevates that portion of human society which is under its immediate influence, and exerts a powerful sway over the tide of human affairs; for there is no more powerful mover of human conduct than faith in God and his good providence.

We find accordingly, that this allegorical personage has her feet resting on the moon, thus indicating that pure religion rests upon the faithfulness of God in the performance of his promises, and stands upon faith in the divine faithfulness. The religion of Christ alone stands upon this pure faith, relying with implicit confidence on the faithfulness of God's love as manifested through Christ, reflecting the light of the Sun of Righteousness, and continuing faithful in the discharge of every appointed duty, and in the observance of every ordinance of God. In other systems of religion, whether they wrongfully assume to themselves the name of Christ, or wholly repudiate that name, there may be a species of faith. But in so far as it is directed towards the Deity, it is faith merely in the regularity of his laws and his providence, not in that pure and fatherly love which was manifested in his giving his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Nay, such is the absence of faith in this divine love, betrayed in those false systems of religion, whether nominally Christian or not, that the confidence and trust of their professors is directed, not towards God and his Christ, but to created beings, who are supposed to love men more warmly, or to be more easily moved with compassion towards them, and who are presumed to be able to screen them from the wrath which they imagine the Deity to be harbouring against them. Hence their faith is placed in a multitude of human mediators or intercessors, or else in some religious system of mere human invention, differing from that pure and simple scheme of salvation whose inventor is God. Neither does this spurious faith reflect the light of the perfect Sun of Righteousness, but it endeavours either to shine by a feeble phosphorescence of its own, or to borrow the weak glimmer of a lamp, instead of glowing in the noonday beams.

The next characteristic of this allegorical personage is a crown of twelve stars. The crown, here mentioned, is not the diadem or kingly crown, but the chaplet or victor's crown. The head being the seat of knowledge, it is probable that this chaplet of stars represents that perfect knowledge of divine truth which forms the crowning reward of pure religion. "If any man do my Father's will," says Christ, "he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Knowledge of the truth is thus represented as being the reward with which God crowns righteousness and faith. It will be remembered that in the first vision, the angels of the churches or religious instructors were represented by stars in the hand of Christ; but these twelve stars, crowning this allegorical personage, appear to symbolize the more abstract idea of *instructions*, rather than that of *instructors*. In a subsequent vision we shall meet with another emblem, shadowing forth instruction in a twelvefold division; but the number twelve, here assigned to the stars, is more probably used to denote *perfection* or *completeness*, indicating that this personification of genuine Christianity is crowned with a complete knowledge of all the truths necessary to the salvation of the soul.

Thus the description of this personage appears to convey the general idea that pure Christianity stands upon faith, is clothed with righteousness, embracing the perfection of charity, and crowned with knowledge. The selection of the female sex for this personification is probably designed to represent that meekness and gentleness of spirit, and that warmth of affection, resembling that of a mother, which the Christian religion inculcates, and also her fruitfulness in bringing forth sons to God, with perhaps an allusion to her nourishing her children with the pure milk of the Word.

The description of the woman proceeds thus (verse 2), "And she, being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered." From what is afterwards said of this child, namely, that he was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, in evident allusion to Psalm ii. 9, it cannot be doubted that by the child, which the woman had in her womb, is meant Christ. But it is equally evident that this emblem does not bear reference to the fact of Christ having been in the womb of the Virgin Mary; for it will be observed that this child, immediately on being brought forth by the woman, is caught up unto God and his throne. Hence it is plain, that Christ's being in the womb of this allegorical woman, is to be understood not literally as referring to his fleshly conception in the Virgin's womb, but in a metaphysical and spiritual sense. The woman being a personification of pure Christianity, her having Christ in her womb appears to signify, that at the time to which this vision refers, Christ, or rather the pure doctrine of Christ, should be hidden within the society of those who have the truth of God; that as only the mother has any knowledge of the babe she carries in her womb, so the knowledge of Christ and his pure doctrine should be confined to the true Israel of God—to those who stood upon faith, and were clothed with righteousness, and crowned with knowledge.

What then are we to understand by the woman being in travail and in anguish to be delivered. If the preceding view be correct, this statement may import that the true Christian Church, possessing the knowledge of Christ within herself, and finding it confined to herself, laboured to bring forth Christ, and exhibit him to the view of mankind at large. Knowing that He was destined to rule all nations with a rod of iron, she earnestly longed for the time when He was to assume his sovereign sway. She therefore uttered her voice and cried aloud to the nations. She laboured to bring to light the true doctrine of Christ which was hidden within her, and was in anguish to be delivered, so that the pure doctrine might acquire universal dominion over the minds of men.

We should fall into a serious mistake were we to imagine this curious part of the emblem to denote the Christian Church bringing forth Christ in his members; for the latter is a continuous act. The Christian Church is continually in travail in this latter sense, and constantly bringing forth new members of Christ's body. But the allegory before us represents a single act of parturition. It is afterwards affirmed, moreover, that the child which the woman was about to bring forth was destined to rule all nations with a rod of iron. Now Christ does not

exercise this rule through the medium of the members of his mystical body, but by the influence of his doctrine, and of the sublime principles of his religion, on the minds of men; and it is therefore far more probably the latter, rather than the former, that is personified by this symbolical child.

But we should fall into a vastly more grievous error were we to suppose this child to represent any individual man, about to be born either of his natural mother, or of his spiritual mother the Church, destined to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and that his elevation to heaven and the throne of God, afterwards mentioned, means the fulfilment of this destiny, by his elevation to supreme earthly sovereignty, and a throne nominally Christian, or even to a throne really entitled to that high appellation. This would be an utter degradation of the imagery—a transference of the prophecies relating to the triumph of Christ's religion over the kingdoms of the world to a mortal man and a mere earthly sway. Besides, it would contravene all the rules of sound interpretation to suppose an allegorical woman to give birth to a real human child. Nor should we less err were we to understand, by the symbol of the woman being clothed with the sun, an alliance between the Christian Church and the supreme civil power. Doubtless the sun is frequently used in this prophecy as a metaphor for the supreme civil authority, but it is, in such cases, introduced distinctly as a luminary in the heavens; while, in the vision before us, we shall find the supreme civil power typified under a far different emblem. The departure from the usual imagery is here so manifest—the sun being represented as clothing the woman, that we can have no hesitation in recognizing a departure also from the idea of supreme civil authority; while the appellation given to Christ, of the Sun of Righteousness, furnishes a ready clue to the meaning, and shews that it is with this righteousness that the woman is clothed.

Were we to add to this error the yet further mistake of supposing the twelve stars to mean episcopal authorities, and the moon to be either the laity subjected to the authority of the Church or that portion of her ministers which is placed under episcopal rule, we should render the explanation of the emblem not simply erroneous, but absurd.

We are next told that there appeared in heaven another wonder, or sign, of a totally opposite character. It is thus described by the apostle, verse 3, "And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads." From the nature of this second sign it is evident that neither in this, nor in the former case, can we understand by the word "heaven"

the abode of the unfallen. It is obviously used in the same sense as in the preceding chapter, namely, as a metaphor for the sphere of influence and power—the political heaven.

The second sign was a great dragon of a fiery red colour. This great dragon is, in the ninth verse, said to be "that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world." The dragon may therefore be regarded as an emblem of the spirit of unbelief, malice, and deception—the principles most opposed to those which characterize pure religion, faith, kindness and truth. The red colour of the dragon may denote the intensity of the furious zeal burning in the bosom of those opponents of the truth, who are characterized by unbelief, malice, and fraud. This red dragon may accordingly be viewed as an allegorical representation of the principle of antagonism to Christ, in its most active, subtle and malignant form.

The dragon is described as having "seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads." The crown here spoken of is not the chaplet or victor's crown (*Stephanos*), which alone has hitherto been mentioned in the visions, but the diadem or royal crown (*Diadema*); whence it is obvious that a change of meaning is involved. These crowns, then, may be regarded as types of temporal supremacy. From the analogies furnished by the visions of Daniel, we must also conclude that the ten horns represent ten temporal powers, but not possessing that amount of supremacy which is indicated by the heads. What then are we to understand by these temporal powers of the earth being represented by the heads and horns of this great red dragon—the symbol of the spirit of opposition to Christ: simply that, as a general rule, the power of the empires and kingdoms of this world would be placed in antagonism to the religion of Christ, in its purest form. This association of the political powers of the world with the power of Satan, is found in other parts of Scripture. Thus our Saviour calls Satan "the prince of this world" (*John* xii. 31). St. Paul calls him "the God of this world, who hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them" (*2 Cor.* iv. 4), and he speaks of the unconverted as "walking according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience" (*Eph.* ii. 2). In this passage the word "air" appears to be used in a sense similar to that in which the word "heaven" is employed in the passage before us, namely, as a metaphor denoting the region of political power; just as we talk of "the political atmosphere." To the same effect he says, "for we

wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against the spiritual influences of wickedness in heavenly places" (Eph. vi. 12). Here the expression "heavenly places" appears to be also used in the same sense as that in which the word "heaven" is employed in the passage under consideration; thus confirming the view we have taken, that it means "the sphere of influence and power." St. Paul further speaks of Christ as "having spoiled principalities and powers, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them by his cross" (Col. ii. 15). In the Satanic temptation of our Lord, again, the adversary "shewed him all the kingdoms of this world and the glory thereof," and said, "All these will I give unto thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me" (Matt. iv. 8, 9). This circumstance indicates that one of the greatest temptations to which the Christian Church should be exposed, would be the allurements of temporal and political power, and that her acceptance of these should lead to her falling down, and worshipping the adversary, and to her receiving the spirit of opposition to Christ into her very bosom.

These passages explain why it is that, in the emblem of the red dragon, the temporal powers are represented by the heads and horns of that type of the adversary of mankind, indicating that in general the political authorities of the world should be arrayed in opposition to the pure doctrines of Christ. To this general rule there must, however, be exceptions; for, seeing the dominion over the temporal powers is ultimately to belong to Christ, there must be a beginning of his sway. Some of the powers must be found ranged on the side of pure Christianity, and thus form exceptions to the general rule, for it is expressly declared in the previous chapter, that some of the kingdoms of this world had already become those of our Lord and his Christ.

Of these exceptions one of the most brilliant is the sovereign power of our own country, which is uniformly exerted on the side of truth, and in diffusing the light of pure Christianity over the earth. It may therefore be fairly inferred that the British power is not included among the heads and horns of this great red dragon, but is one of those kingdoms of this world over which Christ has already acquired the sovereign sway.

It is next affirmed of this dragon, that his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth. In those allegories, in which the sun and moon represent the supreme civil and ecclesiastical powers, the stars denote the great and noble of the land. But in the present allegory the sun and moon have a totally different signification; and it may :

therefore be presumed that the meaning of the stars is also different. They have probably the same meaning here as in the first vision, namely, the ministers and teachers of the Christian Church—the lesser lights in the spiritual firmament. By a third part of these being drawn after the tail of the dragon, then, we may understand that a considerable number of the ministers of Christ, who ought to have shone as the stars in the firmament, are to be seduced by the love of worldly wealth and political power into the worship of the God of this world, and are to be dragged in the train of the opponents of Christ, till they fall from the spiritual and moral heaven, and are brought down to grovel in the dust of earth.

It is next stated that “the dragon stood before the woman, who was ready to be delivered, to devour her child as soon as it should be born.” Following the indications already given, we are to understand that the pure religion of Christ, symbolized by the woman having within her Christ’s true doctrine, and being desirous to bring it forth to the view of all mankind, so that it might acquire an universal influence over the human mind, the powers of evil, represented by the dragon, stood ready to devour this pure doctrine, immediately on its being brought prominently into view. All those in authority and power, who, through love of the pomps and vanities of this world, were animated by hostility to the simple and humbling doctrines of Christ, including in their train all the worldly-minded among the ministers of the church, were standing ready to oppose the bringing forth of Christ, and the doctrine of salvation by his death, before the eyes of mankind at large; for they knew that were Christ to acquire supreme sway over the minds of men, those corrupt and deceitful arts by which their authority is maintained would be undermined, and their power would totter to its fall.

Notwithstanding this threatening aspect of the dragon, “the woman,” we are told, “brought forth her son, a male that was to rule all nations with a rod of iron.” This allusion to the prophecy contained in the second Psalm, leaves no room to doubt that Christ and his doctrine are here meant. The cumulative phrase, “a son, a male,” here employed, seems designed to indicate the strength and power of him who was thus brought forth to the view of men. The word translated “rule,” means rather “to tend like a shepherd,”—to lead a flock to the green pastures beside the placid waters. The idea thus involved entirely removes that suspicion of harshness which is awakened by “the rod of iron.” The word here rendered rod, though sometimes used to denote the royal sceptre, signifies more generally

any symbol of authority; and when associated with the idea of pasturing, or tending a flock, always means the shepherd's rod. The circumstance of the rod being of iron, therefore, does not imply any harshness or severity in the authority exercised, but simply strength and power to resist all adversaries. It is a rod that cannot be broken, but which, from the strength and durability of its material, is destined to endure for ever. There may also, in the material of the rod being of iron, be involved the idea of the absence of that worldly splendour which would have been implied in a sceptre of gold.

We are next informed that immediately on its being brought forth, her child was caught up to God and his throne. This circumstance is a sufficient indication that, by the child of the woman is meant, not the human nature of Christ, born of the Virgin, but the pure doctrine of Christ, brought forth from the womb of his true church, in which it had for some time lain hid. By the child being caught up to God and his throne, then, we ought to understand that the pure doctrine of Christ came to be recognized by men as of divine authority, and that it began to exercise a supreme sway over their minds, that it was raised to the sphere of influence and power, and became a partaker of the throne of God, by its being regarded as the law of God. The pure doctrine of Christ is thus elevated to a position of authority so conspicuous and secure, that it cannot again become hidden in the womb of the church, but must for ever remain as a sign in heaven, open to the view of all mankind. In this type we have symbolized the fulfilment of the promise made to David, "His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me; it shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven."

While the symbolization relative to the parturition of the woman may receive this general explanation, yet there appears to be some more definite meaning involved. The child who was destined to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and who, immediately on his being born, was received up unto God and his throne, may be regarded as, in a more especial manner, symbolizing that particular doctrine respecting Christ, namely, that he was destined to become the supreme sovereign of all the kingdoms of this world, and to rule them with a firm and unyielding sway. This doctrine, it is evident, would be peculiarly unpalatable to the ruling powers of the earth, at the time it was promulgated, as an essential part of pure Christianity—as a necessary fruit of that religion; for it exacted from them a surrender of their own absolute wills, and a total change in the maxims and principles of their government. It required that they should

no longer govern to please themselves, or for their own exclusive advantage, or for the benefit of a few favourites, but for the good of the people at large placed under their rule, to whom they are bound to deal impartial justice, and whose welfare, both spiritual and temporal, it is their duty to promote. In short, it demanded that they should recognize Christ as their supreme head, and regard themselves only as his vassals, bound, in all things relating to the government of their kingdoms, to render implicit obedience to his commands.

This circumstance fully accounts for the enmity of the ruling powers, symbolized by the heads and horns of the dragon, and animated by the spirit of deception, typified by that reptile, and for their desire to stifle this doctrine in its birth: as also for their subsequent conduct on finding themselves baffled in this attempt.

Having brought forth her offspring, "the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three-score days" (verse 6). On comparing this verse with the fourteenth it is evident that the flight of the woman, mentioned in these two verses, is the same in both, and not two successive flights. The consideration of its meaning, therefore, had best be deferred, till we examine the intervening verses, which explain the cause of the flight.

The apostle proceeds to say (verses 7 and 8), "And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven." By this war in heaven is obviously meant, not a physical, but a spiritual or metaphysical contest, a war of opposite principles, raging in the moral or intellectual heaven, the sphere of influence and power, and a struggle between these opposites for supremacy over the human mind. The Greek word *polemos*, here employed, means either a physical or a moral contest.

By the dragon, it has been shewn, we are to understand the principle of opposition to Christ, associated with civil power and worldly grandeur. By the angels of this dragon, then, must be meant all those who are swayed by antichristian principles, who prefer the love of the world to the love of God.

What then is meant by Michael and his angels? This name occurs only here, in Jude, where he is styled an archangel, and in Daniel, where he is called "the great prince, that standeth up for the people of God." The principle here personified, therefore, is obviously one which enables the followers of Christ to stand against the assaults of the adversary. The name

"Michael" may signify "who like God?" a meaning which seems to indicate that the principle thus personified, is the renunciation of all other objects of worship, confidence and love, but God and his Christ. The battle-cry of all who are animated by this principle is "Michael," "who like God?" and their war-song is, "In God is my salvation and my glory, the rock of my strength and my refuge is in God. Trust in him at all times, ye people, pour out your heart before him, God is a refuge for us."—Ps. lxii. 7, 8. This principle, however, of a simple reliance upon the fatherly love of God, as manifested in Christ, can be engendered and sustained in the mind only by the influence of the Divine Spirit, for they only are the sons of God, and regard him with filial affection, who are led by the Spirit of God. This personification of the principle, therefore, may also involve the idea of the agency by which that principle is maintained in the mind, and by "the prince who standeth up for the people of God," may be meant the sanctifying influences of the Divine Spirit, as well as the single-minded trust in God alone, which that influence engenders. For as the dragon denotes not only the spirit of opposition to Christ, but is also a symbol of "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience;" so Michael may denote, not only faith in God, but also the prince of the power of holiness, that worketh in the children who obey.

Those who are influenced by the antichristian principle, place their confidence in princes and trust in their riches. Their affections are set upon the good things of this world; while, as regards their salvation, their hope is founded, not on a pure reliance on the love of God, as displayed in Christ, but either on their own supposed worthiness, or on the fancied sanctity of some created being, equally fallible with themselves. Their trust is in saints or angels, or priests or ordinances, not purely and simply in God, as their reconciled Father in Christ.

The accuracy of this view of the war in heaven between Michael and his angels, and the dragon and his angels, will become more apparent when we proceed to consider the eleventh verse, in which the nature of the contest is more fully explained.

In this mighty strife, we are informed, "the dragon and his angels prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven." It would hence appear that, for a while, the principles opposed to Christianity had maintained a violent struggle for supremacy in the moral and intellectual heaven, the sphere of influence and power, striving to bring under their sway all the higher orders of mind who guide and direct the current of public opinion, and the tide of human affairs. But this attempt

ultimately failed. These unchristian principles lost all the credit they had once acquired in high places, and at length the most intelligent among mankind became actuated by pure Christian principles, and taught their fellows that there is "none like God."

The discomfiture of the principles opposed to Christianity, and of those who maintain them, is farther described in the ninth verse—"And the great dragon was cast out—that old serpent called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." Here the dragon, or antichristian principle, is identified with the arch-deceiver of mankind; because it is by his wiles and deceptions, that the principles opposed to Christ and his pure doctrines are engendered in the human mind; while his angels are all those who favour his wicked designs, whether by neglecting to instruct the ignorant, or by the actual practice of fraud and deception, in fostering superstition, and teaching men to look for salvation in some other way than that which God has appointed—namely, through Christ alone. All such are the angels of Satan; while all those who practise and teach pure Christianity as it is presented to us in the Word of God, unadulterated by human traditions or inventions, are the angels of Michael saying, "Who like God?"

It is said of Satan and his angels, "that their place was not found any longer in heaven, and they were cast into the earth." Antichristian principles and their supporters ceased to maintain their ground in the moral heaven. They could no longer deceive the higher orders of intellect, nor exercise their baneful influence over the pure and heavenly-minded among men. They sustained a severe humiliation, and were now obliged to content themselves with the earth as their proper sphere of action. Over the sensual and earthly-minded they could still acquire an easy conquest, and find in such their willing slaves.

This humiliation of the principles opposed to Christianity and their supporters is celebrated by a proclamation of triumph in heaven. The Apostle says, "And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven,—Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down which accused them before our God day and night."

The words—"now is come salvation and strength," confirm the explanations already given with respect to the child brought forth by the woman being called "her son, a male," as indicative of manly vigour, and also regarding the signification of the "iron rod," by which he was to rule all nations, as meaning

—not severity in his rule, but the strength of the power, whereby he was to secure the salvation of the flock which he tends. The words—“and the kingdom of our God and the power of his Christ,” shew that the preceding contest arose out of an attempt, on the part of the dragon and his host, to overthrow the kingdom of God and the power of his Christ, which are thus identified as inseparable from one another. We may not hence infer, however, that the kingdom of God and the power of his Christ now came to be established universally over the whole world; for the sequel shews that this universality of dominion had not yet been attained. But we must understand the expression to mean, that the kingdom of God and the power of his Christ had now acquired a firm footing in the sphere of influence and power, and that a portion, at least, of the earth was about to be governed on purely Christian principles, which should thenceforth make their way, steadily and progressively, until their dominion should ultimately extend over the whole earth, although that consummation might still be far distant. The pure doctrines and leading principles of Christianity were now placed in such a position of influence and power, that they were removed from all risk of being again attacked by their enemies with any measure of success, or of ever being supplanted in their elevated position by the dragon and his host.

The reason assigned for this triumph of Christian principle is, that “the accuser of our brethren is cast down who accused them before our God day and night.” The principles opposed to Christianity and their supporters are here called “the accuser of the brethren.” None are more disposed to accuse those who profess Christian principles, and to pick holes in their character and conduct, and none rejoice more heartily when a flaw can be detected, than those worldly-minded men in whose bosoms Christian charity cannot find a place. Their constant accusation is: “Behold these men, who style themselves the sons of God by adoption in Christ; they are no better than ourselves, who are called God’s enemies.” Nothing, on the other hand, tends more to cast this accusation to the ground than the triumph of Christian principles in minds exposed to the highest degrees of temptation, and occupying the most conspicuous positions in society; for it is in such situations that the inherent strength of those principles is most severely tried and most manifestly displayed.

The next verse (the 11th) informs us of the nature both of the contest maintained with the dragon and of the means by which the victory over him was achieved. “And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testi-

mony; and they loved not their lives unto the death." Hence we learn that the war in heaven was not a material, but a spiritual contest—a war of principles and opinions, in which the combatants, on the side of Christianity, at least, fought—not with carnal weapons, but with those weapons which are "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. x. 4, 5).

Michael and his angels achieved their victory "by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony," that is, by the doctrine of salvation through the sacrificial death of Christ alone, and by the evidence in favour of this doctrine which they gave by their testimony—not only by their teaching, but by their practice, by their devoting their lives to the cause of Christ, and exposing themselves to death, in order to maintain the purity of his religion from all those contaminations originating in the desire of worldly men to seek for salvation in some other way than "by the blood of the Lamb."

The heavenly voice continues to proclaim in these words:—"Therefore rejoice ye heavens! and ye that dwell therein. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea; for the devil has come down to you, having great wrath; because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." Looking to the metaphorical sense in which the word "heaven" has been used in the previous description, we must assign a similar metaphorical sense to the phrases here employed. There are three regions here specified—the heavens, the earth, and the sea, with the dwellers in each. The first are called upon to rejoice, while to the second and third are denounced woe; because the devil has gone down to them. Hence it appears evident that three classes of human character are here indicated,—1st. The heavenly-minded, who, by living in constant communion with God, and possessing an infelt sense of his presence and favour, partake of the joys of heaven even in this mortal life. These are said to "tabernacle, or pitch their tent in the heavens;" for such is the correct meaning of the verb here employed, which implies a temporary, not a permanent dwelling—thus indicating that the eternal inhabitants of heaven are not those here addressed. All who thus tabernacle in the heavens are invited to rejoice because of the triumph achieved over evil by means of the blood of the Lamb. 2nd. We have the earthly-minded, who lead a quiet, but low grovelling and sensual life, who never aspire after heavenly things, but who view the earth as their home, and seek only to enjoy its fruits during their appointed time, without ever

turning their thoughts towards the future and everlasting state. These are here described, not as dwelling in tents, but as householders, who have their fixed abode in the earth. We have also the sea, and those who have their abode therein. By this class we are probably to understand those who delight in tumult, agitation and excitement, who are never happy except when they are in the midst of turmoil, confusion and strife. These are aptly designated as those who have their abodes in the sea. There are thus indicated to us three spheres in the moral world, with their inhabitants; first, the moral heavens—that serene and happy state of mind, enjoyed only by those who live in communion with God; second, the moral earth, that base and sordid state of mind which characterizes all who seek only this world's good; and, thirdly, the moral sea—that region of excitement and tumult into whose depths so many eagerly plunge, to delight themselves in struggling with its waves.

The great deceiver, baffled in his efforts to delude the first of these classes, is now about to devote his whole energies to retaining, within his grasp, the minds of the second and third orders, and to these accordingly woe is proclaimed; for the devil is gone down among them, having great wrath, because he knoweth he hath but a short time. The supporters of the unchristian principle, of governing the minds of men by steeping them in ignorance, deluding them by deception, and fostering their superstitions, are now furious at finding themselves cast down from the sphere of supreme influence and power; and they know that, as the light of civilization becomes more widely diffused, their sway over the human mind must speedily come to an end. Their whole efforts are, therefore, directed towards maintaining their hold over the masses of mankind, being stimulated by the instinct of self-preservation, and by their perception that their time is short.

We are next informed, that “when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child” (ver. 13). Rightly regarding the principle of pure Christianity, which brought forth to the view of mankind the fundamental doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ, and of his being the destined sovereign of all nations (here symbolized by the woman that brought forth the male child), as the originator of his defeat, the arch-deceiver and his followers now persecute this pure religion, which, standing upon faith, is clothed with righteousness, and crowned with knowledge.

“But to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness—into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face

of the serpent" (ver. 14). On comparing this statement with that given in the sixth verse, there seems little room to doubt that the two refer to the same flight of the woman, and not to two distinct events. Understanding the woman to be a personification of the Christian religion in its purest form, what is meant by there being given to her the wings of a great eagle? In the original the expression is, "And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle." This phrase may mean, either that the wings were those of the great eagle—the largest species of that bird; or perhaps there may be here a reference to the eagle-headed living being before the throne, two of whose wings were thus lent to the woman. According to the former view, the symbol might represent the spirit of missionary enterprise. According to the second, as the eagle-headed being symbolizes God's superintending providence, the meaning may be simply that the pure religion of Christ was wafted on the wings of Divine Providence into the desert. In either view the sense is obviously metaphysical.

It would be a grievous mistake to interpret "the great eagle," on whose wings the woman was thus wafted into the desert, as representing any earthly power, assuming the imperial bird for its heraldic standard. The whole tenor of the symbolization shews, that the ruling powers of this world, or at least the most conspicuous portion of them, symbolized by the heads and horns of the dragon, adhered—not to the Christian, but to the anti-christian cause, and were therefore most unlikely to aid the woman in escaping from the dragon. Such a puerile notion may accordingly be abandoned to the fanciful; while the more spiritual interpretation will be cherished by the wise.

According to the spiritual view, we must understand by the desert, to which the woman fled—not any physical solitude, but a moral wilderness—the rude and uncultivated portions of the human race. In the sixth verse, it is said—"where she hath a place prepared or appointed of God." In the fourteenth verse, this is called simply her place. It is thus made evident that it was the divine intention that the pure religion of Christ should be thus wafted into the moral wilderness; and this circumstance corroborates the idea that the great eagle, whose wings were given to her, was the eagle-headed symbol of God's superintending providence, and that the pure religion of Christ was carried into the moral wilderness rather by the force of events and circumstances, overruled for the purpose by Divine Providence, than by a spirit of missionary enterprise arising among the adherents of the pure faith.

It is said that in this wilderness the woman was to be fed

and nourished for a season. By this phraseology we are probably to understand, not only that the pure doctrine of salvation, by the blood of the Lamb alone, was to be fostered and cherished among the uncultivated races and classes of mankind, but also that the number of the adherents of this simple faith was to be greatly augmented from the materials furnished by this moral wilderness. It is curious to observe that, in its literal acceptance, there would be a singular incongruity in this statement of the desert being selected as a fit place for the woman's being fed and nourished for a lengthened period—an incongruity which vanishes, if we adopt the metaphysical sense; for the moral deserts of the earth are capable of supplying ample materials for adding to the number of true believers, while the very simplicity of manners and customs prevailing among the uncultivated tribes and classes of men tends, to some extent, to preserve from corruption the pure doctrines of the gospel of Christ, and to save them from being contaminated by the inventions of man.

In forming a judgment of the locality into which the woman was thus wafted, we ought to look to the state of the world at the period of the vision, rather than to its condition at the time of the woman's flight. By the desert is obviously meant the uncivilized, in contradistinction to the civilized portion of the world as it stood in the time of the Apostle; consequently the desert embraces the whole of Europe, north of the Danube and the Rhine, including Great Britain and Ireland, the whole of which regions were at that time both a physical and moral wilderness, inhabited, and that but scantily, by rude and savage tribes. This accordingly may be deemed to be the region indicated as that into which the woman was wafted on the wings of Divine Providence, and where she is to find refuge for a certain period from the face of the persecuting dragon.

But the prophecy implies more than this; for it is obvious that the woman, by thus flying into the wilderness, abandons her original seat in the then civilized portions of the Roman world, and leaves the whole of that cultivated region for a time ungraced by her presence. It is thus indicated, that the civilized part of the Roman world was to be the sphere in which the dragon should exercise his power, and that, in order to escape from his malice and persecutions, the pure religion of Christ would be driven to take refuge in the then uncivilized portions of the earth.

This cannot be regarded otherwise than as a most striking and important prediction with respect to the religious condition that was to arise in the civilized and uncivilized portions of the

world; for it is thus clearly indicated that pure Christianity should be compelled to change her residence, to abandon the seats of civilization in which the power represented by the dragon exercises a supreme and antagonistic sway, and to take refuge in regions lying beyond the sphere of his influence.

We must beware, however, of interpreting the prophecy to mean that the *whole* of that portion of the world, which was a moral wilderness at the date of the vision, was to be graced by the presence of the woman who personifies pure Christianity on her flight from the power of the dragon. The prediction means no more than this—that the region in which the woman was to find shelter and nourishment was, at the date of the vision, a moral wilderness. To extend its meaning further would lead us into grievous error. On the other hand, we must not so far extend the symbol of the woman's flight from the civilized portions of the world, as to suppose that pure genuine Christianity should no longer be found lurking among those inhabiting that region. All that we are to infer is, that the religion of Christ, in its genuine purity, should not, during the interval here indicated, have any recognized existence, as an established system, in the civilized regions of the Roman world; while, in its stead, there should prevail a religion, Christian only in name, but destitute of the spirit, and antagonistic to the principles, of pure Christianity. It is not, however, to be further inferred, that there should not be found, in this region, individuals, and even communities, holding the pure religion of Christ, imbued with its spirit, and swayed by its principles. But then the existence of such would there be merely winked at, or unwillingly tolerated; whereas, in the other region, designated the wilderness, pure Christianity should be fostered, and receive a large increase of adherents. In the civilized region, pure Christianity would become a persecuted sect; in the other, it would be elevated to a position of influence and power as the recognized religion of the people. That some of the adherents of the pure faith, however, should still linger in the region, subjected to the tyranny of the power symbolized by the dragon, becomes evident by the sequel.

The period during which the pure religion of Christ is to be thus nourished in the desert, is, in the sixth verse, stated to be a thousand two hundred and threescore days; and, in the fourteenth verse, it is called "a time, times and half a time"; so that these expressions are thus identified. It will be remembered that, in the preceding chapter, it is predicted that the two witnesses were to prophecy in sackcloth a like period of a thousand two hundred and threescore days. It would be rash, however,

to infer, from the similarity in the mode of defining the period, that these two epochs are concurrent and identical, or even that they are of equal duration. That they are not concurrent and identical, appears to be plainly indicated by the tenor of the tenth and eleventh chapters. In the former, it is declared that a certain Divine mystery was to be finished by the time the seventh angel should sound his trumpet, and it has been shewn that the mystery which was thus to be ended was the apparent delay in the fulfilment of the Divine promise, that the kingdoms of this world were to become those of our Lord and his Christ. It was further pointed out, that the prophesying of the witnesses in sackcloth 1260 days—their persecution by the power symbolized by the beast ascending out of the abyss, their death, revival and elevation into the moral heaven—all form part of the mystery whose termination was to coincide, in point of time, with the seventh angel's beginning to sound. It was, lastly, shewn that this termination of the mystery is celebrated in the song of triumph raised immediately on the sounding of the seventh trumpet, in which anthem it is declared, that the Divine promise, with respect to the kingdoms of this world becoming those of our Lord and his Christ, had begun to be fulfilled by some of those kingdoms beginning to be ruled on truly Christian principles—their rulers acknowledging Christ as their head, and his religion as their guide in the government of their dominions.

It is thus rendered clear by the symbolization, that the period during which the witnesses prophesied in sackcloth was ended, and their death, revival and elevation completed before the sounding of the seventh trumpet. Indeed, it is obvious, that the elevation of the witnesses to the sphere of influence and power is indicated to be the chief means by which the consummation, celebrated immediately on the sounding of the seventh trumpet, was attained.

Now, it would be a violation of every rule of sound interpretation to suppose, that the scenic representations, which follow the sounding of the seventh trumpet, go backwards and represent events contemporaneous with those which are symbolized under the scenic representations of the sixth trumpet. But the first symbolizations of events following the blast of the seventh trumpet are those relating to the woman and the dragon; consequently, it is impossible, consistently with the observance of the due order of the vision, to suppose the 1260 days of the woman's sojourn in the wilderness to be contemporaneous with the 1260 days during which the witnesses prophesied in sackcloth. Indeed, it is evident, that the glorious appearance in

heaven of the woman, clothed with the sun, is one of the consequences of the elevation of the witnesses into that same heaven. It was by this exaltation of the divine Word and public prayer, that pure Christianity was raised to this conspicuous position, exhibiting this glorious appearance, and that she labours to bring forth, to the view of mankind, the true doctrine respecting Christ as being the king destined to rule all nations with a rod of iron, symbolized by the child in her womb.

It is clearly the design of the symbolization then to indicate, that the period of the woman's sojourn in the wilderness is quite distinct from that of the prophesying of the witnesses in sack-cloth, and does not commence till after the revival of the witnesses, and their elevation to the sphere of influence and power.

Nor must we permit ourselves too rashly to conclude, from the circumstance of both periods being described as 1260 days, that they are both of equal physical duration. Doubtless we must apply the same principle of interpretation to the one period of 1260 days as to the other. If the first is to be chronologically interpreted, so must the second; and, accordingly, as we take the one to mean 1260 literal days, or 1260 years, each consisting of 360 days, so must we take the other. But it has already been pointed out how serious are the objections to either of these interpretations, and how much more probable it is that these phrases are to be understood in a purely symbolical or metaphorical sense, the half of the physical cycle of seven years being employed to denote the half of a great moral cycle—a mode of interpretation which would not be a greater, perhaps not even so great, a departure from the literal sense, as would be our understanding the 1260 days to mean 1260 years, each consisting of 360 days.

If, then, the physical hemi-cycle be, in both cases, employed to designate the half of a great moral cycle—the half of the interval between two great eras in the religious history of the world—the chronological duration of the moral cycles may be very different in the two cases; so that these hemi-cycles may represent periods of physical duration quite diverse, although apparently the same.

It has been pointed out that possibly the Deity may have, for wise ends, established a connexion between the cycle of the mystery mentioned in the eleventh chapter and some great physical cycle. But if such a connexion be found to exist, we may not thence presume that there will be found a similar connexion in the case of the second moral cycle, of which the 1260 days, mentioned in the twelfth chapter, represent the half; for reasons may have existed for such a connexion in the one case

which may not apply to the other. Even were there grounds to suspect that the second moral cycle may, like the first, be made to correspond with a physical cycle, we should not be entitled to presume that the physical cycle would be, in both cases, the same. If the symbolical method of interpretation, then, be the true one, it would be impossible to guess at the duration of the period represented by the 1260 days of the woman's sojourn in the wilderness, on the supposition that it is not yet expired. And in this circumstance consists one of the probabilities in favour of this principle of interpretation; for it does not run counter to the declaration of our Saviour, that it is not given to us to know the times and the seasons—a declaration which renders it highly improbable that in this prophecy there are given such data as would enable any clever calculator to ascertain the times and the seasons *before they arrive*.

That there is a second great moral cycle shadowed forth in the prophecy, and whose half may be typified by the physical hemi-cycle of 1260 days, does not admit of a doubt. Its beginning and its ending are both clearly defined. It commences with the period when the Divine mystery came to an end, by the promise respecting the kingdoms of this world becoming those of our Lord and his Christ beginning to be fulfilled; and it ends with the period when this promise is to have its full accomplishment by the subjection of all the kingdoms of this world to the rule of Christ—a consummation foreshadowed in the earlier part of the twentieth chapter.

During the whole of this interval, it appears, there will be a continuous struggle between pure Christianity and its opponents; while the allegory of the woman flying into the wilderness, and being there nourished for a hemi-cycle, seems to denote that during the half of this long interval pure Christianity shall be practically banished from the civilized portions of the Roman world, and shall find refuge, and a continuous supply of adherents, in regions which at the date of the vision were a moral wilderness. It is not till the latter half of the cycle that she is again to take the field in the original battle-ground of the civilized Roman world, and there to maintain, with her purely spiritual weapons, an arduous but finally successful struggle against her opponents. During the earlier half, while the pure religion of Christ finds refuge in those regions which, at the date of the vision, were a wilderness, the contest, as subsequently appears, is to be maintained, chiefly by the remnant of her seed, that is, by the scattered few who still adhere to the principles of pure Christianity, within the limits of the civilized portions of the Roman world, where the domination of the antichristian powers prevails.

No candid and unprejudiced observer of the present condition of the world, as respects its religious state, can fail to perceive how exactly this prediction, in regard to the pure religion of Christ being driven from the civilized portions of the Roman world, and finding refuge in this wilderness, has been fulfilled; nor to recognize the continuance at the present time of that peculiar distribution of Christianity which is here foreshadowed. From all the regions which constituted the civilized portion of the Roman world, pure Christianity has been practically banished, chased away by the ruling powers which the heads and horns of the dragon symbolize; and in its stead there is found a gigantic system of superstition, which, while it usurps the name of Christianity, is a stranger to its pure and heavenly principles, and is really a mere modification of heathenish polytheism, in which for the ancient heathen divinities there are substituted hosts of departed spirits, worshipped under the appellation of saints. There are, indeed, in those regions a lingering few, the remnant of the woman's seed, who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ. But their existence is merely tolerated, if even tolerated; and the pure religion to which they adhere has no recognized existence, and finds neither shelter nor nourishment throughout the whole extent of those vast regions. On the other hand, it is only in those territories which were, at the date of the vision, both physically and morally a wilderness, that pure Christianity has found an abiding home, and that she is maintained in her primitive purity and simplicity of doctrine and practice. It is only in these once desert countries that she finds a safe refuge from her enemies, and that she is nourished by a continuous supply of faithful adherents.

It is therefore evident that the period here typified by the hemi-cycle of the half-week of years is still current; and though the careful historical enquirer may be able to ascertain with precision the exact point of time at which this hemi-cycle commenced—when pure Christianity, driven from the civilized world, found refuge in the wilderness,—yet, if the symbolical principle of interpretation be correct, it will be impossible to form a conjecture as to the actual physical duration of this hemi-cycle; and to hazard a guess on the subject would therefore be mere idleness and waste of time. We may know the starting point, but the terminus is purposely hidden from our view in the mists of the future; it not being given to us to know the times and the seasons. When the fulness of the time shall have arrived, however, when the fulfilment of the promise respecting the kingdoms of this world becoming our Lord's and his Christ's shall

have been not only begun, but completed, then it will be clearly seen whether the symbolical principle of interpretation be correct, by its becoming evident that the sojourn of the woman in the wilderness continues for one half of the great moral cycle, between the commencement of the fulfilment of the promise, and its final completion. Until that consummation arrive the inquisitive mind must be content to abide in a continuous state of expectation, and fervently to pray, "Thy kingdom come."

The sojourn of the woman in the wilderness was designed not only to nourish her, but to protect her from the fury of the dragon, as appears from the concluding clause of the fourteenth verse. There is some difficulty in determining the order of events foreshadowed in this symbolization, arising out of the circumstances of the flight of the woman being twice mentioned. The mention of this flight, made in the sixth verse, seems to indicate that it occurred immediately after she gave birth to her male child; and this is the most natural point of time for its occurrence. Pure Christianity, symbolized by the woman, having brought forth prominently before the view of mankind the true doctrine respecting Christ, and more especially the doctrine of his kingship—his being destined to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and the consequent obligation resting on all the rulers of the earth to render obedience to him by governing their dominions on purely Christian principles; more especially on the principle of governing for the benefit of the governed many, and not to promote the selfish ends of the governing few,—pure Christianity having brought this doctrine, so distasteful to absolute rulers, prominently before the view of mankind, could no longer expect to find favour in their eyes, or obtain shelter in their dominions: she therefore instantly takes flight into the wilderness, beyond the immediate reach of those powers. Thereupon there ensues a contest between two opposing principles. The despots of this world set their faces against the purely Christian principle of government, and they are met by those who enlist themselves under the banner of Michael, the banner having for its legend the words, "Who like God?"

We have no indication of the precise time during which this contest continued to rage, but it ends with the discomfiture of the temporal powers, symbolized by the heads and horns of the dragon, and who maintain the principles that no subject may presume to hold an opinion upon religious matters different from that entertained and sanctioned by his sovereign, nor dare to worship God in any other manner than that which his sovereign prescribes.

The upholders of this principle sustain a moral defeat, and

are accordingly cast down from the moral and intellectual heaven. Their principle no longer finds favour with those exalted minds which, by the study of God's pure Word, have become elevated above the considerations of worldly expedience and policy. Thus defeated, these ruling powers attack the woman that bore the child. They assault pure Christianity itself, whence the doctrine so much the object of their abhorrence emanated; but happily, by her timely flight into the desert, she is beyond their immediate grasp. The reintroduction of the mention of this flight, seems designed for the purpose of accounting for the form which the persecution of the woman by the dragon assumed, as described in the fifteenth verse, to be presently explained.

Hence it appears probable that the woman's flight into the wilderness took place immediately on her giving birth to her child; that the contest between the draconic and Michaelic principles ensued shortly thereafter, and occupied the earlier portion of the woman's sojourn in the desert; that after their discomfiture the adherents of the draconic principle began to persecute the woman herself; but that in consequence of her having fled into the desert, beyond the reach of their more immediate action, this persecution assumed the form described in the fifteenth verse, which runs as follows: "And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood."

What are we to understand by this water like a river which the dragon poured out of his mouth. From the mention of the mouth a probability is raised that this means a flood of calumny and abuse, and we may understand the expression to signify that the supporters of the principle of opposition to Christ selected some of the turbulent spirits symbolized by the inhabitants of the sea, to follow the teachers of the pure doctrine of Christ into the moral desert with a torrent of abuse and evil speaking.

This view appears more probable than that these waters like a river were martial hosts, sent into the moral wilderness to endeavour to sweep away, by main force, the pure doctrine of salvation by Christ alone. The circumstance of the name of the dragon being changed to serpent in this passage, appears to indicate that subtlety, rather than force, was adopted in this persecution. Its object is stated to have been to cause the woman to be carried away by the flood. This may be understood to mean that the opponents of pure Christianity were to cause it to be so vilified and abused among those inhabiting the moral desert, as to sweep away its doctrines from their minds.

The next statement is curious, verse 16: "And the earth

helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth." In this metaphor the earth probably means, as formerly, the earthly-minded portion of mankind; and by their swallowing the flood we may understand that with such alone the abuse and calumny, directed by the opponents of Christ against his pure religion, found any reception; while it did no harm among those into whose minds the truth had been infused. Or, the meaning may be, that those turbulent spirits who had been sent into the moral desert, to sweep away the truth by a flood of vituperation, became ere long so absorbed in worldly pursuits, that they ceased from their polemical discussions, and became merged in the general mass of earthly-minded men. In either view the help rendered by the earth to the woman was rather indirect than of will. The earthly mind has no sincere regard for pure religion, but it sometimes affords aid to its progress, in an indirect manner, by absorbing the violent opposition to the truth poured forth by the more turbulent spirits among the enemies of Christ. Men bent on worldly pursuits or sensual indulgences have little relish for polemical discussions, and little time to attend to the vituperations cast forth upon the truth, and they thus indirectly tend to reduce to silence the revilers of the pure doctrines of Christ.

In the concluding verse of this chapter we are informed (verse 17), that "the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." This sentence at once discloses the meaning of the allegory which precedes; the seed of the woman being they who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ, it is plain that the woman can be nothing else than a personification of pure Christianity; for they only have these characteristics who are born again, "not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever."

The antichristian spirit, finding that the scheme of pouring forth a flood of vituperation upon pure religion had been defeated, was now stirred up with fresh fury, and commenced a new contest with the followers of Christ, at least with that portion of them still within reach of assault. The plan of directly impugning the truth had failed, so had the scheme of following it into the moral desert with ridicule and abuse. Resort must therefore be had to a new system of tactics, which we shall find developed in the succeeding chapter.

It is worthy of remark that the woman who personifies pure

Christianity, is not again brought into the field of view in the vision. It may hence be inferred that the pure doctrine of Christ had now obtained such a firm footing, that it was no longer in any danger from the direct assaults of the antichristian principle; an idea confirmed by the terms of the proclamation contained in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verses. It is only "the seed of the woman," those who have been nursed by her with the pure milk of the Word, and who therefore obey the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ, that are to be individually exposed to attack, and that are thenceforth to maintain, each for himself, a contest with the antichristian principle.

It is only, moreover, that portion of the woman's seed which remains in the civilized regions of the world, where the power symbolized by the heads and horns of the dragon exercises supreme sway, that is to be exposed to this persecution. This is rendered evident by their being called "the remnant," those that remain behind, after the woman herself had been compelled to fly.

We are thus confirmed in our view that, while pure Christianity was to be banished from the whole of those territories which, at the date of the vision, constituted the civilized Roman world, and to find refuge and nourishment only in those regions which were at that time both physically and morally desert, yet there should remain within the former regions individuals, and even small associations of men, who should still adhere to the pure and simple doctrines of Christ, unadulterated by those vain superstitions that were to supplant the pure faith in the civilized world. These are they who are here designated "the remnant of the woman's seed, who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The very striking symbolization of this chapter renders it evident that the proclamation contained in the previous chapter, with respect to the kingdoms of this world having become those of our Lord and his Christ, was a mere beginning of the fulfilment of the promise, and of very partial application; for it is plain that the head and horns of the dragon represent the ruling civil powers within the whole of the regions which constituted the civilized Roman world, and as these powers array themselves against pure Christianity, symbolized by the woman, the proclamation cannot apply to them. It must therefore be restricted to kingdoms which were to be established in those regions which, at the date of the vision, were a desert; for there it is that the woman finds refuge and nourishment, and this she could not do, unless the conduct of the ruling powers within those regions

formed an exact contrast to that of the powers within the civilized territories. The reception which the woman finds in the desert is a clear indication that, previous to her banishment thither, "a place had been prepared for her of God," by his having brought the temporal kingdoms established in that region under the sway of Christian principles, so that it might be truly affirmed of them that they had become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, while those established in the civilized regions still remained attached to the dragon.

We are now in a position to consider the nature of the principles personified by the angel who sounds the seventh trumpet. It has been already shewn that all the previous six angels were personifications of evil principles. The song of triumph raised on the sounding of the seventh trumpet might, at first sight, lead to the supposition that in this respect he differed from his forerunners; but the symbolization of the twelfth chapter dispels this illusion, and makes it evident that his trumpet, like the others, was the signal for calling forth fresh manifestations of moral evil. The song of triumph, therefore, which immediately follows the blast of the seventh trumpet, must be regarded simply as an indication of the fulfilment of the prediction made by the angel, introduced in the tenth chapter, when he swore that there should be no longer any delay, but that the mystery of God should be brought to an end when the seventh angel should begin to sound. The real sequence of the seventh angel's blast is the appearance of the dragon in opposition to the woman who personifies pure Christianity.

Now, seeing the heads and horns of the dragon represent the political powers established in the civilized Roman world, while the dragon itself symbolizes the spirit by which these powers are pervaded and animated; seeing, moreover, that the circumstance which stirs up the animosity of these powers against that pure form of Christianity typified by the woman, is her bringing forth to the view of mankind the doctrine that Christ is the destined Sovereign of all the kingdoms of the world, which He is to rule with a rod of iron; consequently, that all earthly sovereigns are bound to render him implicit obedience, and to rule their kingdoms on the Christian principle of governing—not for the advantage of the governing few, but for the benefit of the governed many;—looking to all these circumstances, it is not difficult to discover by what evil principle this particular form of opposition to Christianity was called into action. It is obviously the principle of human pride, involving within itself the insatiable love of power and worldly grandeur, and this may accordingly be regarded as the evil principle which

is personified by the angel who sounds the seventh trumpet. This angel being the last of the series, we may here recapitulate the seven evil principles which the seven trumpet angels appear to impersonate.

The first represents the spirit of popular superstition, giving rise to popular tumults stirred up in opposition to the cause of Christ. The second symbolizes the spirit of tyranny and intolerance centralized in the supreme civil power, and resulting in persecutions of the adherents of Christianity emanating from the central authority. The third is the spirit of discord or controversy, resulting in internal dissensions and heresies within the Christian body. The fourth symbolizes the spirit of scepticism and infidelity, resulting in the loss of the true light of Christianity by a large portion of those calling themselves by the name of Christ. The fifth is the spirit of self-indulgence, giving rise to a great inroad of vices and immoralities among those dwelling in the regions where the Gospel had been preached, but who had not received the truth of God into their minds. The sixth is the spirit of self-delusion, which first lulls these same parties into a false security—leading them to neglect their defences, so letting loose the restraints which withheld the barbarous tribes surrounding them from invading their territories, and, at a subsequent period, leading them into the mistake of regarding the nominal and outward profession of Christianity as Christianity itself—a mistake whence resulted a persecution of the genuine disciples at the hands of the nominal professors. And now we have, lastly, the seventh, symbolizing human pride and the love of power—leading the civil authorities to set their faces against pure Christianity the moment she brings forth the unpalatable doctrine that Christ is the true supreme ruler of the kingdoms of this world, and that the rulers ought to make the simple and charitable doctrines of his religion their guides in the conduct of public affairs—an opposition resulting in the flight of genuine Christianity from the originally civilized portions of the Roman world, into regions which, at the date of the vision, were a wilderness, but where God had prepared a place for her—a safe retreat, by establishing, in these once savage territories, kingdoms whose rulers did acknowledge the supreme sovereignty of Christ, and adopt the maxims and principles of pure Christianity as their guides in the government of their dominions, so holding themselves as vassals of the supreme ruler Christ.

The explanation which has been given of the particular evil principle personified by each angel may not be absolutely correct; nevertheless, the general conclusion that each of these angels

does impersonate some evil principle appears to be indubitable. The result of each trumpet blast is a manifestation of some new phase of moral evil, exerting itself in opposition to genuine Christianity; and it would disturb all our notions of propriety to suppose the angels, who thus summoned forth these anti-christian agencies, to be themselves representatives of good and amiable qualities. The supposition that they impersonate evil principles, on the other hand, renders the symbolization consistent throughout.

The baneful effects of the seventh angel's blast will be found further developed in the thirteenth chapter, to the explanation of which we shall next proceed.

RECENT SYRIAC LITERATURE.

UNDER this title we propose to give a brief account of a few publications in an interesting and by no means unimportant department of Christian letters. We do this the more willingly because we are convinced that this is a suitable method of satisfying the wishes of such of our readers as are desirous of knowing what is being done to place within the reach of the scholars of Europe those stores which have been accumulated in the great libraries of England and the continent.

The first work to which we would call attention is a Dissertation on the faith and discipline of the Syrians in reference to the Eucharist, to which are added the *Resolutiones Canonicae* of John of Tela and the *Resolutiones Canonicae* of Jacob of Edessa. The editor of this volume is Prof. Lamy, of the University of Louvain, and he appears to have brought to his task a considerable amount of zeal and learning. There is a certain air of controversy about the preliminary dissertation, in which M. Lamy endeavours to support the position that the Syrian Church agreed in its teachings on the subject of the Eucharist with the Church of Rome. Those passages of the Peschito version which refer to this matter are brought forward and examined, but with no new result, inasmuch as they leave the controversy where it was, for this reason, that the Peschito literally translates from the Greek, and that consequently the question of interpretation still remains. From Scripture proofs the editor proceeds to testimonies drawn from Syriac liturgies. Here we have quotations from various liturgies, the language of which favours the opinion

that the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ, and effectual to the remission of the sins of worthy communicants. It must be observed, however, that even admitting this construction of the terms, which is not in every case quite so certain, we come short of the doctrine of Transubstantiation as defined by the Council of Trent, whose words it may be well to remember. "If any one shall deny that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the body and blood are contained truly, really, and substantially, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore whole Christ, but shall say they are only therein as in a sign, or figure, or virtue, let him be anathema."

From liturgies the editor proceeds to martyrs, whose words make it evident, that if they termed the elements the body and blood of Christ, they partook of both and were ignorant of the denial of the cup to the laity. With the orthodox Fathers, who are next appealed to, the case is not much different. The first quotation is from the pseudo-Clementine epistles on Virginity, which were noticed at some length in this Journal in October 1856. Apart, however, from the spurious character of the document, the citation is insignificant as a proof of the real presence. The terms employed by Athanasius, Jacob of Nisibis, Ephrem, and others are very strong, and sometimes extravagant. For example, Isaac Magnus (fifth cent.) is brought in saying: "I saw his cup mingled, and instead of wine it was full of blood, and instead of bread a dead body was placed in the midst of the table. I saw the blood, and was afraid; the dead body, and astonishment seized me. And she (faith) said to me, Eat and be silent, and drink, child, and make no scrutiny." And again: "He shewed me the slain body, and placed some of it between my lips, and said to me lovingly, See what it is thou eatest. He held out to me the pen (reed) of the Spirit, and required that I should write (or subscribe). And I took it and wrote: I confessed also that it is *the body of God!* In like manner also I took the cup and drank at his feast, and the odour of the body whereof I had eaten came to me from the cup: and what I had said of the body, that it is the body of God, that also I said of the cup, that it is the blood of our Saviour." We confess that such a writer deserves little attention, but the following, of Jacob of Sarug, is remarkable—it belongs to about the same period: "Our Lord divided his body in his hands at the table. And who dare say now that it is not the body? He said, This is my body, and who shall not affirm it? If one shall not affirm it, he is not a disciple of the apostolate. The apostles affirmed it: and while living and reclining with them they ate him. . . . After he took bread

and called it his body, it was not bread, but his body, and they ate it wondering: eating his body as he reclined with them at the table, and drinking his blood, as they heard the voice of his doctrine." Other passages are given, and more might be added, to shew that, according to the Syrian doctors, the body and blood of Christ were received, in the most literal manner, in the Eucharist. These, however, need not detain us, and we proceed, therefore, to the testimonies adduced from Monophysite writers. The first is the celebrated Xenaias or Philoxenus, of Mabug, A.D. 485—522. He says: "And therefore we confess that we receive the living body of the living God, and not the mere body of man that is mortal; and we receive the living blood of the living in every sacred meal, and not the mere blood of a corruptible man, one of us, as is supposed by the heretics." The language of Jacob of Edessa, A.D. 687—710, is as follows: "Then the priest turning to God, and at the words which are agreed to, and the sentence of the people, maketh the commencement of his own words, to God the Father, to whom is offered the sacrifice of the body and blood of the only begotten as a propitiation for the souls of the faithful." John of Dara, in the eighth century, is quoted as saying: "For he who is minister begins and repeats the prayers which make God, that is to say, the body and blood of God. Now they are God-making prayers which are approved by the chief priests and placed in the mystical offices which follow the gospel and the Apostle: for the one saith that Jesus took bread and blessed, etc., and the other that our Lord Jesus, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread and said, 'This is my body,' etc." On this latter passage Prof. Lamy says, that "while the author affirms the real presence and transubstantiation, he teaches that the consecration was made in the words of Christ."

Passing over the remaining witnesses from the Monophysites, we come to the Nestorians, who, while they seem to have taught the conversion of the bread and wine into flesh and blood, regarded it as a conversion into the body and blood of Christ as man and not as God. From one of these writers, George of Arbela, of the tenth century, the following is borrowed, to which we request the reader's careful attention: "Some of the God-clad say that these mysteries are the body and blood of Christ properly, and not the mystery (or sacrament) of his body and his blood. And we say to them that some things are naturally such, and others united with nature. . . . For we also say that God was man, and man was God, and since we are persuaded that natures are not changed, we say that God remained God, and that not man was God by nature, but that by union God was

man and man God. And if these things are so, this bread and wine are body and blood, not by nature, but by union. And since we call them body and blood in a manner, we also name them mysteries, that they may be known to be mysteries of the body and the blood, because they are different in nature. And if they are rightly body and blood, they are not mysteries. And if they are mysteries, they are not body and blood, because a mystery is made a sign in that which does not naturally belong to it. All natural things are not mystical, and all mystical things are not natural. For as we regard a deacon as a mystery of an angel, and regard a priest as a mystery of Christ, the *cancelli*, of heaven, the altar, of the throne of Christ, the *bema*, of Jerusalem, and so of the rest: when these are not the things they are received for, and yet do not deny them because they are not such by nature, but are such by union. . . . so also the bread and wine are by union the body and blood of Christ, and by a mystery. By nature (they are) bread and wine." How this can be made to signify a belief of the real presence we are at a loss to see. The whole scope of the passage clearly shews that the words 'mystery' and 'union' denote a figure or representation, and association. In the opinion of George, therefore, the bread and wine are, figuratively, body and blood by the association of ideas. Similar, also, is the doctrine of Timothy II., a Nestorian patriarch of the fourteenth century; nor do we see that M. Lamy can vindicate his claim to them as witnesses for the real presence. At the same time we admit that many of the writers do teach this doctrine, and some of them in a form which, to say the least, is very gross and carnal.

The remainder of the volume of Professor Lamy is occupied with the two Syriac works above named. The text is accompanied by a very fair Latin translation and numerous notes. In these writings many curious details are to be found bearing upon the discipline of the Syriac Church, more especially in connexion with the services of the sanctuary. The treatise of John of Tela is now edited for the first time, but that of Jacob of Edessa has been already printed by Dr. de Lagarde in his *Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiasticæ Antiquissimæ*. Both are derived from a valuable manuscript in the Imperial Library at Paris, a volume which contains a number of other important documents, some of which have never been published. It is worthy of remark that this volume, although it appears to have been in Europe for three centuries, was originally derived from that same Nitrian desert which has within these few years yielded up its accumulated stores to our national museum. We will only add that this precious

manuscript was most probably written in or about the eighth century.

As we have still other recent publications in this literature before us, we will here take leave of Professor Lamy, although we could willingly have entered more fully into the very interesting volume which he has published, and one which will we hope not be overlooked by such as have turned their attention to the history of opinions regarding the Eucharist. The translation, which may for the most part be relied upon, will bring the work within the reach of others than those who are acquainted with the Syriac language; and the notes will be useful for the many references they contain to the literature connected with the subject.

Perhaps we should not overlook an edition of the Scholia of Gregory Bar Hebræus on Psalms viii., xl., xli., and l., with a Latin rendering and notes by R. G. F. Schröter. This is interesting as a specimen of the author's method of interweaving with expository annotations, allusions to the Septuagint, the Armenian, and other versions. It is well known that many works intended for the elucidation of Holy Scripture by Syriac writers, are still extant, and that some of these are of real value. Not long ago the Oxford press put forth one of these which deserves a place in every well furnished library. We refer to the discourses of Cyril on Luke, edited and translated by Mr. Payne Smith, in a manner which reflects the highest credit upon that gentleman's ability and scholarship.

In the same language there are also translations of parts of the Bible, hitherto unknown or unpublished. As an example, we may mention the fragments of the four Gospels not long since published with an English version and notes in a handsome quarto volume. This work however need not detain us, as it has been already noticed in these pages by more writers than one. And yet we may observe that nothing has yet been said to convince us that the recension of St. Matthew is in any proper sense the original of that apostle. Indeed the mere fact that it exists as a part of a version of *four* Gospels seems to demonstrate that it is not what has been suspected. As to the title of the first Gospel, of which a good deal has been said, we remark with reference to a communication from a correspondent, which appeared in the last number of this Journal, that we are a little surprised that the writer of the letter should have adopted the interpretation of Dr. Gildemeister. With all deference to the learned writer, we think the Syriac idiom will scarcely justify us in rendering this inscription "The Gospel of Matthew the chosen." For be it observed, we should then expect an order of

words different from that actually exhibited, and the participle instead of preceding would follow the name of the apostle. We say this without reference to the question whether the particle ? really stood before the word Matthew or not,—we think it did so stand. Some evidence in favour of Dr. Cureton's explanation that the word ܡܬܬܝܬܐ signifies *distinct*, or something almost equivalent, may perhaps be derived from 1 Peter iv. 10, where the same word occurs, only in the feminine form, and the clause is thus rendered by Schaaf *tanquam dispensatores boni gratiæ diversæ Dei*. The Greek is ποικιλη, the meaning of which is well understood. We will add a few additional remarks, less with a view to establish an explanation of our own, than to suggest that the view most recently advocated is not necessarily correct. The fact is that Dr. Cureton's leading idea conveyed by the word "distinct" is by no means so destitute of foundation as some have supposed, as we have been led to conclude from an examination of a number of places in which the word ܡܬܬܝܬܐ or its derivatives occurs. A somewhat different but related explanation is obtained by a reference to its use in the cognate Chaldee. For instance, the expression ܡܬܬܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܝܬܐ which occurs in the Targum of Onkelos at Exod. xxviii. 11, is explained by Buxtorf to mean "scripturâ explanatâ." So also in Ezra iv. 18, and elsewhere. It cannot be denied that whatever view is adopted, some difficulty presents itself, but on the whole we are disposed to think that the author of the inscription intended to call attention to the *peculiarities of the version* before him. Still, we do not imagine that the difference in question is that of St. Matthew's Gospel from the other three, but of this recension from the common Peshito version. The passage in St. Peter seems to suggest this as the true method of removing the mystery; the "varied" or "varying grace of God" probably signifies the grace of the Gospel as different from that of the law, and the varying version of the Gospels, is that which differs from the one commonly received. If however we are to take the sense of "explained" or "interpreted," the inscription may allude to the fact that this recension has undergone revision, or rather is a revision of some other version. In the former case, the antiquity of the Curetonian Gospels is so far left an open question, but in the latter we are led to the conclusion that they are less ancient than the old Peshito translation. Having said so much we leave the matter for further consideration and inquiry.

The Syriac Hexaplar version as it is called, of the Old Testament is one of considerable interest. It was made about the same time as what is commonly designated the Philoxenian version of the New Testament, but more correctly the Harkleian

after Thomas of Heraclea. The New Testament is a very literal translation from the Greek; and the Old Testament is taken from the Septuagint. They were both completed early in the seventh century, and together constitute a sort of revised translation of the entire Bible. Various portions of the Old Testament have from time to time been published, and others still remain in manuscript. Henry Middeldorpf in 1835 edited a volume containing 2 Kings, Isaiah, the twelve minor Prophets, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, and in his preface gave an account of previous publications in the same direction. Since then additional portions of this version have been brought to England and deposited in the British Museum. Quite recently, T. S. Rørdam has printed at Copenhagen the first chapters of Judges from one of these manuscripts. He proposes to publish the whole of the books of Judges and Ruth; and, as he states, besides these the Museum library contains the books of Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, 1 Samuel, and part of Genesis. The manuscript from which he copies is supposed to belong to the ninth century, but is unfortunately somewhat imperfect.

This version, which is ascribed to John of Tela, is based upon the well known work of Origen, and hence its name. The translator not only renders the text of the Septuagint, but inserts the variations which occur in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, etc. Hence it will be apparent that the Syriac Hexaplar is of great value in regard to the criticism of the Old Testament in the ancient Greek versions. In this respect it is very different from the Peshito which is mainly derived from the Hebrew original. We say *mainly* because it is a curious fact that certain chapters of the book of Proverbs are taken from the Septuagint. What is more remarkable about these chapters is that they are not taken consecutively, but are intercalated with others from the Hebrew, so that the translation is mixed, partly from the Greek and partly from the Hebrew.

Mr. Rørdam's edition bids fair to be a very useful one, for in addition to an interesting Latin preface in which he describes his manuscript and his method of proceeding, he gives a preliminary dissertation on the principles adopted by Paul of Tela in executing his version. This dissertation extending over about sixty pages, enters into a very minute examination of the mode in which all the parts of speech and leading grammatical forms are rendered. Moreover, the text of the five chapters printed is accompanied by the Greek version and copious notes. As however it is not our intention to do more than say what has been

accomplished, we shall not undertake any minute investigation of the work. We are glad to see so good a commencement, and are quite sure that the example thus set may be safely followed by those who desire to confer real advantages upon the cause of Biblical criticism.

The patristic literature extant in Syriac is very rich and varied, and from this source new light is being thrown upon the early history and literature of the Church. As an illustration we may refer to some extracts which have been lithographed but not published, relating partly to the Council of Nicea, and partly to the Bishop of Antioch, Ignatius. The former are from a manuscript in the Imperial Library at Paris, where they were found by the editor of the *Analecta Nicæna*. They consist of a summary of the acts and decisions of the Nicene Council, and together form a connected account of the proceedings of that famous Synod. First comes a general statement of the time and circumstances of summoning the Council, followed by the epistle of Constantine convoking the bishops. These are succeeded by the Creed, an account of the mode of signing the anathemas pronounced upon heretics, and the Paschal Decree. Finally, come the twenty canons, which are omitted in the extract. It is worthy of notice that the Paschal Decree, or the decision respecting the time of Easter was only discovered in Greek very recently, and has been published by Dom Pitra in his *Spicilegium Solesmense*. The Syriac version now found, and this of Pitra's are the only copies of this famous decision yet known to exist. From the extract in question we make a few brief citations. It commences thus,—

“Again: of the great and holy and œcumenical synod of 318 holy fathers, which was held at Nicea metropolis of Bithynia, and in the year 636 of the reckoning of the Greeks, from Seleucus, Nicator king of Syria, which is the reckoning of the Edessenes; in the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus the consuls, in the month Haziran on the 19th thereof, the 13th before the calends of July, in the 20th year of the lover of Christ the great Constantine the faithful king, who when these fathers were first assembled at Ancyra of Galatia, called them thence to Nicea, by his epistle to them, which is this.”

The epistle which follows, substantially and almost verbally agrees with that in the *Analecta Nicæna*. The writer then proceeds to inform us, that having at once assembled at Nicea in compliance with the emperor's order, the Fathers drew up and adopted a confession of faith, which he gives. At its close he says: “This is the creed which the Fathers adopted, first against Arius, who blasphemed and said the Son of God was a creature;

but afterwards against all heresies, viz., of Sabellius and Photinus, and against the heresies of Paul of Samosata, and of Manes, and Valentinus, and Marcion, and against whatever heresy arose against the Catholic Church, which the 318 Fathers condemned when they were assembled together at Nicea."

After this we have the formal anathemas pronounced upon various heresies. Then comes an account of the mode in which the Fathers subscribed the confession of faith, and an explanation of the circumstance that so few of the western bishops signed it. As this passage is curious we give it :—

"Concerning the faith, therefore, it was thus agreed by all the 318 holy bishops who were assembled sacerdotally in the synod, whose names and cities and provinces many of them are these that are indicated below. But of a few of them the names were not written. For those were zealous who wrote. And also those servants of God, bishops zealous for the faith, shewed a care to receive the names of the orientals especially, and they especially were required to subscribe, because in the west there was no similar questioning concerning heresies, or concerning the division and discord about the passover. For they did not say as Sabellius, that there was one person with three names, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but according to the definition of the holy synod of Nicea before given, they confessed that the Father is one truly, and the only Son is one truly, and the Holy Spirit is one truly. And it was also just and right with them as it respects the passover. Therefore not all of them were found at the subscribing. Now the bishops subscribed the orthodox faith in this way : Such a one bishop of such a city and such a province, thus I believe as is before written. Concerning the faith all the holy synod thus decided and wrote, and thus they subscribed and confirmed the definition which is placed before."

Following this is a short passage introducing the decree concerning Easter, and then we read again :—

"Therefore also because of this all those of the east who had been divided from others subscribed, and consented, and put an end to contention. Now when this also was rectified and brought to a conclusion when all the great and holy synod was assembled, they defined and adopted the ecclesiastical canons of the great synod of Nicea."

The twenty canons immediately follow in the manuscript, and the whole concludes with a colophon to this effect : "Here end the twenty ecclesiastical canons which were defined in the great and holy synod of Nicea, of the 318 bishops."

A document like that now described forms an interesting

addition to what we previously possessed in reference to the first general council. It serves to confirm some, and to throw fresh light upon others, of the notices of this celebrated and venerable assembly. True, it gives us few new facts and raises one or two difficult questions; but it is of importance on several accounts. In the first place it is as we before said, a consecutive narrative, in which the various decisions of the council seem to follow each other in the order in which they were adopted. Supposing this to be the case, we have here the nearest approach to a *Libellus Synodicus*, or minutes of the council, which, so far as we know, has yet been discovered. A curious question suggested by the document used for the *Analecta Nicæna* is here again raised, namely, what can be meant by the bishops being first assembled at Ancyra, and summoned thence to Nicea by the letter of Constantine. Are these the only existing traces of an unrecorded synod at Ancyra? We must leave to others the resolution of this difficulty. It would appear, moreover, that the attendant bishops twice subscribed, once to the confession of faith, and once to the decree concerning the observance of Easter. The account given of the absence of the names of so many of the western bishops is worthy of notice, although not absolutely new. On several important points, as the date of the council, the number of the canons, etc., the document agrees with the best attested records. We must, however, waive the discussion of these particulars, and pass on to notice the remainder of the extracts, those we mean which relate to Ignatius.

The Ignatian fragments are from a manuscript in the British Museum, and have been overlooked or omitted by the learned editor of the *Corpus Ignatianum*. They are taken from a volume of *Extracts from the Fathers on sundry points of Christian Doctrine*. Some of them are already known, and the whole appears to be interspersed with the observations of the compiler. The passages are five in number, three of them being already known, and two new. 1. A short extract from the epistle to the Trallians, section the 5th. 2. One from the epistle to the Magnesians, section the 8th. 3. Another from the same epistle, section the 9th. 4. This we have been unable to trace, but it relates to the statements contained in 1 Peter iv. 6. 5. This is described as from an epistle to Anastasia, a deaconess. Doubtless some spurious Ignatian document, of which this is the only trace which has been discovered. We think it best to give this passage as it stands in the Syriac, in order that our readers may judge for themselves.

[illegible]

The above quotation may be thus rendered :—

"Of the same: from the *Epistle to Anastasia, a deaconess*, whereof the commencement is, 'Because thou walkest in the way of righteousness.'

“Then that we should suppose that those who then arose at the time of the Redeemer’s crucifixion, remain until this day, the language of the Gospel does not permit, plainly denoting that they entered the holy city and appeared unto many. For this that they appeared, plainly sheweth an appearance for a time for the confirmation (as we said) of the power of the Redeemer, who brake the gates of brass and the invulnerable bars of iron which are beneath the earth. When therefore they who arose had shewn themselves, again they laid down their bodies and returned to their places, awaiting that resurrection which is expected and common to all men.”

Probably no one will plead for the genuineness of this passage, and for aught we know it may be found elsewhere under some other name than that of Ignatius; but it cannot be denied that it is deserving of attention both on its own account, and for the honourable name it bears. Who Anastasia was is of course unknown. The form of the name, taken in connexion with the subject of the quotation, would suggest the possibility that it is the invention of the writer. This however is not conclusive, because the name is one which occurs in ancient church history. It is moreover a curious fact that Suidas records a correspondence between Chrysogonus a confessor, and Anastasia a martyr

of the fourth century. This correspondence consists of four letters, of which the first and third are ascribed to Anastasia, and the second and fourth to Chrysogonus, but they contain nothing like the passage given above.

It will be observed that the letter alludes to Matt. xxvii. 52, 53, and to Psalm cvii. 16; but neither of the passages is given in the exact words of the Peshito. This however is probably owing to the fact that the Syriac scribe rendered for himself the words of his Greek original. The explanation given of Matt. xxvii. 52, 53, is noticeable in two respects. First, the resurrection is said to have occurred when our Lord was crucified, and not when he arose; and secondly, its intention is simply declared to have been a testimony to the Redeemer's power. Finally, the passage from the Gospel is clearly referred to in the epistle to the Magnesians, sect. 9.

There are other considerations which present themselves in connexion with this extract, but as the writer of this paper is unwilling unduly to protract it, they are for the present omitted, because the object of this notice is rather to introduce this interesting fragment to the attention of the reader, than to aim at its complete elucidation.

Before concluding, it will be well to say a word or two on a few other works in this department.

The *Calendarium Syriacum* of Cazwin, which was lately edited with notes and a Latin version by Gul. Volck, is not in Syriac, but in Arabic; it is however interesting from the peculiar character of its contents, which relate not only to ecclesiastical seasons, but to various natural phenomena.

The *Fables of Sophos*, edited by Dr. Julius Landsberger, although not belonging to the domain of theology, deserve a moment's notice. These fables are regarded as the originals of the Greek fables of Syntipas. The editor has printed them in Hebrew characters, and accompanied his text with a German translation and notes. He also gives a glossary, and has prefixed a dissertation on the country from which the fable is derived. The work is interesting in a literary and philological point of view.

In the January number of this Journal, the present writer published an article entitled "*Analecta Syriaca*," founded on the work of Dr. de Lagarde of Berlin, with the same title. It was his intention to make the remaining portions of that work the foundation of a second paper, but further reflection led him to abandon that design. A few words only will therefore be added. At p. 354, St. Hippolytus is quoted as speaking of ancient nations and languages as having been divided into seventy-two

after the flood; and in a note we observed that we were not aware whence this classification was derived. Since then we have noticed that the opinion was a common one among the ancient Hebrews, etc. It will suffice to refer to the Clementine Homilies, xviii., 4, and the note of Dressel on the place in his edition. We may also mention Ludolf's *History of Ethiopia*, part ii., p. 210, art. cxi., where the subject is discussed at some length; and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* vi., 5.

At pp. 201—205 of his work, Dr. de Lagarde publishes an extract from a certain Diocles, respecting whom he gives no further information. This Diocles appears to have been Diocles of Peparethus, an ancient Greek historian, to whom, according to Plutarch in his life of Romulus, Fabius Pictor was largely indebted, and who was the first historian of the foundation of the Roman state. The only other reference to Diocles which we remember is in Festus Pompeius. The substance of what is given as from Diocles, may be found in the Paschal Chronicle, the Chronicle of John Malela and others, who will be found mentioned in the edition of the *Chronicon Paschale*, published at Paris in 1688, at p. 503, note 1. As it appears in the "Analecta Syriaca" the passage is imperfect, and in some places very obscure.

Dr. de Lagarde has lately published in Greek the treatise of Titus of Bostra against the Manicheans, and he has announced the same in Syriac from a MS. in the British Museum, but we have not seen it.

We have thus passed in review and noticed at less or greater length, the principal items of Syriac literature which have come under our notice during the last few months. They clearly indicate that progress is being made, but they still shew the correctness of observations long since made in these pages, that while we have in this country the most abundant stores of manuscript materials, the zeal and the energy of foreign scholars are chiefly instrumental in making them public. At the same time, it is with extreme satisfaction that we can refer to such publications as those of Mr. Payne Smith and Canon Cureton, which are an ornament and an honour to our national literature. Sure we are that, wisely employed, our Syriac manuscripts might be made of great service to the cause of Christian and scriptural learning.

B. H. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

* * The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Will you allow me to make your pages the medium of offering a suggestion, which might, I think, if generally adopted, be attended with considerable benefit to the cause of Biblical criticism?

It seems to me that it would be a great desideratum, to possess a set of characters, which, while they would be readily understood by the mere English reader, might yet correspond strictly to the letters of the various oriental alphabets. In works intended for general circulation, the author who has occasion to refer to the Hebrew, (and still more to the Arabic,) must often be at a loss what to do. He can of course in his MS. write the words he has to mention in their proper characters. But it is a great question whether his printer will be able to reproduce them, or his reader to decipher them. It is not every printer who can find it worth his while to keep by him a variety of foreign types, or compositors who are sufficiently familiar with their forms to use them correctly. It must therefore cause a great increase of expense in printing, to employ always the proper characters, and yet it is very inconvenient not to be able to do so. It is better in every way to name the exact word referred to, instead of having recourse to the awkward periphrasis, "the word in the original which is translated so and so." It saves trouble to the writer, it is more satisfactory to the reader who understands the language, and it conveys a more fixed and definite idea even to him who does not, provided he can only decipher the characters. On all these accounts, I cannot help thinking that it would be very desirable (if it can be done) to establish a common or neutral alphabet, applicable to all languages, which the general reader may soon acquire, and the types for which may be easily procured.

Such an attempt will of course appear barbarous at first sight. It strikes one as unscholarly to write a language in any other characters than those which custom has sanctioned. But is there any really sound philological objection to the use of one alphabet for all languages? I maintain that there is not. I am prepared to prove on the contrary, if this were the proper place, that at least the majority of the letters in all known alphabets, had but one common origin; and that all the variations in the existing forms, there is reason to believe, have arisen either from attempts at tachygraphy, or from notions of caligraphy—either from the desire of the scribe to write more expeditiously, or from his ambition to make his characters as ornamental as possible. If this be so, it would be,

philologically considered, a step in the right direction to reduce all alphabets to one common standard; and for the same reason there is nothing at all incongruous in employing Roman characters in place of Hebrew or Arabic, so far as they correspond to the same original letters.

In the first place, then, there seems no reason why the following oriental letters should not be represented by the corresponding Roman or Greek characters—only I would strip them of their ornamental tips, as a sign that they are employed in an unusual manner;—viz., א by B, א by G, ד by D or Δ, ו by F or V, ז by Z, ח by Θ, י by J, כ by K or C, ל by L, מ by M, נ by N, פ by P, ק by Q, ר by R, ש by S, ט by T. It will be observed that in all these cases the modern letters are strictly the descendants of the ancient, as may be gathered from a comparison of their names, and of their numerical values, in Hebrew and Greek.

Next for ה the weaker aspirate, and ח the stronger, we may put the small or imperfect h, and the full form H respectively; or for the latter a combination of the letters ch might be formed, by making the c touch the h. The Greek character σ, and the name *σигμα*, seem evidently derived from ס, סך; as Σ and σιν are from ש, שׁ: an enlarged σ will therefore naturally stand for ש. For צ, which is a combination of the sounds of ט and ס, we may conveniently invent a combination of their forms, by writing the σ under the ט, with their vertical strokes in one line. The sound of שׁ may be represented by an inverted S, thus ω.

We have thus found familiar and intelligible characters for all the Hebrew letters except א and ע. For the first, I would adopt a cipher, as significant of its office, viz., to denote the absence of any consonantial sound; but to prevent it from being confounded with the letter O, I would insert a dot in it. The name of the letter ע signifies "an eye," and this was no doubt originally its shape, being the source whence the Greeks borrowed the form (though not the power) of their letter O. We cannot do better than than represent it by an O slightly modified; the figure 9 may be sufficiently near for the purpose.

The vowels may be represented by the small letters a, e, i, o, u.

When none but the ordinary Roman types are at hand, the following common marks might be substituted for the new symbols just explained; viz., for ס and צ we may write C_s and T_s with a cedilla; for א the asterisk *; and for ח the figure 4, the shape of which approaches to that of a T.

The Roman characters correspond, it will be seen, to the dageshed forms of the letters בּ בֵּבֶבֹבֻבֻ. If we wish to mark the undageshed forms, or soft sounds, we may do it by means of a dot over the letter. The new Arabic letters, made by the help of this dot, may of course be distinguished in our new alphabet in the same way. Or we might improve upon this device, by adding a tittle to the letter instead; for instance, the plain T would become a cross † when denoting the Arabic *tha*.

Instead of dagesh forte, or the Arabic tashdid, we might employ a horizontal line, placed over the letter thus Δ̄; this sign is in common use for denoting the long or *double vowel*, and may therefore very well serve to mark the doubling of a *consonant* also.

The same line placed *under* a letter will then be readily understood to

signify that the letter is not to be pronounced at all, as it does already in Syriac. It thus supplies the place of the Arabic wasla.

By the adoption of an alphabet, such as I have here sketched, we should, I submit, obtain the desideratum so much needed. We should be able correctly to express the oriental languages, in characters which would not only be intelligible to the scholar, but would readily suggest a definite sound to the general reader; while they would possess the additional advantage of being simple in their form, and consequently the types would be inexpensive to cast. In fact, as above mentioned, the new characters may on occasion be entirely dispensed with. In order to make the scheme available, in printing of the commonest kind, it would only be necessary to give, once for all, a list of the *names* of the Hebrew (or Arabic) letters, Aleph, Beth, etc., with the corresponding Roman characters, and the sound in English; and the author might then convey all his meaning, without the necessity of employing any foreign or unusual characters whatever.

By way of illustration I subjoin Gen. xi. 1, 2, in Hebrew. VaJ'hiJ KoL ha*aReT₅ SaPah *eHaT VuDeBaRiJM *aHaDiJM. VaJ'hiJ B'NoC₅9aM MiQeDeM, VaJiMT₅*uV BiQ9ah B'*eReT₅ coiN9aR, VaJēω'BuV ωaM.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,
J. B. A.

CONFIRMATION OF BIBLE HISTORY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

DEAR SIR,—In the October number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (p. 228), there is a very interesting extract from the *American Messenger* headed "Bible History confirmed by an Egyptian Seal at Nineveh," in which the writer, after pointing out the names of four Egyptian kings who are mentioned in Scripture history, specifies "So or Sabaco II., who was succeeded by Tirhakah in Egypt," as the king who made a treaty of peace with Sennacherib, and whose cartouch has been found in the recently discovered palace of the king of Assyria. Believing that the "So or Sabacco II." there referred to could not be the immediate predecessor of Tirhakah on the throne of Egypt, but must rather refer to his father, the elder So and properly denominated Sabacco II., as the son should be Sabacco III., it will be interesting to consider how far the date of this king's reign, as given in Manetho's *Dynasties*, together with those of the three other Egyptian kings mentioned above, accord with the reigns of those kings of Judah with whom they are represented as being contemporary in Scripture. We gather from 1 Kings xiv. 25, that "in the fifth year of king Rehobaham, *Shishak king of Egypt* came up against Jerusalem;" from 2 Kings xvii. 1—4, that in the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah, Hoshea began to reign over Israel, and that early in his short reign of nine years he sent

to "So, king of Egypt," for assistance against the king of Assyria; from 2 Kings xviii. 13, and xix. 9, that Tirhakak, of the Ethiopian dynasty, was reigning in Egypt during the fourteenth year of Hezekiah king of Judah; and from 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30, that "Paraoh-necho was king of Egypt" during the thirty-first and last year of king Josiah's reign.

The following tables will shew how far the reigns of these several kings of Judah and Egypt may be proved to be contemporary. Assuming that the conquests of Egypt by Cambyzes took place in the first year of his reign, B.C. 529; that the fall of Babylon and the punishment of its king, mentioned in Jeremiah xxv. 11, 12, was fulfilled by the death of Belshazzar, B.C. 538; and that the seventy years' predicted captivity of the Jews commenced in the fourth year of Jehoiakin (see 2 Kings xxiv. 1—4, Jeremiah xxv. 1, 11, 12, Daniel i. 1, 2,) B.C. 608, we may, by comparing Scripture with Manetho's *Dynasties* and Herodotus, obtain these results for the several reigns of the kings of Judah and Egypt.

		KINGS OF EGYPT.		KINGS OF JUDAH.	
		Length of Reign, B.C.		Length of Reign, B.C.	
		Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.
22nd Dy. 23rd Dy. 24th 25th D. 26th Dynasty.	Psammenitus	6 m.	529—530	Jehoiakim .. first 4 years	608—612
	Amosis	44	530—574	Josiah.....	31 612—643
	Apries	25	574—599	Amon.....	12 643—655
	Psammis	6	599—605	Manasseh ..	55 655—710
	Pharaoh-necho	16	605—621	Hezekiah ...	29 710—739
	Psammetichus	54	621—675	Ahaz	16 739—755
	Necho	6	675—681	Jotham	16 755—771
	Nechepsos	7	681—688	Uzziah.....	52 771—823
	Ammeres.....	18	688—706	Amaziah....	29 823—852
	Tarakos	20	706—726	Joash	40 852—892
	Sebichos	12	726—738	Athaliah....	6 892—898
	Sabbakon or So	12	738—750	Ahaziah	1 898—899
	Bochchoris	44	750—794	Jehoram	8 899—907
	Zeet	31	794—825	Jehoshaphat.	25 907—932
	Psammus	10	825—835	Asa.....	41 932—973
	Osorcho	8	835—843	Abijah	3 973—976
	Petoubates	40	843—883	Rehoboam ..	17 976—993
	3 Kings not named....	42	883—925		
	Tacelothis	13	925—938		
	3 other Kings not named	25	938—963		
	Osorthou	15	963—978		
	Seonchis or Shishak ..	21	978—999		

As *Shishak* reigned B.C. 999—978, and Rehoboam B.C. 993—976, the fifth year of the latter would fall within the reign of the former, according to 1 Kings xiv. 25.

So reigned B.C. 750—738, and Ahaz B.C. 755—739; the twelfth year of Ahaz, therefore, would be B.C. 743, and within four or five years at the utmost of the time when *Hoshea* was seeking the assistance of So king of Egypt against the king of Assyria, according to 2 Kings xvii. 4—6.

Tirhakak reigned B.C. 726—706, and Hezekiah B.C. 739—710; hence the fourteenth year of the latter would fall B.C. 725, when *Tirhakak*, the last of the three kings of the Ethiopian dynasty, was reigning in Egypt, according to 2 Kings xix. 9.

Pharaoh-necho reigned B.C. 621—605, and *Josiah* B.C. 643—612; hence the last year of *Josiah's* reign, B.C. 612, would fall within the reign of *Necho*, according to 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

As some of the dates in the above table will doubtless be objected to, it will be right to observe that in their formation I have adopted the rule of giving the greatest number of years to each individual king on the authority of Herodotus, Manetho, Africanus or Eusebius; the highest numbers having always the most reasons in their favour, and in this instance being the only ones which will accord with the chronology of Scripture.

With regard to the latter, I have adopted the full number of years allotted to each of the kings of Judah according to our present Hebrew text, with but one exception, viz. that of *Amon*, giving him twelve years in place of two. This I have done on the authority of the Codex Alexandrinus, which reads (2 Kings xxi. 19) *καὶ ὠδεκά ἐτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ*, having had an opportunity of verifying it by personal inspection, though I admit the same Codex gives *δυο* in the parallel passage (2 Chron. xxxiii. 21.) Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, adopts the longer number of twelve years for the reign of *Amon* on the authority of the LXX; and we may conclude that early Christian writers felt there were ten years more wanting in the reigns of the kings of Judah than the Hebrew text gave, from the fact that both Clemens Alexandrinus and Theophilus bishop of Antioch concur in giving thirty-nine years to Amaziah in place of twenty-nine, as all the copies, both Hebrew and Greek, invariably declare. This is supported by the chronology of Herodotus. Dating from the accession of Cyrus (B.C. 560), Herodotus (i. 106, 130) gives 156 years in all for the interval between the fall of the Assyrian empire and the termination of the Median kingdom, which would bring us to B.C. 716; but, according to the usual chronology, the expedition of Sennacherib against Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, is dated B.C. 714, i. e. two years *after* the fall of his empire; whereas, if twelve years be allowed for the length of *Amon's* reign, this would throw back Sennacherib's expedition to B.C. 724 or 725, which agrees with the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, according to the table above. Further, if, as appears from 1 Kings xix. 36, 37, the rebellion of Sennacherib's sons, Adrammeleck and Sharezer, and the accession of Esarhaddon, occurred soon after that overthrow (Tobit i. 21, says fifty-five days, and Josephus, quoting Berosus, says, after the destruction of his army, Sennacherib fled to Nineveh, where he abode "*a little while*," before his sons were guilty of parricide, *Antiq.*, x. 1, 5), and if we allow eight years for the length of Esarhaddon's reign, according to Polyhistor (Euseb. *Arm. Chron.* p. 41), B.C. 724—8, will bring us to B.C. 716, as the year when the Assyrian empire was overthrown by the revolt of the Medes, and thus the chronology of Scripture and of Herodotus are made to agree. There are one or two things to remark on the construction of the above table of the kings of Egypt. I have allotted sixteen years to the reign of *Pharaoh-necho* on the authority of Herodotus, x. 156, where he evidently alludes to *Necho's* attack upon *Josiah*, as he speaks of "the battle which he fought against the Syrians in the plains of Magdolus, and after his victory the capture of the great city Cadytis" (Khodes or Jerusalem), in preference to the six years of Manetho, as Herodotus is an earlier and

therefore better authority. Ammeres the Ethiopian is named as succeeding Tirhakah, and the first king of the twenty-sixth dynasty on the authority of the Armenian Chronicle, which gives eighteen years for his reign, in preference to Jerome, who gives only twelve years, and to Africanus, who omits the name altogether.

The American reviewer, as I have before remarked, terms "*So*, or *Sabaco II.*," the immediate predecessor of *Tirhakah*, or *Tarakos* as the Greeks wrote the name. Osburn, in his *Monumental History of Egypt* (vol. ii. 141) mentions the name of "*Sabacon I.*" as belonging to the thirteenth dynasty, who was one of the sixty Diospolite kings whose names are not given by either Africanus or Eusebius in their lists of Manetho's *Dynasties*. *Sabachon II.* would then be reckoned as the first king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, who is the "*So*" of Scripture and father of Sebichus, the predecessor of *Tirhakah*, who might be termed *Sabachon III.*, from the similarity of the names of father and son, written respectively by Africanus as Σαβάκων and Σεβίχως. That the "*So*" of Scripture refers to the father may, I think, be proved from the fact that the sacred historian allots apparently more than twelve years (the number in the Armenian of the years of *Sabachon III.*) between the time when *Hoshea* sought assistance from *So*, and the mention of *Tirhakah's* name (compare 2 Kings xvii. 1—4, with 2 Kings xix. 9), which agrees with the chronology of Manetho's *Dynasties*. In the twenty-third dynasty I have allotted thirty-one years to the reign of *Zeet*, according to Africanus, which name Eusebius omits altogether, as he does the six kings of the twenty-second dynasty. The united reigns of these kings amount to sixty-seven years, and bring the twenty-second dynasty as high up as B.C. 999, when the "*Shishak*" of Scripture, *Sh-sh-k* as it is written on the hieroglyphics, and Sesonchis of the Greek lists, began to reign, and who sacked Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, whose reign commenced, according to the above table, a few years later, viz. B.C. 993.

I have omitted to mention, with regard to *Sabachon II.* and *Sabachon III.*, that the names of the father and son are written on the monuments in the same characters, which may account for some referring the "*So*" of Scripture to the son, instead of, as I believe, it should be done to the father, though the Biblical record is not sufficiently distinct with regard to the year when *Hoshea* sought the assistance of the king of Egypt, to enable us to speak as positively of the time, as we can of the other cases, where the kings of Judah and Egypt are spoken of in Scripture as being contemporary. At all events, we have sufficient means of confirming sacred chronology by the incidental mention of certain kings of Egypt in connexion with certain kings of Judah, according to the lists of Manetho, if we accept the greatest number of years allotted to the several kings by the respective transcribers of those lists as being correct in accordance with the tables which I have given above.

I remain, dear Sir, etc.,

B. W. SAVILE.

Newport, Oct., 1859. .

AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I know not how far you will feel at liberty to admit into your columns any remarks having reference to articles which have appeared in another journal, but I venture to submit to your notice a few observations on the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In doing so I have no wish to criticize or complain of the review of Dean Alford's Greek Testament, which appeared in *The Clerical Journal*, but simply to make known the grounds on which I have, from a distinct and independent study of the subject, arrived at the same conclusion with Dean Alford. I say *distinct and independent study*, because I have never yet had the opportunity of examining the Dean's last volume, and it is very possible therefore that I may unconsciously employ many of the same arguments on which he has rested his case.

I must begin, then, by avowing that I altogether disbelieve in the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. I am not one of those indeed who can see no force in Catholic tradition, but I am sure that Catholic tradition, like every other human vehicle of communication, is fallible, and therefore I cannot accept even its authority when I seem to find it counterbalanced by irresistible arguments.

I. In the first place, then, I believe the *internal evidence* to be as decisively against the Pauline authorship as it well could be. At the very outset I look in vain for the subscription of the author's name to the document. What does this prove? Nothing, perhaps, in many cases, but a good deal in this particular instance. I remember what St. Paul himself says in writing to the Thessalonians, "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand, *which is the token in every epistle*," 2 Thess. iii. 17, and I cannot but think that here, to begin with, is a *slight* presumption at all events against the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Again, I cannot believe that the same man wrote Gal. i. 12 and Hebrews ii. 3, and more especially that St. Paul would be less careful about using an expression which might be employed against him, when writing to Jews, than to Gentiles.

If we look more closely into the subject-matter of the Epistle we shall, I think, still find the current of probability setting strongly against St. Paul. The *plan* of the work is un-Pauline; it exhibits an artificial structure, a concinnity not much in accordance with that Apostle's usual style of composition. The *sentiments* are not distinctively Pauline. Stuart, indeed, very painfully elaborates an argument on behalf of St. Paul from the agreement of the thoughts (and in some cases of the expressions), with those found in the acknowledged writings of the Apostle. But the impression which Stuart's argument makes on my mind is, that he is bringing forward a great deal of learning and ingenuity to uphold a desperate cause. The resemblances on which he lays stress are such as must necessarily exist between two writers on a common subject, when that subject is Christian doctrine, and those two writers are inspired. Moreover,

there are several matters in the Epistle which are regarded by the writer in a point of view very different from the Pauline.

I would instance the subject of *faith* as treated in chap. xi. Whenever St. Paul enlarges upon faith and its operations, he always seems to refer to that *specific* faith in Christ which is the condition of justification. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the other hand, treats of faith *generically*, and enlarges upon its operations and effects as manifested under a great variety of circumstances.

Again, I am strongly inclined to think that the writer of this work, though certainly well acquainted with the Mosaic ritual, had obtained his knowledge of it rather from a careful study of the Pentateuch, than from personal observation of the temple services at Jerusalem. This is shewn, amongst other things, by the use of the term *tabernacle*, which indicates that the associations in the mind of the writer were rather with what he had read of the Jewish polity during the sojourn in the wilderness, than with the organization as it existed in his own day. This is against the Pauline authorship. I need not dwell upon the difference between the style of the Epistle and the style of all St. Paul's acknowledged works, including those written very near the time which must be assigned as the date of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This difference is patent. It struck Origen, to whom Greek was vernacular, and it cannot but strike all whose acquaintance with Greek is not very elementary. Indeed, I cannot think that if St. Paul had written to the Hebrew Christians, he would have written in Greek. Very few years before the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, the Apostle addressed a tumultuous assemblage of Jews in the Hebrew tongue with such effect that he secured their eager attention. He had then a sufficient command of the Hebrew language, and he knew by experience how effective the use of it was to conciliate those of whom it was the native speech.

Yet, again, I fancy that I can discover indications of an Alexandrian element in the work. Several expressions might be adduced which occur nowhere else in the New Testament, but do occur in Philo. I will just give one instance. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, Melchisedec is said to be ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, inasmuch as there is no record of his parentage: Philo calls Sarah, the wife of Abraham, ἀμήτωρ for a similar reason.

And, once more, there is in this Epistle a tendency to make use of Rabbinical tradition. (Compare Chron. ix. 19, 20, with Exodus xxiv. 6, 7, Chron. xii. 21 with Exodus xx. 20, 21.) There are also a few instances of confused and inaccurate quotations from the Old Testament. Such an instance is to be found in Chron. xi. 21, where the two distinct occurrences recorded in Genesis xlvii. 31, and Genesis xlviii. 20, are blended together. There is, of course, nothing in a mistake of this kind to identify the author or his nationality, but it is a curious coincidence that mistakes of a similar kind are to be found in the speech of St. Stephen (see Acts. vii. 16), and he seems to have been a Hellenistic Alexandrian Jew, if one may judge by the fact that he was the one with whom the members of the Alexandrian synagogue got into debate.

II. I have then, as far as space would permit, glanced at the character of the *internal* evidence which leads me to reject the Pauline authorship,

it only remains to consider whether the *external* evidence is strong enough to counterbalance it.

Now the references to this Epistle in Clement, while they give us no clue to the authorship, prove that the work was well known to the Church at Rome at a very early period. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise, since the Epistle was written, if not from Rome, at least from some place in Italy. Now it is an undeniable fact that the Western Church, having this treatise in its hands almost from its first publication, doubted or denied the Pauline authorship.

Irenæus (A.D. 170) knew the work, and, as far as can be ascertained, considered it un-Pauline.

Caius, a presbyter of Rome (A.D. 210), and Hippolytus (A.D. 220) were of the same opinion.

Tertullian of Carthage (A.D. 200) attributes the Epistle to Barnabas.

Down to the time of Eusebius, the Pauline authorship was doubted by many members of the Roman Church.

The testimony of the Eastern Church is more favourable to the Pauline authorship. But then with regard to Eastern testimony two important points must be noticed.

(1) All the testimony that has come down to us from the Eastern Church before the time of Eusebius is comprised in the sentiments of Pantænus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. There is, indeed, a little indirect evidence traceable to Pamphilus of Cæsarea, but it is of slight importance.

(2) All those named—Pantænus, Clement, Origen, and even Eusebius himself—qualify their testimony by an admission that the Epistle must either have been written in Hebrew (which the best critics will not admit) or been composed by Luke, Clement of Rome, or some other person out of materials furnished by St. Paul (which indeed is not impossible).

That the opinion of the Pauline authorship ultimately prevailed I admit. But it did not prevail as the result of a sifting critical inquiry. Of such inquiry there are no traces. It prevailed by tacit acquiescence under circumstances when the influence of a few great names carried public opinion along with it. It prevailed in some degree through the predominance which the Eastern Church obtained during the fourth century.

Space forbids me to enlarge further on this subject, and I feel that within the narrow limits of a letter it is impossible to deal with such a question as it deserves.

The popular view which attributes the Epistle to St. Paul will long maintain its ground for many reasons. In the first place, many will erroneously suppose that the canonical authority of the Epistle must stand or fall with the Pauline authorship. Others will be deterred from impartial investigation of the subject by vague horror of German rationalism. And finally, others, like the Reviewer, will be swayed by their respect for Catholic tradition, by a tendency to believe that such tradition (abstract and indefinite as it is) can outweigh any quantity of improbabilities, and by a pardonable fear that to prove Catholic tradition fallible, is the first step towards proving it fallacious.

Your obedient Servant,
H. G. R.

THE BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD (1 Cor. xv. 29); WHO WERE THEY? AND WHY SO DESIGNATED?

SIR,—Few passages of Scripture have tested the ingenuity of commentators more severely, and in my humble opinion less successfully, than 1 Cor. xv. 29, 30. I suspect that the true exegesis of the passage has yet to be discovered, and with some diffidence I submit the following remarks as a contribution towards it.

The difficulty to be confronted lies, I need not say, in the words, “*οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*” (who were these “baptized for the dead?”) and in Rom. vi. 3—8, I think we have a key which will enable us to explicate it. In this passage, if I understand it aright, baptism is represented not only as symbolizing the death, burial, and resurrection of the baptized person; but also as implying a profession that in the very act of being baptized he became dead to the world, and that henceforth all his hopes of happiness were suspended on the certainty, or his belief in the certainty of a resurrection from the dead; in other words, that he was “baptized for the dead.”

For “Know ye not (so runs the argument) that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death,” etc., etc. Where the Apostle lays it down as a well-known and admitted truth that in baptism the worthy recipient of that rite became assimilated to Christ,—I had almost said, identified with him in his death, burial, and resurrection,—and that the new life in which he was henceforth bound to walk was a life of “faith in the Son of God;” a faith, be it observed, which had especial reference to the resurrection; the whole ceremony being a significant declaration or profession that all this was realized to the individual in his own experience and purpose.

Assuming then that “*οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι*,” and “*οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*,”—*the baptized*, and *the baptized for the dead*,—are equivalent expressions designating one and the same class of persons, we are next to enquire why, in this passage of Scripture, and this alone of all the Apostle’s writings, the latter and more complex form is used in preference to the more usual and simple one.

The obvious answer to this is, that the writer was discoursing on the resurrection of the dead, and that he introduced the supplementary words *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* for the purpose of marking more emphatically the relation between baptism and the resurrection.

According to this view, to be baptized *for* the dead, and to be raised again *from* the dead, are correlatives, the one answering to the other; and the Apostle’s argument will run thus:—

If the hope of the baptized person of a resurrection from the dead is, after all, a delusion,—in other words, if there is no *ἀναστάσις ἐκ νεκρῶν*, then *βαπτίζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*—or (in English), if there is no resurrection *from* the dead, then to be baptized *for* the dead is of all absurdities the greatest, and of all calamities the most pitiable: and the Apostle might well challenge an answer to the question, “What (on this

supposition) shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" and, "*Why* are they then baptized for the dead? and *why* stand we"—*we* who are the subjects of this baptism for the dead—"in jeopardy every hour?" and not rather, by renouncing our baptism, escape the perils to which it has exposed us, and live, like our fellow-men, in security and peace.

Here, then, we have a close logical connexion with a strict logical sequence, the *argumentum ad hominem* being most appropriately addressed to those who had themselves been "baptized for the dead." On this interpretation also we are relieved from the difficulty of trying to understand how the being baptized in the place of others who had suffered martyrdom for Christ could, except in a way far too remote and indirect to have been with any probability present to the mind of the sacred writer, be an argument for the resurrection.

JOHN EDMUND CARR.

The Outwoods, near Derby,
Dec. 2nd, 1859.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Ancient Church : its History, Doctrine, Worship and Constitution, traced for the first three hundred years. By W. D. KILLEN, D.D.
London : Nisbet. 1859. 8vo, pp. 688.

MUCH as has already been written on the histories of the early Church, the subject is by no means exhausted. But then, if it is to be presented in a form acceptable to scholars and thinking men, this history must be wrought out by a philosophic mind, and developed by a spirit above mere partizanship. The absence of these qualifications has generally marked Church historians to a painful degree, and it has deprived their labours of much of their value. The materials are but few, even when the events and principles of Holy Scripture are included in them, for a full and lucid exhibition of what the early Church was, and this fact has proved a snare to two very opposite parties. It is obvious that a paucity of data may operate two ways. It may seem to warrant the defence of a system both narrow in principle and bald in detail, as is the practice of the new parties in the visible Church which have sprung up since the Reformation. If the Bible is taken as the only authority, except so far as the naked facts of the early Church may fall in with its imperfect outline, then a foundation is laid for modes of Church government devoid of anything like a hierarchy or a ceremonial. On the other hand, this fewness of data may be construed as warranting any measure of development, and any system of Church policy may be extracted from the first three centuries. From the comparatively little which is known of the Church before Constantine, both Rome and the smallest of her opponents alike draw the defence of their systems.

But there is a middle course, and that is the only one which ought to be taken by the writer of Church history. He will remember that neither the Scriptures nor the early Church writers profess to give the full history of the Church, but that all their details are incidental, and that to mould a complete system from them, if possible at all, requires a freedom from engrossing prepossessions, a patient collection of particulars, and the mind of a philosopher. He will not conclude that because little is recorded, therefore little existed or is to be known. He will not, on the other hand, magnify little things into great ones, in order to answer a purpose. We admit that the qualifications for a successful historian, even of secular kingdoms, rarely meet in one person, and still less frequently in the writer of Church history. Religious prejudices are found in almost every mind, and they are dear in proportion as their subject is important. But the historian, if he is to do his work properly, must keep them in check, and not knowingly allow them to disturb the balance of his judgment.

We cannot say that Dr. Killen is a historian of this character. From the beginning to the close of his volume he displays the temper

of a partizan. The work is dedicated to the Earl of Argyle, who, like the author, is a Presbyterian, and Dr. Killen tells his Grace that "the publication is a testimony in favour of Evangelical Protestantism. Where can I find for it a more appropriate patron than the Duke of Argyle? It is not the least of your hereditary honours that you are descended from a saintly ancestry, and that some of the most illustrious of our martyrs for Divine Truth and Constitutional Freedom once stood at the head of your noble house. This volume supplies evidence that the religious principles with which their history is identified are ancient as Christianity and sure as the Word of God." We do not blame Dr. Killen for adopting Presbyterianism, nor for finding proofs of it wherever he could; but when the gauntlet is thus thrown down at the very front of a work, we may be sure that the spirit of party will prevail all through it. And so it is the case. The whole of the history of the early Church is made, not always logically, to bear an undoubted testimony to the peculiarities of Presbyterianism.

But there is one part of this volume which challenges attention, and which will have it, though we fear not with the result of crowning the writer with laurel. He calls into question altogether the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles, even as they appear in the curtailed Syriac edition. That Dr. Killen thinks a good deal of this feat of arms is plain from the flourish of trumpets in the Preface. He says:—

"Some may perhaps consider that in a work such as this undue prominence has been given to the question of the Ignatian Epistles. Those who have carefully examined the subject will scarcely think so. If we accredit these documents, *the history of the early Church is thrown into a state of hopeless confusion, and men taught and honoured by the apostles themselves must have inculcated the most dangerous errors.* But if their claims vanish, when touched by the wand of truthful criticism, many clouds which have hitherto darkened the ecclesiastical atmosphere disappear, and the progress of corruption can be traced on scientific principles. The special attention of all interested in this Ignatian controversy is invited to the two chapters of this work in which the subject is investigated. Evidence is there produced to shew that the Ignatian letters, even as edited by the very learned and laborious Dr. Cureton, are utterly spurious, and that they should be swept away from among the genuine remains of early Church literature with the besom of scorn."

But surely something more dignified than a besom might be applied to what men far greater than Dr. Killen will ever be have thought matters of reverence, on purely historic grounds! We have marked part of the above in italics to indicate the *a priori* reasoning which runs through this volume, and which is brought to bear especially on the Ignatian epistles. Certainly, if these epistles stand in the way of what Dr. Killen thinks the early Church ought to have been, nothing can be more desirable in his eyes than to sweep them away. But has he never heard of heretics who, in various ages, have *tried* to apply the "besom of scorn" to some of the writings of the New Testament which did not favour their views? In their footsteps Dr. Killen is walking, and to uphold his opinion of what the early Church ought to have believed and taught, he violates all the principles of historic evidence, and adopts a process by which any and every ancient relic might be

pronounced spurious. Even on his own shewing, in another place, this writer employs here a baseless argument. When unfolding certain erroneous interpretations of the early Fathers, he says:—"It would seem as if the Great Head of the Church permitted these early writers to commit the grossest mistakes, and to propound the most foolish theories, for the express purpose of teaching us that we are not implicitly to follow their guidance." Very well: then why not apply this reasoning to Ignatius? and does it follow that because some of his teachings are not according to Scripture (we put the case hypothetically), his writings are not genuine?

But of what argument, we may ask, is this "besom of scorn" composed which is to deprive the Church of documents which, in *some form*, have had genuineness conceded to them by a long succession of competent scholars? The answer to this question would be a long one, and we cannot give it here. Nor is it necessary, for a glance at one or two particulars will sufficiently indicate the viciousness of Dr. Killen's *method*.

First. Polycarp alludes to Ignatius when he says, "I exhort all of you that ye obey the word of righteousness, and exercise all patience, which ye have seen set before your eyes, *not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others of you.*" Dr. Killen says "that this testimony of the pastor of Smyrna has been strangely misunderstood." Because Zosimus and Rufus were men of Philippi, Ignatius, says our author, must have been so too. "These words would suggest to an ordinary reader that Polycarp is here speaking, not of Ignatius of Antioch, but of an Ignatius of Philippi." We think not. Suppose that Quintillian had written to the Romans on oratory, and had mentioned as examples "Demosthenes, Cicero, and others of you," would that have proved that Demosthenes was a Roman?

Secondly. Dr. Killen lays stress on the fact that no western father mentions these Ignatian letters until between two and three hundred years after the time of their assumed publication. But does he forget that some of the early Churches knew nothing of some of the writings of the apostles, at least as genuine, until some centuries had passed away?

From these two specimens of critical logic the reader may gather the nature of the whole. There are numerous similar assumptions, which, as they may mislead many into whose hands this book may fall, we hope will be exposed by some competent hand.

In conclusion, we must, in justice both to the author and ourselves, give an extract illustrative of what we have hinted at, as his presumption and self-confidence. At the conclusion of the chapter on Ignatius, we find the following modest paragraphs:—

"It is truly wonderful that men, such as Dr. Cureton, have permitted themselves to be befooled by these Syriac manuscripts. It is still more extraordinary that writers, such as the amiable and pious Milner, have published, with all gravity, the rhapsodies of Ignatius for the edification of their readers. It would almost appear as if the name *Bishop* has such a magic influence on some honest and enlightened Episcopalians, that where the interests of their denomination are

supposed to be concerned, they can be induced to close their eyes against the plainest dictates of common sense and the clearest light of historical demonstration. In deciding upon matters of fact, the spirit of party should never be permitted to interfere. Truth is the common property of the Catholic Church, and no good and holy cause can require the support of an apocryphal correspondence.

"It is no mean proof of the sagacity of the great Calvin, that upwards of three hundred years ago he passed such a sentence of condemnation on these Ignatian letters. At the time many were startled by the boldness of his language, and it was thought that he was somewhat precipitate in pronouncing such a decisive judgment. But he saw distinctly, and therefore spoke fearlessly. There is a far more intimate connexion than many are disposed to believe between sound theology and sound criticism, for a right knowledge of the Word of God strengthens the intellectual vision, and assists in the detection of error wherever it may reveal itself. Had Pearson enjoyed the same clear views of Gospel truth as the reformer of Geneva, he would not have wasted so many precious years in writing a learned vindication of the nonsense attributed to Ignatius. Calvin knew that an apostolic man must have been acquainted with apostolic doctrine, and he saw that these letters must have been the production of an age when the pure light of Christianity was greatly obscured. Hence he denounced them so emphatically, and time has verified his deliverance. His language respecting them has been often quoted, but we feel we cannot more appropriately close our observations on this subject than by another repetition of it. 'There is nothing more abominable than that trash which is in circulation under the name of Ignatius.'"

Our readers will remember how Luther, by this *à priori* conclusion, pronounced St. James's a "strawey epistle."

The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, from its institution in 1804 to the close of its Jubilee in 1854. Compiled, at the request of the Jubilee Committee, by the Rev. GEORGE BROWNE, during twenty years one of the Secretaries of the Society. In two volumes. London: Bagster and Sons. 1859. 8vo, pp. 560, 580.

It would ill become a "Biblical Record" to pass by a work like that before us. The Bible Society may not meet the opinions and feelings of all classes of Christians in some of its bearings on the office and wants of the Church at large, but there can be but one opinion as to its great influence in many departments of practical religion. The stimulus it has given to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the way in which it has incidentally given an impetus to the Christian world, in our country and abroad, must ever make this Institution memorable, and give it a place in ecclesiastical history. We are glad, then, that it has found a historian, and that that office should be filled by one so competent as the Rev. G. Browne. That gentleman has long been familiar with the movements of the Society, and his heart has gone with the labours of his hands and mind in promoting its interests. He has come to his task well prepared for its proper performance, and these volumes do not disappoint the hopes which were formed of his success. We will allow Mr. Browne to speak for himself as to the plan he has adopted, and the objects he has in view:—

"The present work is intended to furnish a concise, yet comprehensive account of the proceedings of the Society during the period which it professes to

embrace. It also contains some reference to the opposition which the Society has at times encountered; the controversies which have arisen at different stages of its history; and the difficult practical problems which, in the course of its administration, it has been called to solve. These topics will be found adverted to, and the conduct of the Society reviewed, not, it is hoped, in the spirit of the mere apologist or partizan, but with frankness, impartiality, and fidelity; and so as to bring out the admonitory as well as encouraging lessons which the experience of an Institution may be expected to supply, that has had to urge its way through many hitherto untrodden paths.

"The author's aim has been to give a faithful history of one of the most prominent religious movements of modern times,—a movement that has connected itself with, and in some measure acted upon, every department of the universal Church of God. A large measure of the happiest results has been already witnessed and enjoyed; and whilst the triumphs of the Society have yielded abundant matter for grateful praise and adoration of that Divine care by which it has been guarded, it may be asserted with confidence that, through its instrumentality, a blessing has been provided for ages yet to come."

The plan pursued by the editor in working up his materials is thus described:—

"The method now pursued has been to divide the history into two principal compartments—the *Home* and the *Foreign*, answering to the twofold title of the Society; the former compartment to comprise its domestic proceedings and its operations within the limits of the United Kingdom; the latter to include whatever has been attempted or accomplished beyond these limits for the benefit of the world at large. This second part opens so wide a field that a further division, and even subdivision, seemed desirable. Europe, Asia, Africa, and America are therefore reviewed in succession; and afterwards Australia and the islands of the Southern Sea. These larger divisions, again, are reviewed in different portions—Central, Northern, Western, etc., several countries or provinces being grouped together where practicable, or their history traced separately if circumstances seemed to call for it—as in the instance of Russia and other parts of continental Europe, where the Society's connexions have been most numerous, and its labours the most abundant. This review has been, in some instances, further divided into distinct *periods*, as well as localities, for reasons which are assigned as the work proceeds. The object has been to give, within very moderate limits, a connected and continuous view of the Society's work, in order that thus the course of its operations in such province, country, or separate field of labour might be the more distinctly traced, without materially detracting from a definite and comprehensive impression of the whole; and such details have been introduced, in connexion with each scene of the Society's operations, as seemed necessary to give a just idea of the work itself, or, in other respects, to possess permanent interest. To have multiplied these details, had space permitted, would have been an easy and a grateful task; for the voluminous records from which they are selected contain a rich mine of facts and incidents, of which those given in these volumes are to be taken only as specimens."

On looking over the work we are struck with the amount of *incident* which is introduced, so as to make it a most readable book, and give it a generally interesting character. Mr. Browne alludes to "voluminous records," and we confess that we yet desire a further instalment of them to complete the history of the Bible Society. Part of its labours have been in the field of ancient versions of the Holy Scriptures, and much of criticism and literary history must have appeared before the Committee of the Society at various times. Mr. Browne has only referred to those ancient versions cursorily, as his plan and object seemed to demand; but we should like to know a little more on such subjects.

For instance, the Society has on its list a Syro-Chaldaic copy of the Gospels, and also a Carshun and Syriac New Testament, both most beautiful books, and yet nothing is said of them here. We want to know more about the motives which led to the publication of these curious books, the manuscripts from which the text was printed, and many other particulars. We do not say this in any way to find fault with Mr. Browne, but to shew that more may yet be forthcoming of special interest from the Society's records.

A History of the Articles of Religion: to which is added a series of Documents from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615, together with Illustrations from contemporary sources. By CHARLES HARDWICK, B.D., Archdeacon of Ely, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. New edition, thoroughly revised. Cambridge: Deighton. 1859. 8vo, pp. 416.

THIS new edition of a valuable work was revised by the lamented author a short time before his death. The work is intended to supply a want which was long felt by students of Theology both at home and abroad. "The idea of undertaking it is traceable to suggestions of the late Archbishop Laurance, who complained that while the *doctrine* of the Articles of the Church of England, abstractedly considered, was evolved and harmonized in a succession of able treatises, no regular attempt was made in any of those treatises to illustrate the framing of the formulary itself, by placing it distinctly in connexion with the kindred publications of an earlier and later date, and by expanding it as the peculiar product and reflection of the Reformation movement." The Preface goes on to say:—"Much indeed of the material of the work is indicated, if not actually gathered to our hands, in documentary annals of the English Reformation; yet, as many readers who are anxious to be accurately informed are, nevertheless, precluded from consulting the large volumes of Strype, Le Plat, or Wilkins, it was thought that a mere hand-book like the present, if fairly put together, would be rendering as important service to the Church at large as some of the analogous elucidations of the Book of Common Prayer."

What may be found in this volume will be sufficiently pointed out by our copying the titles of the Chapters. The Reformation—the Augsburg Confession—the English Articles of 1536—the Thirteen Articles—Conferences with the Lutherans—the Forty-two Articles of 1553—the Elizabethan Articles—the Lambeth Articles—the Irish Articles of 1615—the Synod of Dort and the Royal Declaration—Objections to the Articles at different periods—Historical Notices of Subscription to the Articles. There are also six Appendices. A careful reading of this work will shew by what continuous and careful and anxious labour the Articles assumed their present shape, and how they are the reflex of the times when they were framed. The author writes with great caution, and without any exhibition of partizanship; his object evidently being to convey historical truth and not peculiar

opinions. It is difficult to extract from such a work, and yet we must introduce the following passage :—

“ The Articles are a distinct production of the sixteenth century. They were constructed step by step amid the heavings of those mighty controversies which enlivened and convulsed the Church of England at the time of the Reformation. The original design of the compilers will be therefore ascertained exactly in proportion to the clearness of our view as to the leading character of the event which brought them into being.

“ This, indeed, is not the place for entering on the details of a question so momentous and so complicated; but no history of the Articles can be regarded as complete which does not lead us backward to the standing-point of the compilers, and enable us from thence to estimate the special fitness of that manifest as one permanent expression of English orthodoxy.

“ Now that ‘ reformation ’ of some kind or other had been long the passionate cry in almost every province of the Western Church is patent and indisputable. Those writers who are loudest in denouncing the *Lutheran* movement (as Bellarmine, Bossuet and Möhler) have been driven to confess that in the age immediately preceding the whole system of the Church was grievously out of joint. ‘ According to the testimony of those who were then alive,’ says Bellarmine, ‘ there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals no discipline; in divine things no reverence; religion was almost extinct.’ Examples of the prevalent disorganization could be multiplied indefinitely. They formed the staple of *gravamina* and *reformanda* which were pressed on the attention of successive popes and kings, of councils, and of diets. They gave birth to ‘ Reformation-colleges ’ like that of Constance, and ‘ select-committees ’ of cardinals and other prelates such as that appointed by Pope Paul III. in 1538, ‘ De emendanda Ecclesia; ’ and although it must be granted that the acts of these reformers do not often penetrate below the surface, there can be no doubt that in the honest sifting and correction of ‘ disciplinary abuses,’ they were sometimes trenching, more or less directly, on higher and deeper points with which the outward blemish or excrescence was vitally connected. In addition to such milder effects emanating from the chief authorities in Church and State, there was no lack of earnest individuals, friars, clerics, monks, and laymen who contended that a reformation to be really efficacious must commence with deeds of daring, not to say of violence,—with rooting up the after-growths of error that had smothered, or at least obscured, the genuine dogmas of the Gospel. Such was the prevailing spirit of the Wycliffites in England; yet the movement which they originated here and also in Bohemia issued in comparative failure. Many of their principles were vitiated from the first by feverish, wild, or revolutionary ideas; and hence it was that when the Reformation of this Church and country was accomplished, the promoters of it took their stand upon a very different basis. How then did the *Church of England*, in the sixteenth century, meet the urgent clamour of the age and enter on the reformation of abuses? She revised the ancient theory of national independence as distinguished from the modern theory of papal universalism.”

Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church. By J. E. T. WILTSCH. Translated from the German by John Leitch, Esq. With a Preface by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A. Vol. I. London: Bosworth and Harrison. 1859. 12mo, pp. 568.

THIS is not a book for the general reader, no more than a scientific treatise on medicine is fit for the use of a family. But for students of church history it will prove a most valuable help. Speaking of the translator, Mr. Maurice says, “ I consider that he is conferring a very great benefit upon schools, universities, and private students, by his

enterprize; and I cannot doubt ecclesiastical history will be studied with far greater profit by those who have this handbook by their side." It is indeed purely a book of reference, and as such we are happy to introduce it to our readers, and to express a hope that they will encourage so laborious an undertaking. Mr. Maurice speaks in the following way of the study of church history:—

"There is no doubt a reasonable desire that the history of the church should be regarded, less than it has been, as a merely professional pursuit, and should be more connected with the general life of the world. The opinion that more is to be learned of the actual influence of the church upon the world,—more therefore of the Divine power which has been working with it and in it, from Gibbon, than from those who have desired to establish and exalt its claims, has gained ground among theologians and students of prophecy. But a more accurate knowledge of ecclesiastical arrangements and localities in different periods, such as this book will impart, may promote, not hinder this desire. On the one hand the student will be reminded that he is not merely reading of transcendent doctrines, but of a society which has a habitation on this earth of ours. On the other hand he will be less tempted to suppose that the secret of its power lies in the narrowness or the extent of its limits. The principles and wants in man, to which it appealed when it was confined to a little province or a single city, must be those which it meets when it has comprehended all kindreds and nations within its circle."

History of the Old Covenant. From the German of J. H. KURTZ, D.D., Professor of Theology at Dorpat. Vol. III. Translated by JAMES MARTIN, B.A., Nottingham. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1859. 8vo, pp. 532.

THIS volume completes the work, the former portions of which have been noticed by us. It contains a pretty full index, and on the whole is as valuable a contribution to Biblical literature as any which has appeared in the Foreign Theological Library. The work extends to the death of Moses, and at the close of it is an essay on the composition of the Pentateuch, which is carefully and judiciously written. The subject is thus introduced:—

"The real heart of the Pentateuch is unquestionably *the giving of the law*. The historical accounts which form an introduction or are interspersed throughout the work, are subservient to this; and the one thing which led to their being committed to writing was the necessity for supplying the account of the giving of the law with a historical basis, drawing around it historical boundaries, and bringing distinctly out its historical antecedents, foundations, and accompaniments, that it might not appear like a *Deus ex machina*, but might be present clearly to the reader endued with life, and clothed with flesh and bones. In an enquiry, therefore, into the origin of the Pentateuch we must start with the giving of the law. But first of all the *fact* itself must be established. Did the event, known as the giving of the law, really take place? and if so, did it occur at the time, in the manner, at the place, and through the person mentioned in the Pentateuch? Even the most incredulous critics are compelled to answer these questions in the affirmative. But the fact being admitted that immediately after the exodus from Egypt, the law was given through the mediation of Moses, in the desert and at Sinai; the question must still be asked, whether the law was committed to writing at once, or at a later period, and whether the Pentateuch contains an authentic copy.

"From the nature and design of any legislation, it would be so imperatively

necessary that the law should be immediately committed to writing, that any postponement of it would only be comprehensible, or even conceivable, on the supposition that the means and necessary conditions were wanting; such, for example, as the requisite acquaintance with the art of writing, the possession of writing materials, or sufficient time and leisure. But no one will venture to maintain that any one of these conditions was wanting when the Israelites were in the desert. On the contrary, they were all there in such a copious measure that it is utterly inconceivable that when the need was so pressing no advantage should have been taken of them. We are therefore warranted in assuming that the laws, which Moses gave in the desert, were committed to writing there, either by himself or under his superintendence and by his authority."

He then proceeds in a brief and summary manner to state the arguments and meet the objections. We cannot now enter fully on this subject, but will give another quotation. We thank the Messrs. Clark for this valuable addition to English translations of the best works of German divines, and hope their enterprise will be appreciated in this country. On the twofold character of the compositions of the Pentateuch Dr. Kurtz thus writes:—

"I cannot divest myself of the impression, however, that there run through the Pentateuch, and most obviously through the historical portions, two distinct currents (so to speak), which differ in the expressions employed, and the style in which they are written, not less than in their general tendency, which has been aptly described by Delitzsch as a priestly and a prophetic current. They are just the same as those which have hitherto been designated by critics the groundwork and the supplementary work. The similarity in the language, views, and tendencies, observable in the former, to those of the central groups of laws, give rise to the conjecture that they were both the productions of the same pen. When we find, now, the component parts of the priestly section, so far as they can be distinctly ascertained, forming pretty nearly a well-defined and tolerably perfect whole, with comparatively few gaps, whereas the component parts of the prophetic section, when combined together, appear throughout imperfect, unconnected, and full of gaps; we are warranted in assuming that the prophetic author had the work of the priestly author lying before him, and from his own standpoint enlarged it by the addition of many things which were of great importance so far as his views and objects were concerned, but had been passed over by the latter, because they appeared of less importance when regarded from his point of view."

Notes of Lectures on the Book of Revelation, delivered in the Parish Church of S. Sidwell, Exeter. By JOHN LINCOLN GALTON, M.A., Incumbent. In two Volumes. London: Masters. 1859. 18mo, pp. 656, 750.

THESE thick and closely printed volumes on the Apocalypse are reviewed by us with very different feelings from those which we are generally conscious of when writings on the Revelation come into our hands. To say that we can agree with all that Mr. Galton has advanced, would be to assert what would scarcely be possible, for on such a subject, divided as it is into such an immense variety of topics, how could perfect agreement be expected? What we most like in these Lectures, is the freedom from that application of the Apocalypse to certain men and certain events, by which so many writers have deluded themselves and their readers, and been found out to be false in-

terpreters after all. Mr. Galton keeps a firm hold of *principles*, and by making use of Catholic consent in all ages as far as it exists, has done much to make the Revelation edifying, if he has not elucidated its deeper mysteries; and we can cordially recommend the volumes as eminently calculated for *usefulness*. Those who can embrace the High Church views of the writer, or, not entertaining them, can bear with them, cannot fail to be improved by what is here furnished.

We turn to the thirteenth chapter, as we do in all such expositions, and, as usual, we are disappointed. We cannot for a moment believe that any reference to the shape of a Greek letter can be made in so solemn a passage as that containing the number of the Beast. But we will give the whole of the Lecture containing that exposition, and let our readers judge for themselves:—

“Revelation xiii. 11—18.—The Apostle has told us that, in the vision he saw, there was first the dragon; this was evidently a representation of Satan himself, as will appear by reference to chap. xii. 9. Afterwards, in the other beast, described in the opening of this chapter, appeared an imitation of the Personality of the Son; the ‘power’ of the Son: the word ‘power’ suggesting the mode in which the devil is energizing himself, and seeking to grasp for himself the kingdoms of this world. And now, in this beast seen rising out of the earth, you have something like a representation of the energy of the ‘Third Person in the ever-blessed Godhead, the Spirit; for this beast is said ‘to work.’ The expression is repeated again and again, ‘*τοιοῦ*,’ he makes, works, or energizes. The word is repeated eight times in the compass of a few verses, to mark the effect which is produced by his manifestation. He comes out of the earth, because all the wisdom which he will exhibit will be opposed to that which is the portion of the Church of Christ; her wisdom comes not from the earth, but ‘from above; from the Father of lights, with whom is no variability, neither shadow of turning.’ The wisdom that the Church has descends from her Lord, it is not derived from the earth; for this reason men on the earth comprehend it not, since its essential characteristics have nothing in common with what the world calls wisdom. With reference to the latter, St. James says that it is earthly, like its object, and that it is sensual in its effects; and these two things in combination prove its origin, as the Apostle immediately adds, it is devilish; ‘earthly, sensual, devilish,’ St. James iii. 15. These are the expressions which the Apostle applies to the wisdom that is current among men; it has its origin from beneath, not from above. You see how plainly Scripture speaks of the origin of things; it does not seek to mystify them as man does. You have but two origins: if, then, anything comes not from God, whence comes it? If wisdom is not from above, whence is it? What is not of earth, whence is it? It is of God, it is in heaven. What is not of heaven, whence is it? It is from the abyss.

“The beast is seen rising from the earth, yet he comes in a lamb-like form; his horns are the horns of a lamb, not bullock-horns of brute force, but lamb-horns; for it is the wisdom of man substituted for brute force, striving to put down Christ’s cause; and he comes with two horns of a lamb with reference to ‘the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,’ of whom we heard in ver. 8 of the previous chapter. He comes imitating Christ, but his voice is the voice of the dragon, he speaks as the dragon. This carries us back to Genesis iii. 1, where we find how subtil the work of the dragon is: ‘Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made.’ Then comes the proof of his subtilty, in the success with which he wrought his devices into the heart of our first parent. The Apostle proceeds to describe the purpose of the manifestation of power from the beast of the earth: ‘The dragon gave power to the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed,’ and ‘this beast exercises all the power of the first beast *before him*,’ that is as his servant,

'causing the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast whose deadly wound was healed.' He produces this effect by working wonders, 'making fire to come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiving them that dwell on the earth by means of the miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast;' and then he makes 'an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live.' In all this we have a hint of that which was definitely held, from early times, as a truth, respecting the personality of the last Antichrist; the expression is '*εἰκών*,' or image, which is given in other parts of Scripture to Christ as the only representation which man can see of the invisible God. Passages where it occurs are very numerous; take, for instance, 2 Cor. iv. 4: the Apostle, speaking of the wicked, says, 'in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is *εἰκών*, the image of God, should shine unto them.' Take, again, Colossians i. 15: the Apostle, speaking of the Father, says, 'Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, who is *εἰκών*, the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature.' We could multiply quotations; let these suffice as a sample. From a comparison of these passages in which the term is employed with regard to Christ, it would seem that this ver. 14 of chap. xiii. is a description of the fearful days mentioned in last evening's second lesson (1 Tim. iv.), when men 'shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils.' The object of this lamb-like beast is to prepare the way: he comes not with brute force, as the other beast did, who was seen with the seven heads and ten horns. No! he comes in a plausible form, under the guise of Christianity, a description completely coincident with that of the last times in 2 Tim. iii., where S. Paul says, that 'men shall have a form of godliness.' The state of things then will be, as we reminded you last Friday, *the world become religious, but the world still*. This figure, having the appearance of a lamb, is the wolf beneath: the outside form is that of Christianity, but the deadliest hatred to Christ rules within.

"How fast we are approaching to this condition you may judge from the circumstance that men, confessedly, now think a great deal about religion in a certain way; almost every one can talk of religion, and religious things: the most ignorant will argue about divine mysteries, handling them as if fully competent to do so; as if they were able, '*ὀρθοτομεῖν, rightly to divide* God's word of truth.' Thus is the way preparing for such an exhibition as the Apostle describes, when, through the profession of Christianity, there will be a denial of it. For what was the result of the image made to the beast? The image having a form of life given to it, it speaks; and then comes out its fearful power. And when the last Antichrist comes, he may come plausibly at first, as if Christ's servant; but in the end prove to be the destroyer of all who bear Christ's name, or who seek to do his will. Some of the earliest of the Christian Fathers believed that Antichrist will first appear as a Jew, coming from the children of the circumcision; for this commended itself to their mind as the solution of several passages both in the Old and New Testament. And no one can carefully read the prophecy in the book of Daniel, respecting Antichrist, without obtaining hints that that awful person, whoever he may be, will be developed from among God's own professing children, his own people by covenant. Of course, when we come to the New Testament, we see, from those passages to which we have already referred, how possible, nay more, how probable, it is that the last Antichrist will arise from the ranks of men, loud in professing, 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we.' We heard this cry lately in the first lesson for the day; the prophet Jeremiah testified that such persons were found in Jerusalem at the very time when God was preparing to stain the pride of her glory, and give her over to be devastated, trodden under foot of the Gentiles, and swept over with the besom of destruction by the Assyrian power.

"When the Apostle says, 'Whoever will not worship the image of the beast shall be killed, and whoever receives not the mark of the beast,' his language is very comprehensive; proving that no regard will be had to condition of life, age, or sex; no distinctions will be made between great or small, free or bond,

rich or poor; 'all who receive not his mark on their right hand or on their forehead shall be put to death.' And 'no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.'

"Appended is this portentous sentence, 'Here is wisdom;' very similar to the expression used in ver. 10, 'Here is the faith and patience of the saints;' in that case the words signifying that the patience and faith of the saints would find their full exercise when the Church should be under the circumstances of trial, implied by the expressions, 'leading into captivity, killing with the sword.' In like manner, 'here is wisdom' implies that divine wisdom will be required to mark the rising of this power, and to understand its full significance when it does appear. 'Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man;' this expression, the number is 'the number of a man,' confirms the view that the image refers to a personal Antichrist; otherwise the term would have no meaning. It is the number of an individual, not a system; not a body of men, but one man.

"And his number is six hundred threescore and six.' In very early times there was an attempt to solve this extraordinary enigma; it was supposed to point out the Roman Pagan power, the word 'LATEINOS' making up 666 by a numerical computation of the several letters which compose it. Others have sought for its solution in some particular Hebrew or Jewish formula, applicable to some false Messiah, viewed as a type of Antichrist; such a formula, applied to Barcochebas,* who appeared after our Lord's ascension, has been found in the words שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּרְכּוֹב מֶלֶךְ, "Simeon the son of a star, my king, or king of Israel,"

* "Trajan, it is well known, persecuted not only the Christian Church but the Jews. His acts against the latter assumed, for whatever reason, a character of greater animosity about the year 108. When, at last, a decree was issued which forbade the further use of circumcision, the Jews in various parts of the empire began to revolt. In Cyprus, Cyrene, and other places, they put to death many thousands of Greeks, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the legions from those places about A.D. 115, at the beginning of the second Parthian expedition. At this time we find the celebrated Rabbi Akiba preaching the near advent of Messiah, stirring up revolt in Mesopotamia, and finally declaring that Messiah was come in the person of one Simon, who, applying to himself the prophecy of Balaam, called himself Bar-cohab, "son of the star." This was before Trajan's death in 118. After the return of Hadrian from the east in A.D. 130, the rebellion broke out in earnest. The pretensions of Simon, urged by "the great and wise Rabbi Akiba" (as Maimonides styles him), and attested by "lying wonders" which he is said to have wrought—for "he breathed flames from his mouth to the terror of his enemies, and the unbounded confidence of his followers,"—rapidly gained adherents, who flocked to his standard. They fortified the mountain fastnesses, gathered arms, and harassed the Romans with a predatory warfare, and cruelly persecuted the Christians who refused to join them. (S. Justin Mart., *Apol. pr.* 32.) Bar-cohab took Jerusalem about A.D. 132. He issued coins, having on one side his own name, on the other, "Freedom of Jerusalem." He intended to rebuild the temple, or, as some say, made a beginning of the work. Fifty fortified places and 985 villages were presently in the hands of the insurgents. Hadrian now committed the war to Julius Severus, the ablest of his generals. Jerusalem was totally destroyed: a ploughshare was driven over its soil. The Jews gathered their forces in the mountain fortress of Bethar or Bitter, near Jerusalem; and here Simon still maintained his regal pretensions about three years. Bethar was taken, and an end put to the life of Simon and to the war, on the 9th day of Ab, the precise anniversary of the burning of the temple, exactly 65 years after that crisis, A.D. 135. The rebellion, or reign of Simon, say the Jews, had lasted precisely three years and a half. Dion Cassius relates that in this war 580,000 Jews fell by the sword, besides untold multitudes who died by famine, disease, or fire. The Rabbins, unconsciously adopting the terrific language of the Apocalypse, relate that the horses waded up to their bits in human carnage. The dead covered eighteen

which by a similar computation of the letters composing it, make up the number.^b In later days, men have found out the Papacy in it, even as Romanists have discovered that it refers to Martin Luther! This, then, is one of those passages which shew that, when men seek to strengthen their own personal views of God's word for purposes of controversy, they may attach to it any meaning they please. We need scarcely say all these so-called interpretations are vain and futile: when God says, 'Here is wisdom,' he is not stating some truth, for the exposition of which merely carnal wisdom is requisite, for that would be far beneath the divine mind, which takes us out of the region of merely human wit or cunning.

"The number 'six hundred sixty and six' is not written in the original in words at length as you have it in the English version, but in numeral letters; they are three, Chi, Xi, Sigmataxi $\chi\xi\rho$. The first and last combined form an abbreviation known from the earliest days as a representation of our Lord, $\chi\rho$ being the first and last of the letters which form the Greek word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ or Christ: these in the passage before us, are simply divided by a letter, which is in form serpentine, like a snake wound round a rod (ξ). It has been supposed, and with much probability, that the design in giving this number to the beast, under such a form as we have described, was to state the truth, that the last Antichrist will be one who will systematically strive to do what the Apostle tells us can never lawfully be done (2 Cor. vi. 15, 16), to join Christ with Belial, to join light with darkness, and to make an agreement between things that are as wide as the poles apart, separated, as heaven is from the abyss, by an impassable gulf. It is difficult adequately to convey, to any person who cannot refer to the original, the whole of this idea which we are seeking to explain; but this may, we think, be understood by all: that this number 'six hundred threescore and six,' is set forth by three Greek letters; the first and last of which are the letters by which a person writing in Greek and abbreviating, would express the Divine name of our Lord and king the Christ, and the middle letter is of a serpentine form, or like a snake wound round a rod.

"Referring again to the theory of numbers which is exhibited throughout this book, we may remark, while the number seven is expressive of perfection in Deity, the number six seems in some form to be reserved for evil, and it has therefore been called the number of Antichrist; here it is *six six six*, the repetition of six thrice made.^c Seven is the number of completion; seven days complete God's work of creation, and the seventh age completed God's work in redemption; but six is the number of him who has been attempting to destroy God's work and to complete his own work; but it shall never be completed, for he shall be foiled when most he expects success. Thus has it ever been; when the enemy has gathered up all his power, and concentrated his energies, and imagined that he was on the point of finishing his work, the Most High intervenes with His power, and frustrates all his efforts. Thus it was when Pharaoh thought that he had only, with one grasp, to lay hold of devoted Israel; 'I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them:' then, as Moses de-

square miles; the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure their land for seven years. "The whole of Judæa was a desert, wolves and hyænas went howling through the streets of desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate. They were reduced to slavery by thousands. *There was a great fair held under the terebinth, beneath which Abraham, it was believed, had pitched his tent. Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as slaves. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others were transported to Egypt.*"—Milman's *History of the Jews*.

"Surely this whole history is a manifest rehearsal of the times of Antichrist. Bar-cohab and his prophet are no obscure types of the Beast and the False Prophet of the Apocalypse."—Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 391—393.

^b Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 393, note.

^c "Several valuable papers on the subject of Antichrist have appeared in the *Ecclesiastic*."

scribes in Exodus xv. 10, 'Thou didst blow with Thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.' So when the hosts of the enemy shall be gathered to the battle of Armageddon, when all the powers of darkness shall be marshalled under the unfurled banner of Antichrist, in the supposition that he shall crush Christ for ever; then shall the Most High arise and 'consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of His coming.'

The Book of Ecclesiastes; its Meaning and its Lessons. By ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D. London: Blackie and Son. 1859. Square 8vo, pp. 446.

DR. BUCHANAN is a man of versatile powers, one day giving a lively account of his travels in the Holy Land, and the next expounding a difficult book of the Holy Scriptures. No part of the Old Testament more demands elucidation than the works of Solomon, and none will better repay the labour bestowed on it. But it is a defect in modern exposition that so much of it is prepared for the pulpit, where close reasoning and linguistic researches are out of place. The present volume is, in fact, a collection of sermons on Ecclesiastes, although the author has done all in his power to give the work a continuity which it would not have in its original form. He is sensible of the defects of the sermon style, and has done what he could to obviate them. He says:—

"Discourses addressed to a congregation are necessarily of a somewhat uniform length, and often, in consequence, interrupt injuriously, though unavoidably, the continuity of the exposition. The author has, accordingly, availed himself of the greater freedom which a book affords, by escaping from these trammels. By adopting the more elastic arrangement of chapters, he has sought to preserve and to exhibit the identity of the various branches of the great subject of which Ecclesiastes treats: and thus, perhaps, to present more clearly the general structure and scope of this part of the sacred volume."

In reference to the title, which proposes to consider the "meaning and the lessons" of this remarkable book, the author says that he "has used his best endeavours to ascertain in every instance the true meaning of the text, but in setting forth the grounds on which he has ventured in any case to differ from the generally received interpretation, he has contented himself with a reference to those considerations which admit of being made easily intelligible to the ordinary reader." As to the grand design of the book, he thinks he discovers a peculiar adaptation in its lessons to the state of the civilized world at the present time; and as this idea runs through the whole of the comment, we will quote a passage in which it is exhibited.

"In such an age as the present, the study of this book would seem to be peculiarly appropriate. Never, perhaps, at any former period, did this world hold out so many allurements to fascinate the minds of men and to draw their hearts away from God. The achievements of science and the wonders of art have combined to invest material and earthly things with a thousand charms unknown in simpler and ruder times. A high civilization has so gilded over the outside of things, as to have imparted a certain brilliancy to the whole condition and arrangements of modern society. The vast increase and the great diffusion of wealth have immensely multiplied the sources of mere mundane enjoyment. The pro-

gress of geographical discovery, the conquests of military power, and the energy of commercial enterprize, have brought the entire globe under the dominion of man, and placed the endless stores of its treasures at his feet. Possessed of such resources as these, there is no undertaking on which he is afraid to enter, or whose difficulties he cannot find means to overcome. The most subtle of the elements of nature have become his obedient servants. He rushes to and fro in pursuit of his business or his pleasure with the speed of the winds; and his winged words dart through the seas and flash across the breadth of mighty continents as swiftly as the very lightnings of heavens. In the midst of all these marvels—so flattering to human pride—man is in no small danger of becoming his own god, and of making this earth his heaven. With so many terrestrial fields of contemplation in which to expatiate—with so much among the things that are seen and temporal to occupy his time, to gratify his taste, to satisfy all the desires of his carnal heart—he finds it only too easy to persuade himself that he can do without those things which are unseen and eternal. Nor can it be doubted by any thoughtful observer, that the state of things now described is exerting at this moment a most powerful and perilous influence among all *rank*s and *classes* of men. It takes them up, as Satan took our Lord, to the summit of a high mountain, and shews them so bright a prospect on every hand, that this world would seem to have a satisfying portion for them all, if only they will fall down and worship the creature instead of the great and glorious Creator. And, alas! with what countless multitudes the temptation prevails! That happiness which it is the instinct of their nature to seek, they think themselves sure of finding somewhere or other in so fair and inviting a scene. The men who are hasting to be rich are allured by those many dazzling schemes which promise to make their fortune in a day. The more sober and calculating votaries of Mammon pursue with increased avidity those numerous avenues to wealth opened up by the prodigious energy and the far-reaching commerce which characterize the age in which we live. The lovers of pleasure, whether in its more refined or its grosser form, if they miss the object of their search in one of those gay capitals which the facilities of modern travel make it so easy to reach, assure themselves of grasping it in another; while the aspirants after a higher kind of enjoyment—those who long for fame in some distinguished professional career, or whose delight is found in cultivating an acquaintance with the discoveries of science, or the works of art, or the speculations of philosophy, or the charms of literature, appear equally certain of success, in whichever of these attractive employments their peculiar bent of mind may incline them to engage. That amazing intellectual activity which is one of the most remarkable features of our time, has provided something suitable for them all. In a word, it would seem as if at last, the world that now is had succeeded in securing happiness for man, and as if he might now safely dispense with those aids of religion, and with those spiritual hopes and consolations that are associated with the world to come.”

This passage may serve as the key to all that Dr. Buchanan has done. He enters, indeed, somewhat fully into disputed questions concerning the book, but there is no strict exegesis of single verses and texts. But this absence of learning, or rather of its materials, gives a peculiar value to the exposition in its bearing on the popular mind and its general usefulness. It may be read with pleasure and profit by all classes, and we are glad to introduce to others a work of which we have, in the points of view just stated, formed so good an opinion. We will give another extract, from an enquiry as to the life of Solomon, which he alludes to in the beginning of Ecclesiastes. Dr. Buchanan rejects the idea that Solomon *purposely* entered on a course of pleasure, and believes that he merely describes the way into which he was incidentally led in former years :—

"There is an obvious and inherent probability in this view of the subject, which can hardly fail to commend it to the thoughtful and dispassionate mind. According to this view the book of Ecclesiastes is rightly regarded as a discourse upon the chief good; as aiming to shew that there is no happiness for man in a state of estrangement from God. But, on the other hand, according to this view, it is altogether a mistake to suppose that the career of worldliness which the book records was the result of any preconceived plan; as if Solomon had said: 'I shall give the world a full and fair trial; I shall put all its resources to the test and see what they are worth:' and had then, with a sort of philosophic calmness and impartiality tried first one thing and then another. Although this supposition seems to lie at the bottom of many commentaries on the book of Ecclesiastes, it needs only to be distinctly stated in order to be regarded as utterly at variance with reason and the very nature of things. In writing this book Solomon was looking back on the various incidents in his own history to which he refers, from a totally different point of view from that in which he regarded them at the time they actually occurred. Now he sees them in the light which is thrown back upon them from his new position as a humble penitent who has been awakened to his folly and his sin, and has returned from his backsliding to the God from whom he had gone astray. They have now a meaning to his mind which they had not before, because God's design in permitting him to run that wild career has now disclosed itself to his spiritually enlightened eye. Now, accordingly, he can view an order and a plan, where, in so far as he was himself concerned, there was no order or plan at all. And while it is most important, indeed indispensable, to have this fact distinctly in view, in order to understand the main scope of the book, and the great lessons it is intended to teach, we must never lose sight of the other fact already noticed—that in betaking himself to one pursuit or pleasure after another, as the book describes, Solomon had, at the time, no other object in view than simply to gratify the wish which at the moment was uppermost in his mind. If we forget this we shall inevitably fail in the true interpretation of the particular incidents that will come before us. In a word, we shall not succeed in accurately tracing and explaining this most instructive portion of Solomon's history, unless we realize his position and state of mind at the time he was actually passing through it."

Sacred Chronology. By the late GODFREY FAUSSETT, D.D., Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ's Church, Oxford. Edited by ROBERT FAUSSETT, M.A., Student and Mathematical Lecturer of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford: at the University Press. 1855. 8vo, pp. 326.

WE fear that many of our readers must be tired of the discussions on chronology which have appeared in our pages, for it is not every one who is aware of the bearing of these questions on many matters of great interest in theology and church history. However, we should not have noticed another book on the subject in our present number, in addition to the long article already given to it, had we not felt that the volume now before us deserves more attention than it has received. It is a posthumous publication, yet it was carefully prepared by the late Dr. Faussett, and it has been printed in accordance with his last injunctions. The grand aim of the work is to defend the chronology which has been so long traditional in the Church, and which is founded on the numbers of the Hebrew text; and the reverent and conservative temper of the author is well exhibited in the following passage:—

"That the popular system of Ussher and his followers, however valuable in

many particulars, has failed in satisfactorily establishing these important points (as to early dates), will not, I apprehend, be denied by any one who has given his attention to the subject. Its aberrations, however, as will be seen in the course of the ensuing pages, are in various instances open to observation and remedy; and it is besides worthy of remark that Capellus, Petavius, Bedford, Ferguson, and many others, who, without pretending to such critical coincidences, have followed up the evidences of Scripture chronology as they presented themselves to their judgment, have made very near though unequal approaches to the same conclusions. May there not, then, even yet remain some room for hoping that, with patient investigation, a strict adhesion to legitimate evidence, a freedom, as far as may be possible, from the prejudices of hypothesis, and, above all, an humble and implicit reliance on those inspired notices of time which have been so distinctly and emphatically vouchsafed, and a confident trust that the same Holy Spirit which dictated them has not failed to preserve them from a corruption which would utterly defeat what I cannot but regard as their undoubted object—a more satisfactory result may, by the Divine blessing, be attainable? It is almost needless to repeat that the Hebrew genealogies must alone be relied on as the basis of this or any other attempt to attain it."

The work contains fourteen chapters, and it may be useful to give their titles:—On the Hebrew and Septuagint computations of the patriarchal genealogies—From the Creation to the call of Abraham—The four hundred and thirty years of sojourn—From the Exodus to the foundation of Solomon's Temple—From the Foundation to the Dedication of the Temple—From the Dedication of the Temple to its destruction—The astronomical canon of Ptolemy, its authority, construction, and application—The seventy years' captivity—Proofs of the date of the Nativity and Baptism of Jesus Christ—Duration of our Saviour's Ministry—Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles—A trial of the Sabbatical years, said to be ascertained by contemporary history—On the Jubilees, and the seventy weeks of Daniel—The arrangement of Ezekiel's three hundred and ninety years. There is also an appendix on the dates of St. Paul's Epistles. We think the work is a valuable contribution to the subject it discusses, and are happy to be able to introduce it to such of our readers as have not seen it.

A View of the Evidences of Christianity, in three parts. By WILLIAM PALEY, M.A., Archdeacon of Carlisle. With Annotations by RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859. 8vo, pp. 416.

THIS is just the work on which we like to see the mind of Dr. Whately employed. His clear powers of reasoning enable him to appreciate sound arguments, and detect those which are fallacious, and it is gratifying to find that he gives all the weight of his commendation to the celebrated work of Paley. In the introduction, the editor says:—

"To Paley's *Evidences*, and his *Horæ Paulinæ*, and to the little book of *Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences*, published several years ago, no answer, as far as I know and believe, has ever been brought forward. The opponents of Christianity always choose their own position; and the position they choose is always that of the assailant. They bring forward objections, but never attempt to defend themselves against the objections to which they are exposed."

Dr. Whately therefore thinks that a work whose arguments have proved impregnable, is still worthy the attention of the Christian world, and he has endeavoured to make it more useful as well as more attractive, not only to convince gainsayers, but also to edify thoughtful and candid persons.

"It is not for the refutation of objectors merely, and for the conviction of doubters, that it is worth while to study in this manner, with the aid of such a guide as Paley, the two volumes—that of nature and that of Revelation—which Providence has opened before us; but because it is both profitable and gratifying to a well-constituted mind to have in each of them the evident hand-writing of Him, the Divine Author of both."

The body of annotations is rather an extensive one, on the whole, and is confirmatory, explanatory, and supplemental, as each case requires. It is not easy to convey by extracts the nature of Dr. Whately's additions, but we will quote one, on Paley's statement:—"There is no room for insinuating that our books were fabricated with a studious accommodation to the usages which they obtained at the time when they were written:"—

"Not only is this true, but the omission in the New Testament of many things which, humanly speaking, we should have expected to find there, is a strong (though often overlooked) internal evidence of Divine agency. We find in the New Testament nothing of the character of the Catechism, such as we are sure must have been employed for instructing learners in the first rudiments of Christianity; nor again, do we find anything of the nature of a *Creed*, nor a *Liturgy*; nor anything answering to a *Rubric* (or set of Canons), prescribing the mode of administering the sacraments, and of conducting all parts of the Church service; nor any precise description of the manner of *ordaining* ministers, and of carrying on *Church Government*.

"Yet all these things, we are sure, must have existed. We even find frequent mention of *prayers* offered up by Apostles, and of their 'breaking bread' (celebrating the Lord's Supper), in the congregations. But the prayers which they used, on these and on other occasions, are not recorded. And it is very remarkable that the *only two* prayers of the Apostles that we do find recorded in words, had reference to such peculiar occasions (the election of an Apostle in Acts i., and their first persecution in Acts iv.), as made them quite *unsuitable for ordinary public worship*. The same is the case, in a less degree, with the three hymns, that of Zecharias, that of the Virgin Mary, and that of Simeon, which are introduced from the New Testament into our Service. They had, each, reference to a peculiar occasion, but not to such a degree as to unfit them altogether for ordinary worship; for which they have been adopted accordingly. The same may be said of the prayers of the first martyr Stephen; and also of those prayers of Jesus Himself, which are recorded in John's Gospel. One short form of prayer which our Lord taught to His disciples,—and that before the chief part of the Gospel had been revealed—is all that we find recorded.

"Now that no Liturgies, Creeds, or other Formularies, such as we have been speaking of, should have been committed to writing by any of the Apostles or Evangelists, is a fact which will appear the more unaccountable, humanly speaking, the more we reflect on the subject. Supposing Paul to have been too much occupied with other writings to find leisure for recording such things, why so it not done, by his direction or permission, by one or other of his companions mentioned? If not by any of these, why not by Barnabas? or by some of their numerous fellow-labourers?

And Dr. Whately

that no Canons, Liturgies, etc., should form part of Holy Scripture." The passage is a very suggestive one, but we would ask whether the absence of these formularies is not quite sufficiently accounted for by remembering that the writings of the New Testament did not contemplate furnishing any *complete* system of doctrine or practice, but were merely, so to speak, *incidental*, and called forth by special occasions. It is doubtful whether the writers of the Gospels or Epistles ever thought that they were writing for all time; nor do they appear, in any case, to supersede the actual teaching and ministration, on the spot, of properly appointed men.

Twelve Sermons from the Quaresimale of P. Paolo Segneri. Translated from the original Italian by JAMES FORD, A.M., Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral. Second Series. London: Masters. 1859. 8vo.

IN his preface to the former volume of Segneri's sermons, Mr. Ford expressed some apprehension as to the success of his undertaking. He supposed that for various reasons the discourses of a Jesuit priest, though they had charmed and edified an Italian audience two hundred years ago, might fail of a similar effect on modern readers in this country. On this account he only ventured on the publication of the first twelve discourses of the *Quaresimale* with the view of eliciting the opinion of the public. This opinion has been found to be in accordance with his own, having been expressed by an early call for a second edition of his first volume; and he has thus been encouraged to proceed.

We agree with Mr. Ford that there is scarcely any phase of earnest Christian effort from which something may not be learned by those who are able and willing to distinguish what is good in the midst of what is imperfect or erroneous. Evil as is the reputation of Jesuitism, there is much in the history of its efforts which might well be imitated by those who believe themselves to be possessed of sounder principles and a purer faith. The spirit of a Xavier might largely be followed in missionary efforts; and there were, doubtless, some who belonged to the early history of the Society of Jesus who were animated by the better spirit of that devoted man. The author of this *Quaresimale*, who lived a century after, appears to have been so.

Whether or not Italy may be disposed to "take a lesson from the more exact, profound, and reverent character of Anglican divinity," it is probably true, as Mr. Ford suggests, that our preachers might derive some fresh inspiration from the more warm, animated, and expressive rhetoric of the South; and it is not unlikely that specimens of this kind from such a quarter may be more striking than some of a similar character with which we are familiar in our own literature. About the time when Segneri was endeavouring to rouse his countrymen to a sense of religion by these earnest discourses, our own Dr. South was employing an eloquence which in many points may be compared with that of Segneri, to rouse his English countrymen from the state of *coma* which had resulted from the delirium of the great re-

bellion. But such productions have become less the fashion amongst us than foreign models; and this being so, we are convinced that Mr. Ford has done a far greater service to the Church, by introducing to us the simple and earnest pleadings of Segneri, than many are now doing who are putting forth un-English renderings of productions still more un-English and unevangelical.

It is unquestionably the main object of Christian teaching to convey to the minds and hearts of men principles which shall be effectual on the life. But a discourse may be faultless in the elements it contains adapted to such an object, and yet contain them in such a form as to fail of stimulating the appetite for receiving them and the functions which should digest them. Hence a discourse which contains only a modicum of true nourishment will often be more productive of edification, in consequence of its appetizing form, than another which contains the most concentrated meats. We know, indeed, very well, from modern specimens which the world is running after, and a thoughtless press is glorifying, that a discourse may be appetizing enough by consisting entirely of *condiment*, from which, however, the hearer comes away full of the praises of the orator, and conscious of having been much amused or delighted, but without being able or disposed to refer to a single wholesome impression which has reached his heart. It was said of Xavier that the crowds who came to hear him departed in profound silence, and thought less of praising the preacher than of their own conversion. Faulty as his Christianity was, and unstable as were the fruits of his labours, for this, among other causes, his preaching had a better claim to be called apostolical than that of some who are attracting crowds to their *entertainments*. And this may doubtless be said of the preaching of Segneri. On this subject Mr. Ford expresses himself as follows:—

“The attention of the Church has lately been called in a remarkable manner to the best mode of enlightening the ignorant and reclaiming the irreligious in our great cities, especially the metropolis; and a distinguished theological review has recommended Segneri's style of preaching as being well adapted to this very important end. The translator has certainly no wish to propose his author as a model in general to his clerical brethren. He is rather convinced that our own standard of taste and correctness is preferable, in some respects, to what is occasionally found in these pages; but, for the above-mentioned particular object, he considers that we may copy with advantage Segneri's characteristic excellences as a preacher; for instance, his heartiness and zeal for souls, his unsparing reproof of particular sins and of the vices fashionable in his day, his determination to get a hearing and to carry his point; and then, his close combating with the wickedness and evasiveness of the human heart; and, above all, his peculiar power—the power of a gifted and well-stored mind—in presenting Scripture truth under so many varied, attractive, and luminous points of view. It was by these means that he arrested and fixed the attention of the ignorant and irreligious. It was thus that he succeeded in not only making himself understood, but so spoke as to prevent the possibility of his being misunderstood by any class of hearers. And this, after all, is the most useful preaching, and the best style of eloquence, when, without lowering our ministry or our sacred subject, we bring ourselves within the reach of the most ordinary capacity, when we are able to interest while we instruct, and to win while we convince—*delectando pariterque monendo*.”

The subjects of these discourses are : The inconsolable torments of hell—The disregard of God's threatenings—On avoiding the occasion of sin—The ingratitude of man towards God—On gaining a brother—On the cure of slander—The truth of Christianity—The minor incidents of life as connected with our salvation—The duties of superfluous wealth—The profanation of the house of God—The sinner's quiet conscience—Parental obligation.

The first discourse, as might be expected, is very tragical, and certainly is not, as a whole, to be recommended as a model. The terrible in it is unmitigated by the persuasiveness of Christianity. The materials for Segneri's dreadful pictures are drawn from anthropomorphic representations of the Divine nature, suggested by expressions in the Old Testament, but extended to the utmost. The *Inferno* of Dante has, in fact, as Mr. Ford suggests, been the source of some of its too daring pictures of the torments of hell. But this awful theme had been very effective in the preaching of Xavier, and was probably more adapted to the state of men's minds in his time and in that of Segneri than it is considered to be among ourselves. Our own Puritans dwelt with awful energy on the 'terrors of the Lord.' It is very possible, however, as Mr. Ford intimates, that the modern practice is excessive on the other side, and "that the tendency of men's minds in the present day is to rest too much on the infinite mercy of the Almighty, and by an undue and even presumptuous reliance upon it to make 'the terrors of the Lord' of no effect."

The second discourse on 'the disregard of God's threatenings' is also addressed to the fears of men, but there is scarcely anything in it which might not be profitably urged in the present day. The theme of it is that which the prophets of Israel so often dwelt upon, that the judgments of God which are abroad in the world are intended to teach men righteousness. We give the following specimen :—

"Wherefore when God smites us, are we so unwilling to allow that God does it? It is from the dislike we have to being called on any occasion to self-examination, to repentance, to the knowledge of ourselves; because so long as we can trace our sufferings to any other cause, we never lay to heart the malignity of sin on account of which we suffer; we pay no regard to the severity of the Lord from whose hand we suffer; and hence, by insensible degrees, we divest ourselves of that fear we have by nature, that there is a God in the world acquainted with all our doings, remembering all our misdeeds—that fear, I mean, from which the sinner is so anxious to escape; as it is written : '*the fool hath said in his heart there is no God.*' . . . Every sinner finds it a sore annoyance to him that he must believe in the existence of a God, not as being a provident God, not as being a good and merciful God, but as being a strict inquirer into men's actions. It is this that vexes him, that galls him to the quick, and puts him—even while punishments are hanging over his head—to kick and rebel; and so, instead of ascribing them to God as their prime Author, he will ascribe them to men; if he cannot ascribe them to men, he will ascribe them to chance; if he cannot ascribe them to chance, he will ascribe them to the stars. In this way the poor wretch is continually flattering himself, and speaking peace to his soul, though going on in his wickedness."

The preacher goes on to shew that the judgments of God, so far from having their right effect upon men, are often answered by more

daring wickedness; or if there are any who lay these judgments to heart, it is not those to whom the warnings are especially sent:—

“It turns out here as it did in Jonah’s ship; all the sailors, all the passengers, . . . on seeing the destructive storm recorded in the Divine Scriptures, were struck with terror; they set hard to work, . . . they wept, they screamed, they lamented. And all this while? Why, all the while the real culprit was composedly asleep! . . . Christian brethren, is there no Jonah among you lying fast asleep, who may well raise a suspicion that on his account these howling storms have sprung up, which from time to time look as if they would bury us in the deep! . . . I would address myself to that individual, and bring him to his senses, by using the earnest intelligent ship-master’s terms of reproach: ‘*What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think of us that we perish not.*’”

The following is a portion of his peroration:—

“It matters little as to the person who gives the warning, whether he be learned or ignorant, saint or sinner. I am a sinner, my brethren, and ignorant besides; yea, I am the least of all the preachers who address you so eloquently from the pulpit. But the Gospel assures me of this: If you will amend your wicked lives you will escape hell; otherwise you will not! . . . You must now instantly set to work; for to some among you this may prove the final warning, the trumpet’s last sound! Already have your preachers been often returning to you; so that the flame may be getting nearer and nearer to your straw tenements. Quick! then, quick! I say; because after this there may come no further denunciation. And, since the Almighty has, so many times, often and often thundered, should he now proceed to cast forth his lightnings, we must be the sufferers.”

Mr. Ford would, we are convinced, agree with us that, adapted as this eloquence may be to produce conviction, it stops short of furnishing the means of gaining a sinner’s heart so as to bring about that repentance which consists in “learning to do well.” It buffets the traveller with the Northern tempest, and causes him to wrap his mantle about him more tenaciously, but sheds no calorific beams upon him to evoke the more generous principles of his nature; it is law—just and true, but terrible; it is one side only of the Divine nature, without any utterance of that gentle voice which speaks of ‘pardon and peace.’ While we quite agree with Mr. Ford that the practice of dwelling exclusively on the latter topic is equally one-sided and fraught with danger, we are quite sure that if the sinner is never allowed to come in sight of God’s inestimable love, he will at best continue in bondage through fear of death, and proclaim his inconsovable wretchedness like Saul of Tarsus (Rom. vii.), without taking a single step in that divine life of which love is the motive power.

At the same time when—as according to Segneri was the case at Pisa, and, as we fear, is the case in our large towns—particular vices are known to be prevalent among a people whom a minister is called to address, there is no doubt that occasionally one or other of these vices may be his exclusive topic. Examples of this kind are found among our Homilies; and no false feeling of delicacy should prevent the preacher from making himself thoroughly understood.

In one of Segneri’s discourses, the title of which is “On avoiding the occasions of sin,” we have a powerful exhibition of the enormity of

a vice which—because it does not appear immediately to affect the material interests of society—is but feebly stigmatized by national law, is regarded by multitudes in large towns as venial; and yet, in the mysterious arrangements of nature and Providence, as well as in the denunciations of the Christian Scriptures, it is declared to be a special cause for which “the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.” Now to exhibit this vice so as to suggest to the innocent or to the penitent new ideas of impurity, is to commit the fault of some of the Roman satirists; but the utmost faithfulness may be employed in describing and denouncing it without any approach to a licentious coarseness. We believe there is nothing in this discourse of Segneri which might not safely be pronounced in a modern congregation. The following is a portion of the concluding part of it:—

“We very often hear people say, ‘What great harm is there in a mere carnal frailty.’ Blasphemies, perjuries, enmities, and robberies, these we can well understand to be most grievous offences; but what great harm is a mere carnal frailty, especially when it hurts no one else? Oh, ye angels above our heads, I leave it to you to speak! Do you proclaim the greatness of that harm of which most people now-a-days think so lightly? Was it not you who formerly let loose the cataracts of heaven, that with a deluge they might overwhelm the earth? Wherefore did ye this? Say, Was it not because of this very vice which is now thought nothing of? . . . For what sin in particular was the deluge sent? It was for the sin of the flesh. The Scripture affirms this, and holy men attest it: ‘*All flesh had corrupted his way.*’ If the waters descended in such torrents, it was to sweep away all this stench and filthiness . . . You attach no importance to this vice because it has become so common in the land: and I tell you that because it is become so common in the land you have the very reason to dread it. Never was a chastisement so frightful, so marvellous in its character, inflicted upon the earth while fornication was the sin only of a few; when it became universal, then came the deluge.

“This, in short, is that sin which, beyond every other, debases the noble spirit that is inherent in man: this is that which most of all clouds the imagination: this is that which most of all damages his intellect; this is that which, while it makes him in his affections like to the brute beasts, entails upon him in a very short time the loss of everything dear to him. This robs him of his time; this robs him of his property; this robs him of his reputation; this robs him of his tranquillity; this robs him of his health; this robs him of his judgment; this robs him of his independence; in a word, this ultimately robs him of his whole self; for it is this which, with a facility beyond what any other sin possesses, hurries him on to a hopeless grave. Hear what the preacher declares, ‘Give not thy soul unto harlots lest thou destroy thyself;’ he does not say, Destroy thy property, but ‘thyself.’ Let every one, therefore, be on his guard. For to be allowed to sink into this deep pit of carnality is perhaps the very sorest punishment which an angry God can bring upon a man: *He that is abhorred of the Lord shall fall therein.*”

Such in general is the character of these discourses; they are earnest, eloquent protests against the vices of the age; justified to the mind of the preacher by the spiritual condition of his congregation.

“I know,” he says, “that people are far from relishing this kind of doctrine, and that they flock more readily after preachers who speak to them of peace and safety, than after those who awaken their fears. . . . I also should be quite as ready as others are to tickle your ears; gladly would I flatter your turn of mind; gladly would I conciliate your good-will, were it not evident to me that by such unfaithful dealing I should, for the sake of pleasing you for a moment, be leading you to a perdition without end.”

The Sermon, however, "On the truth of Christianity," though directed against the practical unbelief of his hearers, is different in its tone. It consists of an eloquent exhibition of the best evidences of the truth of Christianity—those, namely, which are derived from the purity of its doctrine, especially as exhibited in the person of Christ; from the exaltation of character which it has given to genuine believers; from the stability with which it has endured all the assaults of misguided reason; and from its influence on mankind. We must, however, content ourselves with a short specimen of it, with which our remarks must close:—

"During how many centuries have people been doing nothing else but ventilate and sift this very doctrine, in the hope of making it appear to be all mere chaff? Give me an instance of any other law on which so many learned men have employed their studies, and even exhausted their lives, with so rich a harvest of noble reflections in their attempts to explain it; which has been analyzed in so many discussions, expounded in so many volumes, rehearsed in so many cathedrals, settled in so many councils, and sanctioned in so many canons, and which, like the diamond tested beneath the unsparing sledge-hammer, has always gained in point of credit and evidence, in proportion as it has been subjected to fresh scrutiny and opposition."

The Greek Testament: with a critically revised Text; a digest of various Readings; marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage; Prolegomena; and a critical and exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. In Four Volumes. Vol. IV., Part I., containing the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles of St. James and St. Peter. London: Rivingtons. Cambridge: Deighton and Co. 1859.

THE larger part of this division is occupied with the Epistle to the Hebrews; and in the Prolegomena we have a somewhat extended discussion on the subject of the authorship and canonicity of that Epistle. The author's views on this question will, we believe, form the subject of a distinct article in this Journal; and on that account we shall at present withhold some of the criticisms which we might have been disposed to make on his arguments. The result to which these arguments are directed is to justify the belief, almost universally prevalent in Germany, that that Epistle owes its authorship to no Apostle, and the *tendency* of many of them is to throw doubt on its canonicity.

According to Dean Alford, history furnishes us no means whatever of ascertaining who the author was, or to whom it was written. The idea that it was written by St. Paul was a surmise of certain Alexandrian writers, who were impressed with the value of the Epistle, and who ascribed it to St. Paul merely because they wished to find an author worthy of it. The Church of Rome not only did not believe it to have been the work of that Apostle, but made no use of it. The evidence of that Church against the Epistle is *semper ubique*. This 'semper,' however, relates to the second century only; any testimonies

occurring after that date are without any value; they are merely a tacit acquiescence in some authoritative opinion. We can only say that Dean Alford's treatment of the early traditions which relate to this Epistle would prove much more than even he professedly maintains; it would prove that a large number of the New Testament writings are destitute of external evidence, and would leave us dependent solely on the conflicting subjectivity of critics as directed to their alleged internal character; the result of which has been the rejection, on the part of a considerable school, of three-fourths of the New-Testament writings as spurious. The case then being, with regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to Dean Alford, that history furnishes us with no clue by which to trace the authorship of it; we in the present day are just in as good a position for speculating upon it as the early Fathers were. "The question is as open now as it was in the second century; they had no reliable tradition—we have none." Any name which history furnishes, which in our view may suit the case, may be fixed upon for the authorship.

Luther, who could not find in this Epistle what he reckoned to be the Pauline statement of Justification by Faith, not only denied its Pauline authorship, but refused to recognize it as the work of any Apostle, by the same self-reliance with which on similar grounds he declared other Epistles to be spurious. He fixed upon a name which nobody had mentioned before, that of the Alexandrine Jew Apollos; and this suggestion of his has been accepted and defended by many of his followers up to the present time. Among these is the writer whose views on the whole subject of this Epistle are followed by Dean Alford, viz., Bleek. Mr. Forster has had the temerity to smile at this hypothesis of the great Reformer, for which he is sharply rebuked by the Dean. However irreverent it may be in Mr. Forster to laugh at any suggestion of the great German Reformer—whose lightest word with his countrymen, no doubt, outbids all other considerations—we really cannot bow to the *αὐτὸς ἔφη* of Luther without remonstrance, or refrain from expressing our surprise that Dean Alford, at any rate, should have been willing to repeat the very feeble arguments by which it has been attempted to support this notion. All we know of Apollos is, that he was a Jew of Alexandrian extraction—*τῷ γένει*—that he was an eloquent man of an ardent temperament—*ζέων τῷ πνεύματι*, who, before he had received Christian baptism, was found discoursing about the expected Messiah with an imperfect knowledge, if any, of Christianity; that he was made better acquainted with it by Aquila and Priscilla, and that he preached with great effect at Corinth, thoroughly confuting the Jews by proving from Scripture that Jesus was the Messiah; while there, to his own annoyance, he was regarded as a rival to St. Paul. We have no hint whatever, either in the New Testament or in subsequent tradition, that Apollos wrote anything, or of any credit which he had gained anywhere but at Corinth as a Christian teacher. To ascribe to him a writing so important as this is, we think, fanciful; especially with the additional assumption of our

author—in which he departs from Bleek—that it was addressed to Italian Jews.

The chief reason, however, for fixing upon Apollos as the author, appears to be that he was of Alexandria; and this is made to account for the alleged Alexandrian character of this Epistle. That there is anything peculiarly Alexandrian about it has been disproved by Dr. Mynster. The excessive use of *allegory*, which was an Alexandrian characteristic, and which Ullman ascribed to this Epistle, is shewn by Mynster to have no existence in it. Yet Dean Alford takes this for granted, and goes so far as to say that the temple service referred to in it belonged to the Onias temple in Heliopolis, rather than to that at Jerusalem. But it is impossible to believe that a devout Hebrew, even supposing him to have been *brought up* at Alexandria, which there is no proof that Apollos was, would have favoured the rivalry with Palestine, which caused the erection of the Onias temple. It was erected, according to Josephus, in no devout spirit on the part of Onias, but in revenge for his banishment.

As a specimen of the sort of argument which will content a theorist, we may mention the following:—*St. Luke* uses the word *παρρησιάζεσθαι* in reference to Apollos as a disputer in the synagogue. “What wonder,” asks Dean Alford, “that he (Apollos) *of all writers* (!) should exhort *μὴ ἀποβάλλετε τὴν παρρησίαν*?” The fact being, first, that *St. Luke’s* word is used in an entirely different sense from that of the *παρρησία* in the Epistles, which latter means the *confidence of faith* by which the Christian can approach to God; and then, in this latter sense, it is commonly used by *St. Paul*, and is a favourite expression with *St. John*. Another argument of the same calibre is, that Apollos is represented as being acquainted only with the *baptism* of *St. John* when he first began to lecture in the synagogue, but as being afterwards more perfectly taught the way of the Lord. “No wonder, then,” says the Dean, “that a person so instructed should specify *βαπτισμῶν διδασχὴ* as one of the components in the *θεμέλιον* of the Christian life.” It is after arguments no better than these that the author concludes: “Just as it was not easy to imagine either *St. Luke*, or *Clement*, or *Barnabas* to have written such an Epistle, so now we feel, from all the characteristics given us of Apollos in the sacred narrative, that if he wrote at all, it would be an Epistle *precisely of this kind* both in contents and in style.” It is, indeed, the more easy to *imagine* what we please in proportion as we are destitute of facts to control our fancy. Dean Alford’s authority is deservedly considerable, but we do not think he should have ventured to commit his credit to so very weak an argument as that by which he attempts to sustain this hypothesis.

Tholuck, who also ascribes this Epistle to Apollos, has charged the author with arguing from passages in the Old Testament as given by the LXX., which, as they are translated, *exhibit material errors*. Among these ‘material errors’ he mentions passages from the eighth Psalm, which the author of this Epistle has taken from the LXX., and

we have pleasure in exhibiting the way in which Dean Alford has obviated this objection of Tholuck and others in regard to this passage. In his comment on Heb. ii. 6, he says :—

“The general import of the *eighth Psalm* may be described as being, to praise Jehovah for his glory and majesty, and his merciful dealing with and exaltation of mankind. All exegesis which loses sight of this general import, and attempts to force the Psalm into a direct and exclusive prophecy of the personal Messiah, goes to conceal its true prophetic sense, and to obscure the force and beauty of its reference to Him. . . . It is *man* who in the Psalm is spoken of in the common and most general sense ; the care taken by God of *him*, the lordship given unto *him*, the subjection of God’s works to *him* ; this high dignity he lost, but this high dignity he has regained, and possesses potentially in all its fulness and glory, restored, and for ever secured to him. How ? and by whom ? By one of his own race, the *Man* Christ Jesus. Whatever high and glorious things can be said of man, belong *de proprio jure* to Him only, *propria personâ* to Him only, but derivatively to us His brethren and members. And this is the great key to all such sayings as these : whatever belongs to man by the constitution of his nature, belongs *κατ’ ἐξοχήν* to that *Man* who is the constituted *Head* of man’s nature, the second Adam, who has more than recovered all that the first Adam lost. To those who clearly apprehend and firmly hold this fundamental doctrine of Christianity, the interpretation of ancient prophecy, and the New Testament application of Old Testament sayings to Christ, become a far simpler matter than they ever can be to others. And so here, it is to MAN, not to angels, that the world to come is subjected—this is the argument ; and as far as the end of verse 8, it is carried on with reference to *man*, properly so called ; there is *here*, as yet, no personal reference to our Lord, who is first introduced, and that in His lower personal known name, at verse 9 ; this has been missed, and thus confusion introduced into the argument, by the majority of commentators. To hold that our Lord is from the first intended by *ἄνθρωπος* and *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* here, is to disturb altogether the logical sequence, which runs thus : ‘It is *not to angels* that He has subjected the latter dispensation, but *to man*. Still, we do not see man in possession of this sovereignty. No ; but we see Jesus, whose humiliation fulfilled the conditions of manhood, crowned with glory and honour, and thus constituted the Head of our race ; so that His death and sufferings were our deliverance and our perfecting. And for this to be so, the sanctifier and sanctified must be all of one race. And the rest of the chapter is spent in laying forth, with inimitable beauty and tenderness, the necessity and the effect of Jesus being made like us ; the whole process of this second chapter stands without parallel for tender persuasiveness amidst the strictest logical coherence. And yet both of these are concealed and spoiled, unless we take these words of the Psalm, and the argument founded on them, of man generally, and then, and not till then, of Jesus, as man like ourselves.”

On the words, “Thou crownest him with glory and honour,” the Dean goes on to say :—

“The quotation is adduced *here*, not of the Messiah but of *man*, and on this the whole subsequent argument depends. With this view vanish the difficulties which have been raised about the original and the here intended meaning of this clause. It is, in fact, a further setting forth of the preceding one. Man who was left not far from the divine attributes themselves, was also invested with kingly majesty on earth, put in the place of God himself in sovereignty over the world. That this has only been realized in the man Christ Jesus, is not brought out till below, and forms the central point of the argument.”

In reference to another portion of this paragraph in the Epistle, mentioned by Tholuck for condemnation, viz., ii. 13, Dean Alford remarks in general :—

"The maxim cannot be too firmly held, nor too widely applied, that all the Old Testament utterances of the Spirit anticipate Christ, just as all His New Testament utterances set forth and expand Christ: that Christ is everywhere involved in the Old Testament, as He is everywhere evolved in the New."

And in reference to the citation in verse 13 from Isaiah viii. 17, 18, he remarks:

"In the passage of Isaiah (verse 17) the prophet expresses his own determination, in spite of the reliance of the people on the confederacy, to wait for the Lord and to remain, he and the children whom God had given him for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts which dwelleth in Zion; then. . . is set forth the prospect of future deliverance of Judah coming from their God, ending with the glorious anticipation of the great future Deliverer. This confident speech of the prophet our writer adopts at once as the words of the greatest of all prophets, thereby *assuming* the prophetic office of Christ; thus the matter illustrated . . . is, that as the prophet Isaiah withstood the human dependence of his age, and stood forth, he and the children whom God had given him, and who were begotten in pursuance of divine command, as a sign to Israel,—so the *great Prophet* Himself fulfilled the same office and had the same hopes, and bore the same relation to those among whom He prophesied, praising God with them, leading them in confidence on God. So that our passage forms a notable instance of the prophetic office of Christ being taken as the antetype of the official words and acts of all the prophets, just as His kingly office fulfils and takes up all that is said and done by the theocratic kings, and His priestly office accomplishes all the types and ordinances of the Old Testament priesthood."

In fact, the writer of this Epistle has avoided what is erroneous in the LXX., by citing only the portion of ver. 18 which especially belonged to his subject, the prophet and his family, spoken of as "brethren;" who, in accordance with the message from Jehovah, ἀγιάζονται, are withdrawn in heart from the prevailing ungodly tendencies, and devoted to the expectancy of the fulfilment of God's promises. The brethren of the Lord Jesus, his "brother, his sister, his mother," were all those children of God who did his Father's will, and who were consecrated to the blessed hope of the glory which was to be revealed. They also, in a still higher sense than Isaiah and his family, were signs and wonders in Israel.

Dean Alford has not done equal justice to the writer of this Epistle, nor to the subject, in his remarks on another passage, which Lutheran divines have charged with material error; viz., the citation, Heb. x. 5, from the LXX. of Ps. xxxix. 6, "sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire." In the whole of his remarks on this passage he appears too much under the influence of some of his German authorities. First, in regard to a subject which does not affect the main question of interest in this passage, viz., the sense in which Christ is said to have come *into the world*, Dean Alford has adopted the explanation of those who deny the pre-existence of Christ. On the phrase εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, he remarks, "It expresses, I believe, the whole time during which the Lord, being ripened in human resolution, was intently devoting himself to his Father's will." It is a matter of interest to such writers as Van Hengel, for example, to endeavour to shew that this coming into the world, on the part of Christ, relates merely to the commencement of his public ministry; but to those who hold the

Catholic doctrine respecting the person of Christ, there is no exegetical reason apparent for regarding this entrance into the world as anything else than the birth by which the Son of God became the Son of Man. From the hour of his birth he was declared to be "a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord;" and from that hour the dispensation began in which a Son of man would do the will of God. We notice here that Dean Alford has already, in his commentary on Heb. i. 6, objected to the common meaning of Christ's entrance into the world. He makes the phrase, "When he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world," to relate to the "second coming of Christ to judgment." This he does on alleged grammatical grounds: in the phrase, *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον*, he insists upon joining *πάλιν* with the verb, in which construction he says it signifies "a second time." But this word was constantly used by New Testament writers, and especially by St. Paul, merely to *introduce a fresh citation*, whether from the same writer or from another. Thus in Rom. xv. 9—12, we have in close succession four citations, the three latter being introduced by *πάλιν*. The first is from the Psalms, the second is from Deuteronomy, introduced by *πάλιν λέγει*, the third is again from the Psalms, and the fourth from Isaiah, introduced by *πάλιν Ησαΐας λέγει*. Now, even admitting that this last differs from our text, *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσάγῃ*, by having the particle separated from the verb, this cannot be said of the *πάλιν λέγει*, which introduces the citation from Deuteronomy, where, obviously, Dean Alford's assertion that "the word *πάλιν* joined to the verb has the sense of a *second time*" is refuted. The speaker immediately before was different. Besides which, supposing the previous speaker to have been the same, then to follow Dean Alford's rule we ought to render *πάλιν λέγει*, he says, a "second time," i. e., he repeats what he said before! The word *πάλιν*, in short, in such connexions, implies simply the mention of a fresh citation; and the position it occupies here is the only one it could have had consistently with such a use of it.

But the question of main interest in the passage Heb. x. 5, is the relation which the words, "sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me," bear to the Hebrew. Dean Alford has not attempted any solution of the difficulty.* He says, "The idea of there being any allusion to the custom of boring through the ear of a slave who voluntarily remained subject to his master, seems to be a mistake." A misreading has been supposed by some, and an arbitrary alteration of the original by the author of the Epistle has been asserted by others. It is one of the "material errors" assumed by Tholuck. Dean Alford says, "I would leave the difficulty an unsolved one, not being satisfied by either of the above views, and having no other to propound. As Christian believers our course is plain. How the word *σῶμα* came into the LXX. we cannot say; but being there it is now sanctioned for us by the citation here, not as *the*, or even a *proper*, rendering of the Hebrew, but as a prophetic utterance equivalent to

* See the first article of this number of the Journal.—ED. J. S. L.
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and representing that other." But surely, if it is *equivalent* to the original and duly represents it, it cannot be said to be no proper rendering of it; whereas if it is a false rendering of it, adopted by the author of this Epistle, no feeling of ours as Christian believers is warranted in regarding it as the prophetic utterance contained in the Psalm.

We are convinced that the difficulty, of which so much has been made, connected with this passage, has at least partly arisen from wrong notions respecting the drift of the passage in the Epistle. The argument of the writer is, the sacrifices of the law were ineffectual; not ineffectual for procuring acceptance with God in the case of devout worshippers, for they were provisionally appointed by God himself for this purpose; but they were ineffectual for bringing about the great end of all God's dispensations, viz., the *taking away of sin*; they could not accomplish the moral *τελείωσις* of human nature. Now the Saviour is represented as saying, "Lo, I come to do thy will," τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου, to accomplish thy good pleasure, and thus to fulfil the prayer of the Church, "Thy will be done on earth." In this prophetic utterance he speaks in the name of the whole body of those who in him were to become the "just made perfect;" of the ἀγιαζόμενοι whom his offering τετελείωκε. That this consummation was the main thing intended by the taking away of sin, which the law could not effect, is plain from what the sacred writer says (verses 14—17), "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us: for after that he had said before, This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them; and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." It is true Dean Alford insists upon making the last clause the apodosis of the sentence, and making "the whole burden of the citation" to consist in the Divine act of oblivion. But the construction we have given is that of most modern editors, and is that which the whole passage in the LXX. of Jer. xxxviii. 33, as well as the argument of the New Testament writer, would suggest. The passage there, as pretty closely given in Heb. viii. 9—12, runs thus according to the Vatican: "This is my covenant, which I will make with the house of Israel. After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their mind, and on their hearts will I write them: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people . . . For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness." The two ideas contained in this passage, to which the author of the Epistle points, are the need of another covenant, and the efficacy of the promised covenant for the object in which the other had failed. The final clause of the prophecy, "For I will be merciful" . . . points, no doubt, to the evangelical *means* by which the hearts of men were to be won; but the *end* is the subjective recovery of men.

These two ideas are expressly drawn by our author from Psalm xxxix., according to the LXX. They are compendiously given in

verses 8, 9; thus, after saying above sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not . . . then he says, "Lo, I come to do thy will." In the Psalm, however, the writer of the Epistle finds a prophetic person in whom this promise was fulfilled in the very terms of Jeremiah's prophecy; this prophetic person says, "I delight to do thy will, O my God: thy law is within my heart."

Now we know not how the idea of the *conciliation* of God's people and their consecration to his service, could have been more beautifully conveyed than by an allusion to the ancient ceremony of binding a loving and beloved domestic to a permanent union with the family. This idea the LXX. interpreter apparently attached to the words, "My ears hast thou pierced," and his rendering of them without being literally exact is intended to be explanatory to modern readers of the ancient custom; the objection that "ears are spoken of in the dual (not in the plural as Dean Alford has it), and that the verb is different, is of little importance. The phrase *σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι*—the verb being in the *middle voice*—must be rendered, "My person hast thou attached to thyself." We have the same verb in the same form in Psalm viii. 2, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou *gained to thyself* praise." If then, instead of supposing that the words *σῶμα κατ. μοι* were taken by our author to refer to the incarnation of Christ, or to his personal human body,—a supposition which has created almost all the difficulty—we gather, as we well may, from the whole connexion that he takes them to signify the entire conformity of the prophetic person to what God delights in, and the substitution of this for the sacrifices which were not for their own sake well-pleasing to God; and consider further that the sacred writer here, as everywhere, in accordance with the Pauline representation, includes in the mention of the body of Christ the whole community of those who are in him; we need not resort to the charge of serious error as committed by the LXX. translator, and sanctioned by the author of this Epistle. It is true of course that the interpretation here used by the sacred writer is not a literal one, but it is an exhibition of the original which exhibits its meaning, and the author of this Epistle was fully warranted in using it for his purpose.

The objections which Dean Alford has repeated against several things of this kind found in this Epistle have been pressed on the part of those who originated them, under the influence of a strong opinion unfavourable to the trustworthiness of the writer; those who do not sympathize with this feeling, but who entertain the traditional regard which has attached to this Epistle, will be more willing to be at some pains not to cling to what is false, but to consider what can fairly and logically be said in vindication of this portion of Scripture; there is nothing more easy than to cut the knot of a difficulty by supposing a writer to be in error when he is not understood; but to clear up the difficulty where it may be truly understood and honestly done, involves in many cases a patient examination, which is not to be expected of those whose hypothesis is at stake in such examination. If Dean

Alford had entered as fully into the examination of this passage as he has into the subject of the eighth Psalm, he would, we are persuaded, have come to a more satisfactory result.

We wish it to be distinctly understood, that while we have felt it our duty thus to criticise one part of Dean Alford's labours in this volume, we are fully aware of the claims he has on the respect and thanks of the theological world for his edition of the Greek Testament as a whole. However we may differ from some portions of it, it stands alone, at present, in this department of literature in our country.

The Practical Nature of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, in a Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin. By the Rev. AUGUSTUS CLISSOLD, M.A., formerly of Exeter College, Oxford. Second Edition. London: Longmans and Co. 1860. 12mo, pp. xxiv, 501.

THE more Swedenborg's life and opinions are studied, the greater will be the respect given to him personally, and the less will his peculiar views be found to diverge from orthodoxy. While we cannot agree with him, and lament that he should have disciples who take his name upon them, the phenomena of the whole case are interesting, and may be contemplated with advantage. Mr. Clissold is a warm and conscientious advocate of Swedenborg's opinions, and he has defended them eloquently in this volume. The occasion of the work is thus stated in the Preface:—

"In the *Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*, by His Grace the present Archbishop of Dublin, occurs the following passage relative to the receivers of the writings of Swedenborg:—'Though his followers insist much on the importance of believing in this pretended revelation, it would, I believe, be difficult for them to state even any one point on which a man is called upon to alter either his conduct, his motives, or his moral sentiments, in consequence of such belief. The system furnishes abundant matter of faith and food for curiosity, but has little or no intelligible reference to practice.'

"In this statement there appears to be a slight obscurity. It might not, perhaps, be easy at first to determine whether the passage implies, that there is no difference between the practical principles of Swedenborg and those commonly received; or that, as a whole, his writings have little or no intelligible reference to any practice whatever. A gentleman, it appears, conceiving that the latter was meant, wrote to the Archbishop to the effect, that he presumed His Grace laboured under some misapprehension; for that so far from having no intelligible reference to practice, the writings of Swedenborg advocate principles which many distinguished members of the Church of England themselves acknowledge to be practical. So far as the argument extends, it appears to be just and appropriate.

"His Grace's answer, as appended in the Note inserted in the Fourth Edition of the *Essays*, seems to leave the question where it was; except that, instead of using the term *system*, and thereby implying that, as a whole, Swedenborg's theological writings are non-practical, a distinction appears to be drawn between Swedenborg's doctrines and revelations, as though the former might be practical, but the latter not so. Whatever may have been the intention of the Author, my design, on the present occasion, has been rather to take a comprehensive view of the whole subject, than to cavil at any particular distinctions: and, with all due respect, to answer the main argument fairly and fully. It cannot be denied, that

the *Essays* regard the revelations of Swedenborg as non-practical, and hence, so far, a delusion; and that the same opinion is not unfrequently entertained by others."

This volume will make the most ignorant well acquainted with what Swedenborgianism is, if it is carefully read, and it is interesting enough to make the task a pleasant one. We cannot further enter on the subject, but will give a passage from the summing up at the end. Mr. Clissold is speaking of "Visions and Revelations:"—

"Surely, even if heaven were indeed that foreign country which it is said to be, yet every true Christian hopes to go there; and if any one proposed or expected to settle for life in a country, however foreign, would he be satisfied merely with the faith that such a country exists, and that its inhabitants are happy? Would he not wish to know what the country is; where it is; in what the happiness of the inhabitants consists; what are the character of the people, the form of government, the laws, language, social distinctions, pursuits, manners, and customs? Would he not, in fine, procure all the information possible from every quarter; not from motives of curiosity or presumption, or a love of the marvellous, but because his own interests and welfare are concerned in the attainment of as full and correct information as possible? And if he saw others careless or indifferent upon the subject, would he not conclude that, whatever might be their professions, they had either no real belief in the existence of such a country, or else no sincere hope or desire to become one of its citizens? Where God, indeed, purposely conceals Himself, it is no part of man to attempt to draw aside the veil within which he has thought proper to hide his presence. But our argument is, that God himself has at length revealed himself; that the darkness of one dispensation has been succeeded by the light of another; that as in old time the Lord came down upon earth, so now the holy city, the new Jerusalem, has come down from God out of heaven prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. This is no work of man; it is but the fulfilment of prophecy by the Lord himself; the manifestation of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness,—the beginning of 'a blessed revolution and reformation of the whole Christian Church, even here upon earth, when the kingdoms of this present world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and his saints shall reign with him.' If, therefore, the gates of heaven are not shut at all by day, it is not because the philosophy of a Plato, the logic of an Aristotle, the jargon of the Schools, or even the wisdom of a Swedenborg has been attempting to force a way through for itself; but because those very gates have been set open by him who is the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, the First and the Last; and if we enter in, it is not through our presumption, but only through his mercy."

The Book of Genesis in Hebrew, with a critically revised text, various readings, and grammatical and critical notes. By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON WRIGHT, B.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, 1859.

MR. WRIGHT deserves our thanks for the carefully prepared edition of the Hebrew text of Genesis now before us. One of the objects of the editor at least is obtained; the book is calculated to be useful to younger students as well as advanced scholars. From time to time, since the very dawn of Hebrew studies in Europe, the book of Genesis has come out in a separate form, and accompanied with such helps for facilitating its study, as the editors could devise. Probably no other portion of the Old Testament, except perhaps the Psalms, has been

through the press so often, and therefore it might seem as if a new work on the subject would be received as an impertinence. This is not necessarily the case however, since in the republic of letters there are no vested rights, the whole field is open, and what one has already done, another may try to do again and better. Therefore notwithstanding the many forms in which this portion of the Pentateuch has been discussed, and the investigations to which it has been subjected, we are very glad to see the volume of Mr. Wright, whose appearance in this domain is new to us, but who promises to be useful therein. The work consists of a preface, Hebrew text, collation of manuscripts, and notes. The preface should be carefully studied in the first instance, as it explains most of the leading features of the book itself, and gives some other useful information. There is one passage in this preface to which we call special attention, inasmuch as it indicates the theological position of our author:—

“Many eminent commentators of the German school have embraced the view that there are myths tessellated here and there, through the various books of the Bible, more especially in those of earlier date, and that some of these are of a conflicting nature; an opinion which, of course, very considerably affects their criticism. To such views I am decidedly opposed. Believing as I do, the Bible to be a divine revelation, written by men under the influence of inspiration, I cannot agree with the ideas of those who hold that mythic narratives are to be found in that revelation. Yet I have considered it incumbent on an impartial critic fairly to state the various views taken of a passage, whether he may agree with them or not; and I anticipate no evil consequences from the pursuance of such a course.”

We shall add a few remarks upon the text and notes. These latter are either explanatory of the grammar or of the subject. The grammatical notes are for the most part references to the grammar of Gesenius, for the peculiar forms and idioms, which will facilitate the use of the book, especially for younger scholars. Translations of most of the difficult passages occur in the notes, and frequently where different renderings have been proposed, with references to the authorities. Some light has been shed upon certain questions of detail, but generally speaking, the annotations rather point out sources of information than enter into the discussion of topics mooted. Everywhere, the Hebrew text is compared with the ancient versions, which the author very properly extensively quotes in the original. We say very properly, for while some may be afraid of the display of learning caused by such a procedure, it will stimulate the genuine seeker after knowledge, and to the advanced scholar necessarily prove an attraction. Mr. Wright has collated four MSS. for his work, and given some account of the results of his collations in a tabular form at the end of the notes. The Hebrew text will be found to present a few typographical deviations from the common model, but it is very clearly and elegantly printed by Nies of Leipsic in his best manner, and that will be a sufficient commendation of it. We are very much indebted to the editor for this edition of an intensely important portion of Holy writ, and we hope his success will encourage him to take up some other

and more neglected books, as Joshua, Judges and Ruth. Meantime, we cheerfully recommend this volume to our readers.

A History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive Religion of the Brahmins. By MAX MÜLLER, M.A.
London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, 1859.

THE Taylorian Professor at Oxford has written an extraordinary book. Within the same compass and in so intelligible a style, probably the same amount of information on the subject here discussed was never brought together in the English language before. From the beginning to the end of his six-hundred paged volume, the learned and laborious editor never flags, and when the close is reached we feel that we have attended some literary Alexander upon a new and intellectual conquest of India. We shall not be expected to enter upon an analysis of such a work in the little space at our disposal for book notices. But we may observe that the subject is of interest to Christians as well as others. Here are, and have been, millions of our fellow men believing in the principles and practices here explained, as of Divine origin and authority. With these, modern missionaries come into contact, and they form the great wall by which the national mind is fortified against the invasion of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now it is extremely important that we should be as well acquainted with this system as its professors are, not to say better; because it is as necessary for us to have as perfect an understanding of the forms of error which exist now, as it was for the ancient apologists for Christianity to know all the mysteries of contemporary Paganism and philosophy. And not merely in view of foreign evangelization is this desirable, but especially in view of the abuse which European infidels and sceptics have made of Indian religion and learning. All sorts of absurd and dangerous speculations have been set afloat, and it is by no means unlikely that such as really desire to find the truth, will be assisted by Professor Müller's book. To ourselves the volume is interesting on other accounts; it reveals the features of strange and uncouth forms of error, or rather mixed systems of error and truth. It tells us plainly that when the human mind once lost its way, the more it strove the more it stumbled, and the farther it went, the farther it wandered. It tells us that all the relics and traces of former excellence and dignity which man carried away with him from Shinar, were of no real avail, and that the Gospel alone can bring back light and blessing to the world.

The Proper Names of the Old Testament arranged alphabetically, from the Original Text, with Historical and Geographical Illustrations: for the use of Hebrew Students, Schoolmasters and Teachers. With an Appendix of the Hebrew and Aramaic names in the New Testament. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859. 8vo.

THE knowledge of the meaning of Scripture names is curious, interest-

ing, and desirable. Both in the Old Testament and in the New explanations of proper names are frequent; and in the succession of sacred literature we meet with many from the earliest times who have written upon the subject. There was abundant room, however, in our own language for a work of this class, which might be commonly appealed to as a recognized authority. We were, therefore, very glad to see the volume before us, and were almost ready to write upon its title-page the motto of one of Dean Swift's works—*Diu multumque desideratum*; before doing so, however, it seemed best to see whether this was really what was wanted. Our fears were excited by the very first sentence of the Introduction, where the author says she was originally induced to enter upon the undertaking 'as a means of making the study of Hebrew more profitable and interesting to herself.' But surely such a work is not one whereon to try a 'prentice hand.' It is true the compiler has made free use of Winer, Ewald, and Stanley, and has been assisted by Baron Bunsen and some of his learned German friends. Great, however, as these names are, they cannot furnish a passport to popularity in a case like the present. The lady has doubtless done her best, and in publishing has carried out the wishes of a dying brother; and therefore, in the few remarks we are about to offer, we shall pay all possible respect to the author's zeal and pious feelings, without, however, sacrificing our own convictions.

The very first name, *Aaron*, presents a difficulty which is not alluded to. It is thus explained, "a shining light, ~~אור~~ (sic) from ~~אור~~ to enlighten: the Egyptian word for light, *Hur* [from which the name of the God of light, Hur, Horus of the Greek], is evidently akin to this root." The word should be written ~~אור~~, and is supposed by Gesenius to mean 'mountainous;' and 'perhaps' from ~~אור~~, which the same eminent Hebraist terms 'an unused and uncertain root.' Therefore, the Egyptian word *Hur* is not 'evidently' akin to this root. *Aaron* might be born in Egypt without taking an Egyptian name, and it is most unlikely that he would have been named after one of the heathen gods, as we are almost led to infer.

Abagtha is the next name in the book, and is expounded "the well-formed ~~אבגתה~~, from the Persian word *Bag* beautiful, and *ta, tan*, body." Gesenius again says, "It seems to be the same as ~~אבגתה~~, and may be explained from the Sanscrit *Bagadàta*, 'given by fortune,' from *baga* fortune, sun." It would be easy to suggest other interpretations, and we wish the author had in all such cases mentioned the uncertainty, and stated which she preferred.

Abana comes next, and is explained "stony ~~אבנא~~ (sic), from ~~אבנא~~ to be hard, derived its name from 'Amanus' or 'Amana.'" But if *Abana* is from ~~אבנא~~ *Aban*, how can it come from *Amanus*? The truth seems to be that *Abana* is an error for *Amana*, which is read in the Syriac, both in the Peschito and in the Hexaplar versions of 2 Kings v. 12 (where only the word occurs), and with the Keri of the Hebrew text. The actual form of the word in Chaldee and Syriac is *Amnon*. What follows respecting the course of this river is confused and obscure.

Several of the names which follow are correctly explained. But throughout the book there are such marks of inadequate scholarship and hasty conclusions, that we are compelled to say its design is far better than its execution, and that for popular use this is not the *opus diu multumque desideratum* which we hoped it was.

Les livres du Nouveau Testament, traduits pour la première fois d'après le Texte Grec le plus ancien. Par ALBERT RILLIET. Parts I to III. 8vo. Geneva: Cherbuliez. 1859.

BIBLE revision and Bible translation occupy at the present time a foremost place among the labours of Christian scholars. For many years the critics have been amassing materials for exhibiting the original texts of the Holy Scriptures in a much more pure and perfect form. They have ransacked all the libraries of Europe and the monasteries of the East for manuscripts, which with admirable diligence they have perused and collated. One after another the most venerable and valuable of these codices, especially those of the New Testament, have been published in fac-simile, thus bringing the more important documents practically within the reach of a large number. In this way we have got the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Bezae, the Codex Ephraim, the Codex Vaticanus and others, which have been multiplied by the combined pious zeal, learning and munificence to which we owe them. In addition to this the whole range of patristic literature, and nearly all the ancient versions have been investigated with a patience and a care which do honour to the age in which we live. Nor is this all; enterprising travellers have visited and explored Bible-lands, sacred antiquities and geography have received very particular attention, and philological studies have been pursued with very gratifying success.

In the meantime commentaries have gone on multiplying, and books of every kind adapted to the elucidation of the inspired records have so rapidly increased in number, that no ordinary scholar can so much as pretend to keep pace with the issues. And to mention no more, critical editions of the New Testament in Greek have become so common that the Fells, the Mills, and the Bengels of other days, if they could come back and visit us again, would be astonished at the multitude of their successors.

One consequence of all this amassing of materials, has been a very general feeling in Protestant Europe in favour of the revision of standard versions in the vernacular, or the execution of new translations. It is true that the old versions have been circulated to an unprecedented degree by various agencies, so that Bibles are now common books in thousands of places in Europe, where half a century since they were among the rarest. Even the Romish church itself has in different directions and in various ways relaxed its ancient rigour, and if merely to prevent the people from having Protestant translations, has often allowed or connived at the use of its own. Ultramontanists

have done and are doing their utmost to check this growing avidity for the Scriptures, and repeat the wild assertions of such bigots as Cardinal Hosio, Peter Lizet and the like; but it seems to be now the settled opinion of most enlightened persons that if the people may not interpret they should yet be allowed to read the Scriptures for themselves.

But to come to the subject of this notice, which is the French translation of the New Testament by M. Rilliet, formerly a professor at the Academy of Geneva. The position claimed by this work suggested the remarks which have preceded. It professes to be a translation of the most ancient Greek text. The author says in his prospectus, "That which above all distinguishes this new translation from those which have preceded it, is that it is made from the most ancient known Greek text of the New Testament. This text is contained in a manuscript which claims an existence of more than fifteen hundred years, and which the Vatican library at Rome possesses." Clearly, therefore, we are to understand that this is a version of the codex B, as published in the edition of Cardinal Mai.^b We do not for a moment dispute the propriety of this course in a book which is intended for private use, but we should be very sorry for either Codex A or B to be adopted as the basis of a translation designed for the general public and for the services of the Church. In saying this we are not blind to the many excellencies of these manuscripts, with the text of which we are tolerably well acquainted. Nor do we say it because neither of these venerable documents is complete; but because not a few of their readings are more or less surely erroneous, and because interpolators and correctors have materially changed their original form. It would be very easy to give examples in illustration of these points, but that would lead us from our present purpose; we therefore proceed to indicate another feature of M. Rilliet's work. He has pointed out as far as is practicable in a French translation, and in marginal notes, the leading various readings of the principal manuscripts. For those who are unacquainted with the Greek, this method has its advantages, and its adoption adds materially to the usefulness of the book. In addition to these, the translator has similarly inserted the variations of several ancient versions, and such as are gathered from more important Greek and Latin Fathers of the first four centuries. For these references to manuscripts, versions and Fathers, he is probably much indebted to the critical editions of the New Testament in which they have appeared, but the merit of selection and translation is his own. He perhaps would have done well to say what conclusions have been arrived at in regard to them by eminent modern critics; or he might have laid down some rule by which his readers could estimate their relative value. Neither of these however has been done, and with a general expres-

^b Those portions of the New Testament which are wanting in the Vatican Codex, have been translated by M. Rilliet from the Codex Alexandrinus as published in fac-simile by Woide in 1786. At the same time, several palpable mistakes of this latter manuscript have been corrected in the translation.

sion of preference for the more ancient authorities, he has left the materials he has provided to be judged of as the reader sees fit. Now it is very evident that the majority of persons are not in a position to distinguish accurately and to determine wisely in regard to matters of this sort.

There are other peculiarities about this publication which require a moment's notice. The quotations from the Old Testament, which as we all know are very numerous in the New Testament, and often differ both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, are all carefully pointed out; and for the sake of comparison, French translations of them are given in the margin, as well from the Hebrew text as from the version of the Seventy. This will enable the reader to see whether the citations have been made from the Hebrew or from the Greek, and how far they may deviate from either. We may add that short notes, for the most part strictly explanatory, have been added wherever the text seemed to require them.

The introduction, extending to over thirty pages, is well and carefully written, but there are several of its statements to which we can scarcely subscribe. In general, however, it is instructive and interesting, and presents in a condensed form a good deal of information on a variety of matters. The author evidently possesses an extensive and accurate acquaintance with his subject, and has endeavoured to bring out the leading facts in plain and intelligible language. He has, what is very desirable in such a case, an opinion of his own, and this is manifest not merely in the preface, but throughout the work so far as it has been published.

Each book of the translation is preceded by an analysis or summary of its contents, in accordance with which the text itself is divided, without, however, excluding the ordinary divisions into chapters and verses, the convenience of which for purposes of reference is such that they cannot easily be dispensed with.

We wish to say a few words about the translation itself, but before doing so, we will state the contents of the three parts which have appeared. The first contains the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Epistle of St. James, and the Revelation of St. John. The second contains St. Mark's Gospel, the Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude, and the Epistle to the Romans. The third contains the Gospel of St. Luke, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians. Two more parts are to complete the work, which is clearly and accurately printed on excellent paper.

In speaking of a version in another tongue than our own, we shall not forget that modest reserve which becomes us, and we intend to confine ourselves to such particulars as we may fairly pronounce an opinion upon. By adopting this course we impose upon ourselves a measure of restraint, and it may be, condemn ourselves to be brief or silent where we otherwise should not be either. But we shall avoid the charge of indiscretion, and this will be, to say the least, a very desirable object. Principal Campbell, in the excellent dissertations prefixed to his translation of the Gospels, has some observations which

not only translators but reviewers should remember. "To translate well," he says, "is in my opinion, a task of more difficulty than is commonly imagined. That we may be the better able to judge in this question, let us consider what a translator, who would do justice to his author, and his subject, has to perform. The first thing, without doubt, which claims his attention, is to give a just representation of the sense of the original. This, it must be acknowledged, is the most essential of all. The second thing is, to convey into his version, as much as possible, in a consistency with the genius of the language which he writes, the author's spirit and manner, and if I may so speak, the very character of his style. The third and last thing is, to take care that the version have, at least, so far the quality of an original performance, as to appear natural and easy, such as would give no handle to the critic to charge the translator with applying words improperly, or in a meaning not warranted by use, or combining them in a way which renders the sense obscure, and the construction ungrammatical, or even harsh." These and other observations on the same subject, by the same author, should be borne in mind by all who undertake either the delicate and really difficult work of translation, or the fair and impartial review of such a work. There are some dangers which are common to all translators, but there is one which besets in a peculiar manner the translator of the Scriptures, we mean that arising from his own theological opinions. These, however sincere and impartial he may wish to be, will almost infallibly infuse themselves into his work, and give it a tone and a colouring which others will detect, and which in their estimation will be a blemish and perhaps an offence. Here, the most practised pen may slip, and hence, all versions of the Scriptures intended for public and authorized use should have the revision of various minds.

As to the translation before us, let us begin at the beginning, and go on to select a few other important passages.

Matth. i. 1, is thus rendered, "*Table généalogique de JESUS CHRIST, fils de David, fils d'Abraham.*" There can be no doubt that the chapter is a "genealogical table of Jesus Christ;" but we doubt whether the translator is justified in departing from that literal accuracy of rendering which should be observed whenever practicable in a version of the Scriptures. In fact, this is rather a paraphrase than a translation. It would seem, however, that the verse has been rendered by M. Rilliet's predecessors in several different ways. Calvin has, "*Livre de la génération,*" etc.; with which the version of Olivetan agrees. Ostervald has simply, "*La genealogie,*" etc.; which corresponds with a Romish version printed at Mons in 1696, etc. De Saci has, "*Livre de la généalogie,*" etc.; Martin, "*Le livre de la généalogie.*" This variety, however, does not seem to spring from any necessity of departing from the letter of the original, which leads us to prefer the form adopted in the English authorized version.

Matth. i. 18, "Or, voici quelle fut la naissance du Christ Jesus: sa mère Marie ayant été fiancée à Joseph, avant qu'ils eussent vécu

ensemble elle se trouva enceinte par l'action de l'esprit saint." Literally, "Now, see what was the birth of Christ Jesus: his mother Mary having been betrothed to Joseph, before they had lived together she found herself with child by the action of the holy spirit." But why in the name of translation, are the words *πριν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς* rendered "before they had *lived together*?" This is not what the inspired penman says, but "before they *came together*," and every advocate of the miraculous conception of our Lord, will require to have the words so rendered. It is true we are told "she found herself with child by the action of the holy spirit," but why again, is the name of the Holy Spirit printed with small initials, here and very often besides? Besides the whole expression is ambiguous and objectionable, and the very next verse, where we read, "Mais, comme Joseph son mari était un homme juste, et qui ne voulait pas la déceler, il se résolut à la répudier secrètement." That is, "But since Joseph her husband was a just man, and one who did not wish to expose her, he resolved to repudiate her secretly." We know of no French version nor any other except the "Improved Version" in which so strong expressions are used in translating this verse. The word *déceler* in particular is objectionable as a rendering of *δειγματίσαι*. M. Rilliet, however defends this version by a quotation from Eusebius, of which we cannot judge as we have not the original before us.

Matth. iii. 11. "C'est lui qui vous baptisera d'esprit saint et de feu."—"It is he who shall baptize you with holy spirit and with fire." Probably the omission of the article in the Greek will here be pleaded as a reason for its omission in the translation: *αὐτός ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ*. But not even the "Improved Version" has here ventured to dispense with the article, although not found in the received text: and it is no more in accordance with the genius of the French language than it is with that of our own to omit the article in speaking of the Holy Ghost. M. Rilliet on other occasions very freely introduces what he conceives is requisite to justness of expression, and we may consequently infer that in his judgment nothing is needed here. Everywhere he is very careful in the choice of his words, as may be shewn by two out of many examples. Thus in Matth. iv. 25, he renders *ὄχλοι πολλοί*, une foule nombreuse; and chap. v. 12, *μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς*, votre récompense est considérable. We would almost imagine that notwithstanding the elegance of his language, and a remarkable facility of expression, our translator had at least unconsciously studied the "art of sinking," though not in the pages of the famous Martin Scriblerus. But surely if there be a work demanding in a special manner a peculiar masculine energy and native vigour of style, it is a translation of the simple and forcible narratives of the Evangelists. We know that the French language labours under a certain order of disadvantages, but many of these were overcome by the old translators, who often attained in the spirit what they lacked in the letter of their versions.

It is not always because it is too weak, but sometimes because it is

too strong, that we differ from M. Rilliet's translation. Are we compelled to render δούλος (Jas. i. 1.) by 'esclave,' slave, rather than by 'serviteur,' servant, with the older versions? Why should we translate παρά τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, 'aux yeux de Dieu notre Père,' in the eyes of God *our* Father? James ii. 4, is rendered 'you have doubted in yourselves, and ye are become judges ill-disposed (mal inspirés).' We doubt the accuracy of the former part of this, but we think the conclusion is clearer than our own English 'judges of evil thoughts,' which really means 'judges who have evil thoughts.' Sometimes, where he departs from the merely verbal rendering, he hits upon the idea admirably. For example in 1 Cor. iv. 3, where the English has: "But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man's judgment," and the Greek ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστον ἐστίν, ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ, ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας, M. Rilliet translates in these words: "Mais il est pour moi tout à fait indifférent d'être jugé par vous ou par un tribunal humain." It is to the latter portion of this that we particularly refer, and of which we quite approve. The Greek is clearly equivalent to 'by a human day,' and this, transferred into ordinary language, will signify a human tribunal or judgment. Exactly two hundred years ago Sir Norton Knatchbull, in his *Animadversiones*, wrote these words on this very expression: 'Sensus est, *ab humano judicio*;' and he notices the singular resemblance which there is between this Greek phrase and the old English word 'daysman,' of which he says: "In the English language he is called a *daysman* who is chosen judge between brother and brother, perhaps from (*dicendo diem*) naming the day on which the arbiter should pronounce judgment."

Turning to 2 Cor. iii. 18, we are sorry to say we cannot equally approve of the form into which it has been thrown, as singular as it is questionable. "Or nous tous qui, le visage découvert, contemplons dans un miroir la gloire du seigneur, nous sommes transformés en la même image, de gloire en gloire, comme cela doit se faire par le seigneur de l'esprit." We refer particularly to the close of the verse, although we do not quite like what precedes; but surely the rendering of καθὼςπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου Πνεύματος, here given, is rather ingenious than solid. It is a common opinion, and our own, that the older versions of this verse are capable of improvement. Therefore, in the new English translation by Five Clergymen, the whole is thus exhibited: "But we all, with unveiled face beholding in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are being transfigured into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Lord the Spirit." How much more literal, consistent, and even elegant, than the laboured version of M. Rilliet! Had he noticed the commencement of the verse immediately preceding, he could hardly have said 'as this ought to be accomplished by the Lord of the Spirit,' an expression which as printed is offensive to the eye, and inconsistent with the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament. St. Paul had just said 'the Lord is the Spirit,' and now he says believers are transformed or transfigured into the image of the Lord's glory 'by the Lord the Spirit.'

But we must draw to a conclusion our remarks upon a version which, if it have many excellencies, has many defects, and one which can only after all aspire to the honour of private use. We have carefully compared many portions of it with the texts from which it is taken, and while we are quite willing to award it a certain meed of praise in a literary point of view, and ready to admit the excellent intentions of its author, we are anxious to shew how easy it is for even such a man to fail in giving the satisfaction he desires. The qualifications for such a work are so peculiar and so varied, that it is rare indeed for them all to meet in one man. Greatly will he be deceived who imagines that the translator of the Bible needs no endowments but such as would enable him to construe Sophocles, Thucydides or Xenophon. There are certain venerable and time-hallowed forms of speech which have become inwrought into a nation's life, and in speaking of religious matters, they cannot be altogether dispensed with. Scholars and wits may join with philosophers in endeavouring to put them down by reproach, reasoning, and so forth, but in vain: they live on, and materially aid in promoting proper religious sentiments among a people. They may be banished from books and schools, but the masses cannot be prevented from using them, neither can they be compelled to like the literature from which they are excluded. Such in England is the case with the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and such in other countries is the charm which hangs around old-established formularies, and which serves to unite those who might otherwise have long since been divided.

We are quite aware, in regard to this point, which is really an important one, of the opinions which have been held by many among us and elsewhere, since the days when John Foster wrote his Essay on some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered unacceptable to persons of cultivated taste. That elegant writer says, in reference to what he calls the 'peculiarity of language' adopted in speaking or writing of religious subjects: "The deviations from this [recognized] standard must be, first, by mean or vulgar diction; . . . or, secondly, by a barbarous diction; . . . or, thirdly, by a diction which, though foreign to it, is yet not to be termed barbarous, because it is elevated entirely above the authority of the standard, by some transcendent force or majesty of thought, or a superhuman communication of truth." But this is not the whole of the truth. Low, canting, and vulgar language, ill becomes the majesty of religion, and all mere affectation is an insult to it: but, as in every art and science, there are words and phrases which are peculiar to their professors, so in religion there are many terms which may be rightly called technical, either because peculiar thereto, or only used in a different sense from what they would be elsewhere. And if *use* is the rule and law of language, these words and phrases not only do not deviate therefrom, but are in conformity therewith.

These observations might be multiplied. We have made them now partly because they naturally arose out of the translation before us, and

partly because this seemed to be a fitting opportunity for saying something on a subject which is attracting increased attention among ourselves. If they require it, let the old versions be revised; and if it be necessary, let new ones be made; but in any case, let the work be so done as to promote the great object for which the Holy Scriptures were given—the spread of divine truth, the salvation of souls, and the glory of God. And it is our growing conviction, that for this to be done effectually, we must have regard to many questions besides those of mere philology and taste.

Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für Hebräische Sprachkunde. Von MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER. Leipsic. 8vo, 1859.

THE author of this work designs it as an appendix to Gesenius's History of the Hebrew language, and Masch's edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*. An introduction of thirty-six pages will be found to contain a large mass of curious and valuable information on the sources from which the editor has compiled this interesting manual. We recommend this introduction to such as would form an idea of the enormous amount of research required for the production of this catalogue of 2294 works on Hebrew philology. We have tested the list in various ways, and have found it to contain some of the rarest and least known books in this department; occasionally it has failed us, but so seldom, that we are quite prepared to recommend the volume as a useful introduction to this necessary department of learning.

Lexicon breve Greco-Latinum ad voces et vocabula librorum Novi Testamenti explicanda. C. E. F. DALMER. Gotha. 8vo, 1859.

LEXICONS of the words in the New Testament are numerous, but there is no reason why they should not be more so, and a useful work in this department is really a valuable contribution to sacred literature. The little work before us is a glossary or vocabulary, whose chief aim is not to point out grammatical peculiarities, nor to illustrate the use of words by a collation of passages, but to give the Latin equivalents for those words which are to be found in the New Testament. For elementary purposes, and as a manual of reference which may be readily consulted, the work will be found useful, and as such we recommend it to our readers.

Sur l'Origine Chrétienne des Inscriptions Sinaitiques. Par FRANÇOIS LENORMANT. Paris. 1859.

IN July, 1853, there appeared in the pages of this Journal an article of sterling value on the Sinaitic Inscriptions. That paper shook for ever our faith in Mr. Foster's theory as propounded in his *Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai*; or perhaps, we should rather say, confirmed our belief that his explanations were false. Since then, how-

ever, many have continued to believe that the wonderful inscriptions of the Wady Mokatteb and elsewhere, are an enduring record of the wanderings of the Israelites. Undoubtedly, Mr. Foster displayed great ingenuity and learning in the exposition and defence of his theory, and had there been no sceptical explorers, he might have convinced many more than he has. Two other theories of the origin of these inscriptions have been propounded, and both have been maintained with ability and earnestness. According to some, they were the work of pagans, and according to others they were executed by Christians. M. Lenormant advocates the last view. He gives a number of the inscriptions as they have been read by eminent scholars, and on various data maintains that they belong to the Christian era, and are due to Christian hands. We cannot enter into an analysis of the work, which is written with much clearness and ability, and is a valuable addition to what we already possessed upon the subject. It may be soon read, and its importance is such that no one who undertakes to investigate the matter, can safely dispense with it. If he has not removed all the difficulties out of his way, the author has made out a very strong case, and we think it will not be found easy to overthrow some of his arguments especially.

Dr. A. Neander's Auslegung der beiden Briefe an die Corinthier. Herausgegeben von WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG. Berlin. 1859. 8vo.

THIS exposition of the Epistles to the Corinthians forms the third volume of Neander's theological lectures. After the preface by the editor, comes the commentary upon the epistles, to each of which an introduction is prefixed. The exposition consists of a critical and moral examination of the text, in which the author relies less upon the judgment of other annotators, than upon his own resources. This is an important feature of the book, and one which will increase its value in the esteem of the numerous admirers of the eminent professor. The following is the note on a passage elsewhere alluded to in this number, 1 Cor. iv. 3:—"But also on this question the Apostle submits to no human judgment. *Εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι=ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν*; it interests me in the least degree, it concerns me the least; *ἀνακρίθῃ: ἀνακρίνειν* =to investigate, to try. *Ἡμέρας* is here found in a use which is not proper at least to the Greek language, and which, according to the antithesis which presented itself to the Apostle's mind in *ἡμέρα ἀνθρωπίνῃ*, is formed after the analogy of *ἡμέρα κυρίου*. Perhaps such a use of the word was found in colloquial language, as in the Latin '*diem dare*,' '*diem dicere*.'" This short sentence really involves some of the leading features of the exposition; a quick perception and ready illustration of the sense, and appropriate language calmly and intelligently employed. In all parts of the work there are to be found singularly apt interpretations, happy illustrations, and appropriate suggestions. Therefore, without pretending to endorse all the views of the author, whether critical or doctrinal, we have pleasure in recording

the appearance of a work which we doubt not will facilitate the understanding of these important epistles.

Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Galater. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Lehre und Geschichte des Apostels. Bearbeitet von Dr. KARL WIESELER. Mit einem chronologischen und einem text-Kritischen Excurse. Göttingen. 8vo. 1859.

THIS is a very elaborate investigation of the Epistle to the Galatians based upon the original text, and, as the author says, is designed to illustrate the life and doctrine of St. Paul. The writer seems to have diligently consulted the labours of his predecessors, to whose views constant allusion is made. Among the epistles of St. Paul this one deservedly occupies a very prominent place, and not only merits but demands a careful examination. To such as wish to study the epistle, Dr. Wieseler's work will be very serviceable on many accounts. His views on the leading doctrines of the epistle appear to be generally free from objection, and he finds frequent occasion for questioning the exposition of some of the leading interpreters of the rationalistic school, whose rigid grammatical analysis of the letter prevents them from realizing the spiritual motives and aspirations of the inspired penmen. Contrary to the usual practice, the author has placed the real prolegomena at the close of the commentary, and for aught we can see, without much impropriety. The chronological excursus will be useful for the better understanding of some of the occurrences of the life of St. Paul, but we are inclined to think that certain difficulties connected therewith are destined still to occupy the thoughts and speculations of the critics. In the excursus relating to various readings, these various readings are enumerated, and those which are correct in the judgment of the author are indicated. The whole concludes with an index of matters discussed, and another of texts illustrated. We regard the work as an able and conscientious endeavour to exhibit the true meaning of a very important portion of Holy Scripture.

Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Von Dr. F. H. REUSCH. Freiburg im Breisgau. 8vo. 1859.

THIS is a short introduction to the Old Testament, and one which seems likely to meet the wants of such as have not leisure to wade through larger works. In addition to separate sections on each of the canonical books, the author, who belongs to the Romish communion, has also treated each portion of the Apocrypha. After this special introduction to the separate books, comes the general introduction, in which the author discusses three questions, the canon, the Hebrew text, and ancient translations, to which he appends a list of the more eminent commentators. Of course a work on such a theme, occupying little more than two hundred pages, is necessarily in an elementary form, and abounds in details. At the same time, it is not a mere *index rerum*,

but will be found more attractive than some larger compilations. We cannot refrain from alluding to the sections in which the author treats of the canon of the Old Testament. He deals with this subject from the Tridentine standpoint, and therefore regards the Apocrypha as an essential portion of inspired Scripture. He says the Apocryphal books in part at least were known and used by the Apostles, and that Christ and the Apostles used and recognized them as canonical is rendered certain by tradition. But the apology he makes for including the Deuterocanonical books, is after all very meagre and unsatisfactory, and probably but for the canon of the Council of Trent anathematizing such as reject them, he would have been content to place them where they are put in the sixth article of the Church of England: "The other books (as Hierome saith) the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; and yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine."

Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie. Von Dr. K. F. KEIL. Vol. II. Frankfort on the Maine. 8vo. 1859.

DR. KEIL is so well known to Biblical scholars by his valuable works on Joshua, Kings, and Chronicles, that it may seem like a work of supererogation to say he is thoroughly conversant with matters pertaining to the Old Testament. He is not only well-informed in these matters, and withal very judicious in his mode of treating them, but he is imbued with the right spirit, and is wholly averse to that unbelieving disposition which seems to make some Scripture critics so captious and unjust. This volume treats of the social and domestic antiquities of the Israelites, and therefore discourses upon their dwellings, provisions, dress, domestic relationships and habits, agriculture and the chase, trades, traffic, literature, art, schools, laws, and political affairs. In investigating these topics, abundant use is made of the Hebrew text, and of such ancient and modern authors as throw light upon them. The well-known work of Jahn has long occupied a foremost place as a popular and useful manual, but on many subjects we prefer the volumes of Dr. Keil, and indeed as a whole we like it much better.

Titus Tobler's dritte Wanderung nach Palästina im Jahre 1857. With Map. Gotha. 8vo. 1859.

THE name of Dr. Tobler is already familiar to those who have made the topography of Palestine their study, and the present volume containing the results of his most recent inquiries and investigations is worthy of his previous reputation. He is a very careful observer and accurate describer of what comes under his notice, and we believe we may rank him among our most reliable authorities on the subject of his work. At the close of the volume is an interesting catalogue of the principal writers on Palestine, and nearly a thousand notes containing references to authorities, as well as a copious index of localities. The book is admirably got up, and will be found well worthy of a perusal.

Die Briefe Johannis. Nebst einem Anhang über die Katholischen Briefe.
Von Dr. J. H. EBRARD. Königsberg. 8vo. 1859.

SUBSEQUENT to the death of Dr. Olshausen, whose commentaries on some parts of the New Testament are well known among us, it was resolved to continue his work so as to make it include all the books of the new canon. This volume, by Dr. Ebrard, is part of the continuation, and in accordance with Dr. Olshausen's design, is adapted to the use of students and preachers. We are quite prepared to welcome this work, because we think it one of a class the use of which should be encouraged among us. It contains a complete analysis and criticism of the text, with what may be designated practical suggestions intended to point out the lessons to be drawn for instruction and edification. Consequently while the original text is the foundation of the commentary, in its form, it is much more discursive than many, and will on that account prove the more agreeable reading. The value of the volume is considerably enhanced by the copious introductions to the epistles, in which such matters are of course discussed as do not naturally arise out of the text. As however our present purpose is to call attention to the appearance of the work, we shall not transcribe any specimens of the author's mode. We hope those who can avail themselves of the original will do so, and that those who cannot will at an early period have the advantage of seeing it in an English translation. It will afford us the more pleasure to see a good translation of this work, because we are under the impression that our own language is singularly deficient of separate, and thorough, and scholarlike commentaries upon the epistles of St. John. The only distinct work by an Englishman mentioned by Dr. Ebrard in his enumeration of authors who have treated these epistles is Dr. Whiston!

Pauli ad Galatas Epistola. Latine vertit et perpetuo annotatione illustravit Dr. G. B. WINER. Ed. 4. Aucta et emendata. Leipsic.
London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo. 1859.

THE work of Dr. Winer on the Galatians has been so long before the world, that it seems scarcely necessary to do more than announce the appearance of this edition. But it appears that the author prior to his death had made various corrections and alterations with a view to its republication in an improved form. His decease prevented him from carrying out this intention, but the work has notwithstanding been given to the public in the altered state in which it was found among his papers. The many attainments and peculiar opinions of the author are sufficiently known. The latter prevent us from an unreserved recommendation of this work, but the former justify us in calling special attention to it as one which may be consulted with profit. It contains many valuable interpretations and suggestions, and as such will prove a useful help to the understanding of this epistle.

S. Hippolyti episcopi et Martyris Refutationis omnium Hæresium librorum decem quæ supersunt. Recensuerunt, Latine verterunt, notas adjecerunt, Dr. L. DUNCKER et Dr. F. G. SCHNEIDEWIN. Göttingen. 8vo. 1859.

THIS compact and complete edition of a work known as the *Philosophumena*, and formerly ascribed to Origen, will be an acceptable one to the student of patristic literature. It was commenced by Professor Schneidewin, but his death prevented him from completing his task, which the other editor has brought to a termination. The text appears to be carefully printed, and the Latin version a correct rendering of the original. The notes are partly critical and partly illustrative of the text. Copious indexes have been supplied which will greatly add to facility of reference to this excellent edition of an important book.

The Words of the Risen Saviour, and Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. By RUDOLF STIER. Translated from the German by the Rev. W. B. POPE. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1859. 8vo, pp. 506.

THIS volume completes the great work of Stier on the Words of our Lord, and gives besides a specimen of his labours in another department of Biblical interpretation. As to the first, we hope to have an opportunity of entering much more fully than we have yet done on a critical survey of Stier's method of exegesis, and of pointing out his merits and defects. At present we can only intimate that this completion of the comment on the Words of Christ has appeared, and give it our general commendation. Besides the several appearances or utterances of our Lord to St. Paul, there are only the following Words spoken by him after his ascension:—to Ananias, to St. Peter, the Epistles to the Seven Churches, and Rev. iv. 1 and xxi. 5—8. The Commentary on St. James occupies more than half of this volume, and is in the form of thirty-two discourses; and the motives which led to their publication, and what is contemplated, are thus stated in the Preface:—

“I have been often and importunately asked to print, for more extended use, these Sermons on St. James. Having been long unaccustomed to write my discourses beforehand, it was difficult, amid my many engagements, to comply with this request. Nevertheless, an internal impulse prompted me to do my best to contribute my mite towards the better understanding of this little-studied Epistle. Jas. iv. 17 came powerfully to second this request, and induce me to regard it as from the Lord. I have at length accomplished my purpose; and, by the omission of much that was orally expounded and applied in exhortation, and retaining simply the concise fundamental thoughts which conduct the train of exposition, have succeeded, I trust, in presenting the whole in such a form as will suit the reader.

“This is a plain account of the present little volume, which I now send forth in the full confidence that the Lord will sanctify it with his blessing. Learned readers will not, indeed, find a commentary which searches out the original, but they will find that the whole rests upon careful examination of the text. The practical strain of observation upon this Epistle, which is altogether practical,

albeit resting upon theory and doctrine, may serve to supplement some other commentaries, and point out to many of the learned the way which alone will conduct to its adequate exposition. Preachers will easily see how these sketches were, or should be expounded in the living address. But readers who *seek edification*—and where the interpretation of Scripture is concerned there should be no others—will not, I hope, be uninstructed and unblest. To all such these briefer notes may be better and more effectual than ampler dissertation which is more fitly *heard*."

As an illustration of the practical nature of the Commentary, and its style of teaching, we quote the following:—

"'Is any merry? Let him sing Psalms.' In the original this last is only a single word, which we cannot reproduce—let him *psalm*, or *praise*, his God. But in order that we may thoroughly deal with this great saying, let us divide the word according to our translation, and ask first whether it might be said generally—Is any merry? let him *sing*! We answer, Assuredly; for the singing is necessarily included and recognized in the praise of psalms. That the joyful should sing is as natural as that the afflicted should pray, rather more natural. Song as the expression of cheerfulness is something universal in human nature; there were always, both in Israel and among all other nations, songs of joy. Hence it is constantly mentioned in the prophets, by whom joyous singing is used as a frequent figure, even as they threaten that God will take away the song of the bridegroom and the bride, and so forth. The *singing* of men is in itself good and noble. The same God who furnished the birds of heaven with the notes wherein they unconsciously praise their Creator, gave to man the power to sing. We all know how highly Luther, for example, estimated the gift and the art of song. Let him to whom it is granted rejoice therein; let him who lacks it seek if possible to excite it, for it is a good gift of the Creator, generally belonging to our human nature. Let our children learn to sing in the schools, even as they learn to read. Our fathers sang more in all the affairs of life than we do; our times are in this respect less fresh, and artless, and joyous. There are many among us who never sing except when adding their voices to the voice of a church, and therefore they sing so badly there. Not that a harsh song from a good heart is unacceptable to God, but he should have our best. And as David in his day took care that there should be practised singers for the sanctuary, we also should make provision for the Church's service of song, that God may have in all respects a perfect offering. How gracious and lovely is the congregation, singing with the heart acceptable songs!"

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1. *An Examination of the Rev. F. D. Maurice's Strictures on the Bampton Lectures of 1858.* By the LECTURER. London: Murray. 1859. 8vo, pp. 108.
 2. *A Letter to the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on some points suggested by his recent criticism of Mr. Mansel's Bampton Lectures.* By the Rev. C. P. CHRETIEN, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859. 8vo, pp. 48.

THESE two pamphlets enter into some polemical questions which have been called into being by the severe attack made on Mr. Mansel by the Rev. F. D. Maurice. Into these matters we cannot enter. It is more to our purpose to notice the fact that both the writers before us incidentally illustrate the great subject of divine revelation, and of the relation of God to the mind of man, and, so far, they may be read with much profit. One passage by Mr. Mansel so well presents the con-

trasted views of two parties as to the nature of Divine revelation, that we will transfer it to our pages :—

“ I believe that God is revealed in Christ. But I believe also that this revelation (while designed to answer other purposes in the Divine economy) is, as a manner of teaching us the Nature of God, analogous in some degree, however fuller and higher, to those earlier manifestations in which God revealed Himself under symbols borrowed from the consciousness of man. In other words, I do not regard the manifestations of God *in the Flesh* as a direct manifestation of the absolute and eternal essence of the Deity, but as the assumption of a nature in which the manifestation is adapted to human faculties and limited to a mode in which man is capable of receiving it. In this belief I think I am supported by the language of that Article of our Church which expressly asserts that the human nature of Christ is not co-eternal with his divinity, but was assumed, as a subsequent nature, at a certain period of time. ‘The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, *took man’s nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance ; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood were joined together in one Person, never to be divided.*’

“ Mr. Maurice’s teaching, on the other hand, so far as I can understand it, appears to be this. He holds that the Incarnation of Christ as a man was not the assumption, by the Son of God, of a new nature, but an unveiling to man of that which had existed from all eternity. He seems to maintain that God the Son is, in his eternal and infinite essence, very and perfect man ; and that, in his manifestation to the world in the likeness of sinful flesh, he did not ‘empty himself, taking the form of a servant,’ but manifested his divine glory in all its infinite perfection. Mr. Maurice does not, indeed, tell us wherein that infinity consists, or by what means we are to be assured that it is the very infinite. ‘Christ,’ says the Article, ‘in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except.’ Our human nature is finite : are we to say that the absence of sin constitutes infinity ? It would seem to do so, according to Mr. Maurice’s teaching ; since he apparently regards Christ’s Incarnation as a direct exhibition of the Infinite. Such, however, is not the usual meaning of the term, nor is it in this sense that I have said that the Infinite is inconceivable. If this is his meaning, he is fighting with a shadow of his own creation. If this is not his meaning, I have yet to learn what constitutes that human infinity which he proclaims as the substance of his Revelation.”

Mr. Chretien does not like Mr. Mansel’s doctrine, and, in our opinion, he seems to mistake it. Because the Bampton lecturer teaches that what we know of God is *by analogy*, and that mortals cannot comprehend him *in rerum naturâ*, Mr. Chretien jumps at the inference that he states that our knowledge is *false*. For example :—

“ A terrible philosophy this, which, if we adopt a principle as practically true, demands that we should admit it to be in a higher sense false ; which not only consigns us for the guidance of our life to *seeming* truths, but tells us that if we could only lay aside the veil of our human nature, we should perceive these seeming truths to be falsehoods. Cold comfort to be assured that what is the highest truth to man is possibly false to angels. Sad and dreary climbing up the steep path of knowledge, if the step that looks sound and solid from below is seen to be rotten and hollow from above, and an assurance that our feet may one day be planted on a rock depends on a conviction that all around is quagmire, etc.”

Need we tell those of our readers who have only seen as much of Mr. Mansel’s book as our own pages have furnished, that this is not *his* doctrine ?

The Bible Text Cyclopædia: a complete Classification of Scripture Texts in the form of an Alphabetical Index of Subjects. By the Rev. JAMES INGLIS. Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis. 1859. Published in parts. 12mo, pp. 32 each part.

WHAT is aimed at in what promises to be a very useful work is stated in the prospectus:—

"The work now submitted to the public occupies new ground in Biblical Literature, and differs in character from any Cyclopædia, Dictionary, or Index to the Holy Scriptures, hitherto published. Its range is greatly more extensive, embracing *every subject* which has a place in the Sacred Volume, whether Doctrinal, Practical, Ecclesiastical, or Secular. Many of these—some of them of considerable importance—will not be found in any other Cyclopædia. The mode in which the different topics are treated is to some extent novel. Instead of Dissertations, a complete collection of Scripture Texts is given, enabling the reader to discover for himself what is taught in the Word of God on any subject. *Selections of Texts*, more or less complete, have frequently been published; some being restricted to a particular class of subjects, and others to a limited number of texts; but it is believed this is the first time in which an attempt has been made to classify all that the Bible contains on every topic. The subjects, instead of being grouped under general titles, such as Biography, Geography, Doctrines, etc., are arranged Alphabetically, so that they can be referred to with the utmost facility. The Scripture references are above 80,000 in number, of which those on Doctrinal and Practical Subjects, amounting to more than 20,000, and which occupy the largest portion of the book, are quoted in full. This Cyclopædia is not a compilation from other works, but has been prepared throughout directly from the Scriptures, a careful Index having been made in the most circumstantial manner, of the whole Bible from beginning to end, verse by verse, and clause by clause, with repeated revision, to prevent, if possible, the omission of a single subject or text."

As a specimen of the work we will print the first page:—

"**AARON**, High-Priest. Son of Amram and Jochebed, of the family of Kohathites, tribe of Levi, Ex. vi. 16—20; Jos. xxi. 4, 10; 1 Chr. vi. 2, 3; 1 Chr. xxxiii. 13. Marriage and children, Ex. vi. 23, 25; Num. iii. 2; 1 Chr. vi. 1; 1 Chr. xxiv.

"Call and inspiration, eloquence, character, Ex. iv. 14—16; Ex. vii. 1; Heb. v. 4; Ps. cvi. 16. Meets Moses by divine direction, introduces him to the Israelites, Ex. iv. 27—31. His interviews with Pharaoh, miracles, Ex. iv. to xii.

"Associated with Moses in leading the Israelites, Ex. vi. 26, 27; Jos. xxiv. 5; 1 Sam. xii. 6, 8; Ps. lxxvii. 20; Ps. xcix. 6; Ps. cv. 26; Mic. vi. 4. Israelites murmur against him, Ex. v. 20, 21; Ex. xvi. 2—10; Num. xiv. 2—5, 10; Num. xvi. 3—11, 41; Num. xx. 2; Ps. cvi. 16.

"Lays up a pot of manna in the Ark, Ex. xvi. 34. With Hur, holds up Moses' hands, Ex. xvii. 12. Ascends Sinai, Ex. xix. 24; Ex. xxiv. 1, 9. Is judge while Moses is on the mount, Ex. xxiv. 14.

"First High-Priest, his descendants all priests, his consecration, Ex. xxviii. and xxix.; Lev. viii.; Num. iii. 3; Num. xviii.; 1 Chr. xxiii. 13; 2 Chr. xxvi. 18; Ps. xcix. 6; Ps. cxxxiii. 2. See *Priest*.

"Makes the golden calf, Ex. xxxii.; Acts vii. 40. Moses intercedes for him, Deut. ix. 20. Rod of buds and is laid up in the Ark, Num. xvii.; Heb. ix. 4.

"Blesses the Israelites, Lev. ix. 22; Num. vi. 23. Forbidden to mourn for his sons' death, Lev. x. 6, 19. His jealousy of Moses, Num. xii. 1. Intercedes for Miriam, Num. xii. 11, 12. Stays the plague after Korah's rebellion, Num. xvi.

"Excluded from Canaan for his sin at Meribah, Num. xx. Age, death, and burial in mount Hor, Ex. vii. 7; Num. xxxiii. 38, 39; Num. xx. 23, 29; Deut. x. 6; Deut. xxxii. 50.

"**ABADDON** (destroyer), the angel of the bottomless pit, Rev. ix. 11.

"**ABANA** (Heb. Amana), a river of Damascus, 2 Kings v. 12. See *Song* iv. 8.

"ABARIM (the passages, see Jer. xxii. 20), a chain of mountains E. of Jordan, on one of which (Nebo) Moses died, Num. xxvii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 47, 48; Deut. xxxii. 49.

"ABBA (father), Mark xiv. 36; Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6.

"ABDON, a Judge of Israel, Jud. xii. 13—15.

"ABEDNEGO, or AZARIAH, a pious friend of Daniel, delivered from the fiery furnace, made governor by Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. i. 6—20; Dan. ii. 17, 49; Dan. iii.

"ABEL, son of Adam, a shepherd, sacrifice of accepted, slain by Cain, Gen. iv. 2—11, 25; Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke xi. 51; Heb. xi. 4; Heb. xii. 24; 1 Jn. iii. 12.

"—, stone of, near Bethshemesh, ark placed on by Philistines, 1 Sam. vi. 18.

"ABEL, ABEL-BETHMAACAH, or ABEL-MAIM, a town in the N. of Palestine. Sheba flees to, is slain in, 2 Sam. xx. 14—18. Spoiled by Benhadad, 1 Kings xv. 20; 2 Chr. xvi. 4. Taken by Tiglath, 2 Kings xv. 29.

"ABEL-MEHOAH, a town near the Jordan, Elisha's birthplace, 1 Kings. xix. 16; Jud. vii. 22; 1 Kings iv. 12.

"ABEL-MIZRAIM (mourning of the Egyptians), a place W. of Jordan, where Joseph mourned for his father, Gen. l. 11.

"ABEL-SHITTIM. See *Shittim*.

"ABIA, or ABIJAH, a descendant of Eleazar, chief of one of the twenty-four courses of priests, 1 Chr. xxiv. 10; Neh. xii. 4, 17; Luke i. 5.

"—, Samuel's son, made judge, his wickedness, 1 Sam. viii. 1—5.

"ABIETHAR, High-Priest. Of the line of Ithamar and Eli, son of Ahimelech, called Ahimelech, 2 Sam. viii. 17; 1 Chr. xxiv. 3—6, 31. Abimelech, 1 Chr. xviii. 16.

"His father gives David shewbread, 1 Sam. xxi.; Mar. ii. 26. Escapes to David from Nob, 1 Sam. xxii. 20; 1 Sam. xxiii. 6. Consulted by David, 1 Sam. xxiii. 9; 1 Sam. xxx. 7.

"Joint-priest with Zadok, 2 Sam. viii. 17; 2 Sam. xv. 35; 2 Sam. xx. 25; 1 Kings iv. 4; 1 Chr. xviii. 16; 1 Chr. xv. 11. His fidelity to David, 2 Sam. xv. 24, 29. Deposed by Solomon for aiding Adonijah, 1 Kings, i. 7; 1 Kings. ii. 26. See 1 Sam. ii. 31—35."

Sermons on the Atonement and other subjects, preached before the University of Cambridge. By E. HAROLD BROWNE, B.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and Canon Residentiary of Exeter. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859. 8vo, pp. 160.

THESE are not common discourses, but display the depth and fervour which we should have expected from the antecedents of their author. They evidently glance at some popular errors, although they are not professedly polemical, and the *Sermon on the Atonement* especially is admirably adapted to conflict with heterodox notions on the subject lately defended in certain quarters. The text is Rom. xi. 32:—"For God hath included them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all;" and this passage is taken in connexion with Gal. iii. 22:—"The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." Two topics are thus spoken of as correlative, sin and its remedy, and some fine views are given of moral evil as not being a creation in itself, but as something almost inherent in the idea of that free will which God conferred on man. It was possible that man should fall, and when he did so, then followed the Atonement as the remedy. And if that is a mysterious provision, Mr. Browne asks, "How much more mysterious would

the world be without it! Take Christ away from man, and what a blank is his history, what a worse than blank his hope!" This sermon is followed by those on the Resurrection, on the Providence of God, on the Ark resting on Mount Ararat, on Repentance, on Christ's teaching by parables, and on the Believer having the witness in himself. In the fifth sermon, there is stress laid on a remarkable coincidence, viz., that the Ark rested on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, which was the very time, says Professor Browne, on which Christ rose from the dead. But this is a subject on which more ought to be said than we can admit here, so we can only notice it. From the last sermon we give the following passage:—

"It is of course plain enough that the truer and more lively is the Christian's faith, the stronger will be the evidence in the Christian's heart to himself, as well as the more convincing his testimony to the world. But yet I believe that many a man who has never fully taken up the cross; many a man who has been untrue to his own convictions, and so never become sincerely a Christian, has yet known so much of his own heart, has seen so much of the depths of its workings, and felt so acutely its need of a Saviour, that that alone has convinced him that the Bible is the truth; and so he has had a witness within himself even by an unformed, unpractical, and unloving faith. I believe that many a thoughtful man has gone as far as this, who has never gone further; assured by his own heart's workings and his own life's experience, that Jesus is the Christ; but never so far moved by the love of Jesus as to give up all things and to follow him. Such a man is indeed unstable as water, and can never excel. His house is not founded on the Rock, and so it cannot bear the floods and the rain to beat against it. And it is only he who has both heard the voice of Christ and listened to it, who has heard his words and is doing them, that can always find the record clear within him, and know from it of a truth and unfailingly, that Jesus is the Son of God. The half believer, with all his convictions, will find his faith fail him at the very moment it is most wanting to him; fail him, and perhaps leave him then for ever. But the true believer feels it buoy him up in the deep waters of affliction, and carry him safely through the floods of temptation, and support and comfort him even in the midst of the dark river of death."

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, with Illustrations by Charles Bennett, and a Preface by the Rev. Charles Kingsley. London: Longmans. 1859. Small 4to, pp. 400.

THIS edition of Bunyan is professedly the development of a higher style of art than has yet been brought to bear on the allegory of the great dreamer. Hitherto, such is the idea here conveyed, artists have neglected time and place, and the actual circumstances of Bunyan, and given the reins to their own imagination in their illustration of their author. Mr. Kingsley thinks that to illustrate any literary work, the artist must conceive as the author did, see the same faces, the same features of country, etc.; and accordingly Mr. Bennett has given a series of portraits taken from the middle and lower classes of the midland counties. The thought seems correct, yet in carrying it out there is, in our opinion, more of fancy than of fact. But apart from this, the volume is one of no ordinary interest. The study of the engraved characters will amuse and instruct all into whose hands it may come. The whole book is a fine specimen of modern art.

The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser. With Memoir and Critical Dissertation by the Rev. GEORGE GILFILLAN. In Five Volumes. Edinburgh: James Nichol. 1859. 8vo.

It is because there is so large an amount of Sacred Literature in the poetry of Spenser that we specially notice it here; and the same may be said of many others of our bards, especially the early ones, whose works are comprised in the very handsome and very cheap edition of the British Poets put forth by Mr. Nichol. Yet how little is Spenser read, great as was his genius and fervent his piety! We should be glad if any recommendation of ours could induce our readers to go through the *Faerie Queene*, or, at least, to make themselves acquainted with its merits. Mr. Gilfillan has very correctly described the work, and we think this is one of the best of that gentleman's critiques, prefixed to the several poets in this edition. He compares Spenser and Bunyan in several fine paragraphs, from which we copy the following:

"Bunyan and Spenser resemble each other, not only in the blended ingenuity and imperfections of their allegory, but in the intense realizing power of their imaginations. They are both for the time the dupes of their own fancies. Their personification, as well as their persons, are to them living, moving, and speaking beings. Una (the Church), is as real to Spenser as Belphoebe (Queen Elizabeth); and 'that man of hell named Despair,' as Timias (Sir Walter Raleigh). And so in Bunyan, Goodwill, or the Love of God, is as picturesquely portrayed as Christian, who stands for the author himself; and Diffidence starts from the canvass with as much boldness as Evangelist, who was probably a real minister, and Bunyan's spiritual father and guide. . . . The one could never have written anything approaching the first appearance of Una in the 'Word of Error,' the Rich Strand, or the Bower of Bliss; nor could the other have created the 'Den' described in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and the Ascent of the Pilgrim to the Celestial City; or struck out such masculine or terrible figures as Valiant-for-the-Truth, with the sword cleaving in blood to his hands; and Turnaway led back to hell by seven devils with the inscription on his back, Wanton Professor and Damnable Apostate."

One passage from Spenser we must quote. It is probably known to most of our readers, but they will not object to have its solemn beauty brought before them.

"And is there care in heaven? and is there love
In heavenly spirits to these creatures base,
That may compassion of their evils move?
There is;—else much more wretched were the case
Of men than beasts. But oh! the exceeding grace
Of highest God! that loves his creatures so,
And all his works with mercy doth embrace,
That blessed angels he sends to and fro
To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe.

"How oft do they their silver bowers leave
To come to succour us that succour want!
How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
Against foul fiends to aid us militant!
They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
And their bright squadrons round about us plant;
And all for love, and nothing for reward:
Oh! why should heavenly God to man have such regard?"

Catalogue of Antiquities, Works of Art, and Historical Scottish relics, exhibited in the Museum of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, during the Annual Meeting, held in Edinburgh, July, 1856; comprising notices of the Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, collected on that occasion, etc., etc. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1859. Large 8vo, pp. 278.

THIS is a splendid work, and does great credit to the editor, Mr. Albert Way, and to the publishers. It contains nearly two hundred illustrations, beautifully engraved, some on wood and others on copper, and as a depository of antiquities it is very valuable. Of course the contents are very various. Among them we find the following —

"S. Thomas Aquinas de Veritate, a vellum MS., richly illuminated, with a colophon in the following words, 'Hoc opus prefectum fuit per me Phillippum de Homodeis (or Homocleis), in loco Inglenani, die primo mensis Septembris, m. cccc. lxxj.º.'" —

"Portion of a Bible printed 'at the coste and charges of Rychard Carmarden, 1566,' with the words, 'for John Knox,' added in modern type. The volume contains a signature, said to be that of Knox."

"A singular brass matrix bearing as a device a turbaned head, surrounded by a Hebrew legend, the first words of which have been interpreted as signifying *Solomon Bar Isaac*. It was found in ploughing, on the eastern slope of Arthur's Seat. It appears difficult to reconcile the device of a human head with the supposition that such seals belonged to Israelites, by whom such imagery has been always eschewed. They may have been talismanic or magical."

The Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. XIX. Eighth Edition. RES —SCY. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1859.

THIS great work is fast approaching to completion, and the publishers have spared no expense to make it complete. In this volume appears the following announcement of a feature of this edition which must greatly enhance its value.

"The publishers beg to remind the subscribers to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that the work is to be accompanied with a general index, which is now in course of preparation. Although all the important subjects will be found under the alphabetical arrangement, many which do not appear under separate heads are noticed in other articles; and even of those which have a special place in the alphabetical order, many are again noticed under separate heads. These will all be arranged in the index, so as to point out to the inquirer the volume and page under which further information may be obtained: for example:—

"Monkey, vol. xiv. p. 137. Defontaine, xii. 144. Ligny, Battle of, v. 619. Leverrier, i. 899. Causation, xvii. 434, 436, 440—Malebranche on, i. 78—Hume's Theory of, 211—Aristotle on, iii. 498—Dr. T. Brown's, v. 602."

Early Statutes of the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge. Now first edited, with notes, by J. E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of the College. Cambridge: printed for the editor at the University Press, and sold by Macmillan and Co. 1859. Part I. 4to. pp. xxviii, 408.

AT first sight a collection of Statutes does not promise much of interest; but, in this case, such a conclusion would be far from the truth.

A glance at the marginal notes sufficiently points out the great value, in a historical point of view, of these regulations of our pious ancestors. We have never been more impressed with the truth of the saying, "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamus in illis*," than in looking at this volume, for in a few centuries the modes of education, and the general treatment of young persons have undergone the most striking change. For instance, we find such items as these :—

"To avoid interrupting scholastic exercises the members of the college are forbidden to remain long in hall after meals, unless when college meetings, disputations, lectures, or expositions of the Bible follow immediately."

"Prohibition of singing, dancing, music, and other noisy pastimes in the chamber."

"Conversation before the fire, and good cheer."

"Not more than two fellows to be compelled to occupy the same chamber. Not more than four scholars shall be compelled to occupy the same chamber."

"Whipping of undergraduates under 18 years of age."

"All scholars and pensioners to learn Greek and Hebrew."

Mr. Mayor has discharged an arduous duty in a highly creditable manner, and we hope the work will be duly patronized by the learned public.

INTELLIGENCE AND CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS, BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS.

Life and Character of David.—From Benjamin to Judah* the transition is obvious and natural, whether we follow the geographical sequence or the order of historical events. And thus we pass at once to DAVID. The attitude taken by Benjamin was of the utmost importance to the new monarch during the early years of his reign. It was a royal tribe, like his own; its power was pre-eminent at Saul's death, and it contained David's most bitter enemies. For a time they raised the standard of a rival dynasty; but no long time elapsed before they gave in their allegiance at Hebron, and they were the means of drawing over the other ten tribes. Henceforward Judah and Benjamin were indissolubly united. For this fusion various reasons may be given. There is something in the sympathy† which would naturally arise between the two royal houses, and more in the intermarriage between the two houses. But perhaps we should not be far wrong if we were to say that the affinity of the two tribes depended chiefly on geographical considerations. Benjamin was the debatable ground between the great families of Ephraim and Judah.‡ Here, too, the table-land is continuous. There is no break like that between the northern tribes and the southern, or between the eastern and the western. But, above all, we must look to the critical position of Jerusalem, and its establishment as the metropolitan city. The choice of a capital is of peculiar moment in a kingdom made up of confederated portions. Hebron was the chief town of Judah; Shechem was, as we have seen, the chief town of Ephraim. Jerusalem was intermediate. It was, indeed, actually on the border line between the territories of Judah and Benjamin. David chose his city wisely, not only because the deep ravines made Zion strong in the military sense, but because it was well placed in reference to the general population. Hitherto there had been no true geographical centre of the Jewish people. One of the greatest results of David's reign was the drawing of the political and religious allegiance of all his subjects towards the city of Jewish poetry and prophecy. There is something very striking in this coincidence and combination of the personal history of David and the topographical interest of Jerusalem. The kingly prophet and the prophetic city come into view and command our attention together. Jerusalem is our natural centre, if we wish to examine the Holy Land more minutely than before, and to connect its features with the poetry and the life of the psalmist king.

No one can be indifferent, certainly no one ought to be indifferent, to the characteristics of the scenery in the midst of which the Psalms were composed. Doubtless many things in the Psalms are difficult and uncertain; but their topo-

* A note is the right place for the tribes of Simeon and Dan. The former is omitted in the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.), the latter in the enumeration of the Apocalypse (Rev. vii.). For the first omission Professor Blunt finds a reason in the matter of Baal Peor (Numb. xxv. 14), noticing coincidentally the remarkable diminution of the tribe of Simeon shortly afterwards. It has also been suggested that the tribe of Dan is omitted in the other case, because of their early apostasy to idolatry (Judg. xviii.). It is certain that the history of these tribes is insignificant. Simeon was early absorbed in Judah (Josh. xix. 9). Dan, on the Philistine frontier, ceased to be conspicuous after the period of their great hero Samson, though the enterprising expedition to the sources of the Jordan (Judg. xviii.) left a permanent mark in the topographical nomenclature of the country.

† *Und. Coinc.*, pp. 181, 189.

‡ Stanley, p. 195.

graphical allusions we have the means of realizing with accuracy and force. And the gain is great, when, in our Church services or private devotions, we can intelligently associate incidents and places with sentences apparently obscure. We obtain a real help in this way towards putting ourselves in sympathy with David's trials, his feelings, his weakness, and his strength. It is wise to remember that David's history has its strictly human side, and to take this side thoroughly and heartily, just as it has its strictly supernatural side, and as we vehemently object to any half-hearted reception of inspiration and miracle. In David, as presented to us in his history and in his hymns, there is a marked individuality of character. We may add that the consistency of the geography connected with his life, and the truth of the appropriate scenery, are equally remarkable. All such elements in the narrative and the poetry are important, whatever explanations may be given of difficulties in the biography or the Psalms; and such difficulties are often exaggerated.

Taking Jerusalem, then, as a centre, we might, in excursions of no great length, study the topography of Southern Palestine minutely, in the midst of recollections of king David. Immediately to the south, within an easy ride, is Bethlehem. On the upland pastures, and among the rocks and caves around his birth-place, the young shepherd acquired not only that familiar knowledge of the outward objects of nature which reveals itself in all his psalms, but that courage and elastic vigour and presence of mind which served him so well in times of exile and war. Archdeacon Evans, with his characteristic love of a mountainous country, has pleasantly described this cheerful discipline and its precious results. Still further to the south and south-east we come to a region made memorable by the varied adventures of David when evading the pursuit of Saul. Here are Ziph, whose inhabitants twice nearly betrayed the fugitive as he lay in his stronghold in the wood or on the hill, and Carmel,⁴ the scene of the charming episode of Nabal and Abigail. Both these places retain their old names hardly altered. Here also is En-gedi, a green oasis in a wilderness of bare rocks and ravines on the edge of the Dead Sea. For a description, and a good engraving, we may refer to De Saulcy, who is probably more trustworthy here than in his account of what he imagined he saw on other parts of this desolate shore.⁵ If our eye ranges now towards the district that lies to the south-west of Jerusalem, where the hill country falls in open valleys towards the Philistine plain, we have before us the scene of the conflict with Goliath. There seems no reason to doubt that Mr. Porter, by the close similarity of the existing names, by the presence of the wide water-course with its smooth pebbles, and the suitable disposition of the ground, has fixed upon the right positions of Shochoh and Azekah. His remarks on the probable site of Gath, which lay still further in this direction, are well worthy of attention. Further still, somewhere on the edge of the desert, was Ziklag, which David was allowed to hold as his own under the Philistines, and whence he made forays on the Amalekites. Turning now to the other side of Jerusalem we have, to the north-west, Kirjath-jearim, a border town of Benjamin, whence the ark was brought to Mount Zion. To the north of the royal city, at about the same distance as Bethlehem, in the opposite direction, is Ramah,⁶ the home of Samuel, not identified with certainty, but doubtless one of the "heights" of Benjamin, to which Professor Stanley calls our attention. Not far off was Nob, infamous for Doeg's treachery and the massacre of the priests. Here again we are under obligations to the author of the *Handbook*. It would seem from a passage in Isaiah (Is. x. 32), that Mount Zion was visible from Nob; and Mr. Porter noticed, on one of his journeys, that it is full in view from a *tell*, which satisfies the other conditions

⁴ It is needless to say that this Carmel must not be confounded with the scene of Elijah's conflict with the priests of Baal.

⁵ His expressions are—"toute la plage couverte de verdure—une source admirable, une végétation splendide—c'est un véritable jardin." "Voyage autour de la Mer Morte." Paris, 1853.

⁶ See the note at the end of his fourth chapter. It is well known that the site of Ramah is one of the vexed questions of Scripture topography.

of being near Anathoth, and close on the south of Gibeah. Completing now our irregular circle round Jerusalem, we come, on the north-east, to that valley between Bethel and Jericho which has been mentioned twice already. The upper part of it was the scene of Jonathan's heroism at the battle of Michmash, in the most disastrous part of Saul's reign; the lower part opens out upon the district which is full of the recollections of the most pathetic passages of David's reign. We might take a wider circle round the same centre, and speak of the great monarch's conquests over the Philistines on one side, and the Moabites and Ammonites on the other; of his relations with Phœnicia and Syria in the north, and, in the south, of his successes against the Amalekites and his bridling the Edomites with strong garrisons. But the allusion which has just been made, and our wish rather to follow the personal life of the son of Jesse, lead us into another train of thought.

All the circumstances which connect David with *the country beyond the Jordan*, are singularly adapted to leave pictures in the memory. We might begin with the story of Ruth, from whom he was descended. In her life the fields of Bethlehem are connected with the purple hills of Moab by the most touching association. It is to this domestic link between two regions naturally hostile, that we must attribute the step which David took fifty years later, of boldly conveying his parents beyond the Dead Sea, and committing them to the care of the king of Moab, while he himself took refuge from Saul in the cave of Adullam. A confidence in the permanent feeling of kindred, even among enemies of his nation, is implied in his request: "Let my father and mother, I pray thee, be with you, till I know what God will do for me." And the confidence was not misplaced. "They dwelt with the king of Moab all the time that David was in the hold" (1 Sam. xxii. 1—4).

When we pass on to the death of Saul, and the events which immediately succeeded, we are much struck by the incidents which first brought the new king into communication with the Transjordanic part of Manasseh. The dead bodies of Saul and his sons were "gibbeted by way of insult and intimidation" on the walls of Bethshan. "To the Jews, whose law forbade such exposure of a dead body beyond the sunset of the first day, this dreadful spectacle was far more horrible than it would, till recently, have been with us, whose roads and shores, and solitary places, have, within the memory of living man, been defiled with corpses similarly exposed." The Philistines probably knew the feelings of the Israelites, and purposely made the ignominy as terrible as they could. None ventured to interfere, save the men of Jabesh Gilead, "whose grateful remembrance of their deliverance by Saul at the commencement of his reign, impelled them to undertake the bold and dangerous enterprise of rescuing the remains of their benefactor and his sons. They travelled at least ten miles, and having crossed the Jordan, stole away the bodies by night, in the face, as it were, of a hostile garrison." Returning the same night to Jabesh, they burned the bodies, buried the bones under a tree, and mourned and fasted seven days for their fallen king (1 Sam. xxxi. 11—13; Kitto, p. 313). David shewed both generosity and policy in the warm message which, immediately on hearing of this transaction, he sent to these Manassites (2 Sam. ii. 5—7). The point of interest to which we wish to refer here is, that Bethshan is in a valley which leads down under Mount Gilboa, from the plain of Esdraelon to the Jordan. Full in view are the wooded hills of Gilead; and Jabesh itself was probably distinctly visible from Bethshan.*

In noticing David's early communications with the eastern tribes, we ought not to forget the Gadites, who appear, from what we read in the Chronicles, to have attached themselves to his fortunes during the adventurous life which he led before the death of Saul. "These are they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks; and they put to flight all them of the valleys, both toward the east and toward the west" (1 Chron. xii. 15). But

* Bethshan, afterwards Scythopolis, but still called Beisan, has now been very fully described by Robinson and Van de Velde. The position of Jabesh is not quite certain. Porter places it to the south of Pella; Stanley, to the north.

by far the deepest interest in the associations of David with the eastern country is concentrated on the war with the Ammonites, beyond the further frontier of Gad. Joab was commanding there in the siege of Rabbath-Ammon when the sealed dispatch came, which resulted in the murder of Uriah. Professor Blunt points out indications of the power which Joab, once in possession of this terrible secret, thenceforward exercised over David. Mr. Monro has unfolded this more boldly, and quite conclusively. The significance of one part of the story might easily escape notice. Joab had taken the "city of waters," which seems to have been the lower suburb of Rabbah, and now he sends messengers to David, urging him to bring reinforcements and conclude the siege himself—"lest," he says, "I take the city and it be called after my name." This diplomatic message of the crafty captain seems to have been intended to make the king feel that power, which had already been more than once displayed, but which from that time became an oppressive and intolerable influence,^a thwarting him at every turn. From this critical period a shadow settles on the remainder of the monarch's life; and there is a pathetic interest in the later events which associate him with the country beyond the Jordan. First, there is the flight to Mahanaim in Absalom's rebellion. David's crossing of the Kedron, his progress over Olivet, the insults which he received, his own deep grief, his forbearance with his enemies, are described in words which admit of a prophetic application to other occurrences on the same scene. Of the incidents which took place while the king was on the further side of the river, engaged in the miserable war with his son, we naturally single out the intercourse with Barzillai, the rich and loyal Gileadite, who supplied the wants of the army at his individual cost. It is noticed by Dr. Kitto (p. 422), and others, as a natural coincidence, how appropriate the gifts are, as the produce of a pastoral country—"wheat, barley and lentiles, honey and butter, and sheep and cheese of kine." Finally, there is the return, after the death of Absalom, and the close of the rebellion. The narrative rivets our attention on each minute particular. There is the "ferry-boat" in which the Jordan was crossed,—the parting with Barzillai, "too great a man to care to be a guest at the royal table, too true to desire any other sepulchre than that in which the dust of his fathers lay"—the promise to Chimham, fulfilled, as is curiously ascertained from a passage in Jeremiah (xli. 17), by the giving of a possession near Bethlehem,—and the words addressed so abruptly to Mephibosheth: "Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the land" (2 Sam. xix. 29). David's character has suffered from his apparently unjust treatment of Jonathan's son. The popular view is expressed in the heading to the sixteenth chapter in the Authorized Version: "Ziba, by presents and false suggestions, obtaineth his master's inheritance." But we are inclined to think with Professor Blunt, that there was more treachery in Mephibosheth than in Ziba, and that David saw reasons to suspect this.ⁱ The bitter feeling of the bereaved father, and the distrust which sad experience had justified, seem to speak in these impatient words. The whole occasion is full of melancholy. There is a threatening, too, of political danger in the quarrelsome spirit shown by the representatives of the tribes. "We have ten parts in the king, wherefore did ye despise us?" said the men of Israel to the men of Judah. An ominous hint of future schism is in the sentence which concludes the chapter: "The words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel."

The whole interest of the closing passages of David's life is concentrated upon Jerusalem, his own city, the sacred city of all future generations. His palace and his tomb, the site of the temple on the holy hill, and the two deep ravines on the south and the east, are vividly brought before us at the last. A shade of sadness is over the whole scene. The fixing of the sacred site on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, is connected with calamity and destruc-

^a 2 Sam. xii. 28; Monro, i. pp. 43, 44. The power of the wicked over the saint.

ⁱ Professor Blunt lays much stress on the fact that Mephibosheth is entirely omitted in the last instructions which David gave before his death.

tion. Disaffection in the priesthood follows, and treason in the army and the royal household. The dark cloud of Joab's influence rests even on the monarch's death-bed. When David has almost reached the extreme limit of his years, he is suddenly disturbed by hearing of the rebellion of his son Adonijah, who has gathered his adherents at En-rogel, in the deep hollow where the ravines meet under the city. Not a moment is lost. The dying monarch has strength to display one last act of vigour. His clear intellect and prompt sagacity have not forsaken him, though his body is bowed down with age. The youthful Solomon is proclaimed and made to ride "on the king's own mule," and with his father's retinue, "down to Gihon," in the western ravine; and from thence "they come up rejoicing, so that the city rings again." The joyous uproar reaches the rebels down in En-rogel, and disperses them: and presently the accession of the new king is formally announced in a convention of the chief men of the city.* A knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem is a great help towards the realization of these occurrences; and it is in every way a clear gain to associate David, intimately and accurately, with the locality which must always bear his name. The feeling of the Jews towards the "holy city" was ever afterwards co-ordinate with their feeling towards the prophet-king (Matt. v. 35; xxvii. 53); and the local presence of his tomb amongst them was never forgotten (1 Kings ii. 10; Acts ii. 29).

To give a summary of the character of David is no easy task. Not only are we met by the difficulty, common to all parts of the Old Testament, which arises from the intermingling of the human and the Divine—so that, in dealing separately with the warp and the woof, we are in danger of misconceiving and disturbing the whole fabric of the narrative—but in this case there is an extraordinary diversity, and an apparent inconsistency, in what may be called the personal characteristics of the man. We feel indeed an unmixed pleasure when we contemplate him at the first, in the winning openness of his youth, in the courage which always charms us when displayed in boyhood, in his eager love of enterprise, and his cheerful trust in God. But as the experience of his life becomes more varied, as sorrows and struggles are multiplied, the lights and shadows of his character are perplexing. To put on one side those qualities, which either are defects, or at least do not necessarily command moral approbation, we see in David intense human affections, popular talents, a nature sensitive and sensuous, high ambition, impatience of restraint, keen love of approbation, sagacious prudence, military capacity, shrewd perception of character. On the other hand, his biography displays boundless generosity, as in the adventure of the well of Bethlehem,—undaunted bravery, as when his followers withheld him from the front of the battle, fearing "lest the light of Israel should be quenched"—noble designs for the good of others, a true sense of the best interests of his country, deep self-knowledge, unsatisfied yearning after holiness, unbroken belief in God's infinite goodness, and a heart full of thankfulness and praise in the midst of affliction. In such a character there must be apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. And here is probably the secret of the attraction which David exerted and still exerts. He could easily place himself in sympathy with others. He had a strong power of loving and inspiring love. The elementary features of various men met in him. He had an extraordinary facility of drawing others round him. We find him surrounded by the most various groups of men—herein, as in so many other things, being a type of his Lord and his Son.¹ Even the human infirmities of David were a source of union between himself and others. A sense of kindred weakness often draws men together with a peculiar force of personal sympathy. It is evident that such a character needed a peculiar discipline. David was thwarted in his happiness; his affections were wounded; he was humbled by the results

* 1 Kings i.; 1 Chron. xxix. "This mention of a second anointing in a narrative that does not record the first, and the description of the first in a narrative that takes no notice of the second, form an incidental corroboration of great value." Kitto, p. 444.

¹ See Monro, vol. ii. David. *Sympathizing Characters*.

of his own sin. The bitter exclamation, "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah?" sums up a long experience of vexatious circumstances and deep suffering. Of these three sons of his sister, Asahel was killed in early manhood, and his death was avenged by a second murder; Abishai was eager at various times in his incitements to bloodshed; and Joab exercised over his master the tyranny which we have described. Yet, on the other hand, David had proof, as no one ever had, of the free and unlimited mercy of God; and to him were granted, in richest measure, the tender feelings, the high resolve, the watchful care, which spring from conscious forgiveness. And the benefits of all this discipline and experience are ours. Their results are recorded and brought home to us in the Psalter. David's heart lies open to us, as well as his life. Thus, as he attracted and assimilated to himself all kinds of character during his life, so it is still. Multitudes of men, in all ages, and of various dispositions, have been under his influence. We are all drawn to him still; we see ourselves reflected in his confessions, and find our prayers in his prayers. The son of Jesse lives for ever in the Psalms, to sympathize, encourage, humble, and instruct.—*Quarterly Review*.

Professor Powell on Miracles.—And now we desire to dismiss from our minds for a while the painful recollection of the sacred character in which Professor Powell chooses to appear, and think of him *merely* as an assailant of the rational evidences of religion. In this character, what has he to bring before the public with which they are not already quite familiar? As far as we can see, nothing.

I. His grand and palmary argument against miracles, which meets us at every turn, and returns again and again, as if it could acquire force by constant repetition, is the plea that modern discoveries in science, by shewing everywhere the pervading influence of physical laws, prove the idea of a suspension of physical laws to be unphilosophical. We cannot, indeed, find any place in the book in which this plea is exhibited with any thing like a logical coherence of premises and conclusion: still the author manifestly takes it for an argument, and for a strong argument, and we have no doubt that it exercises a potent influence upon his own mind and upon the minds of many others. But that influence, we humbly conceive, is rather a strong *distaste* to miracles than any *reasonable objection* to them. A distaste of that kind against the recognition of any phenomena inconsistent with the ordinary track of our thoughts and experiences is very common, and is one of those natural propensities which a truly philosophical mind will watch against with peculiar vigilance. When men have, as they imagine, reduced a certain domain of thought to exact order, they are impatient of the springing up of contrary appearances that, like the goblins in *Faust*, will not "dance in time" to the measure which regulates the rest. It will surprise many philosophers to be told (and yet it is certainly true) that the prejudice which prevents them from attending to the miraculous claims of Revelation, is closely akin to that which made the orthodox Florentines refuse to look through Galileo's telescope, and led Voltaire to maintain that the shells upon the Apennines were thrown there by pilgrims on their way to Rome.

What the discoveries of modern science have really done for us is to ascertain more clearly than ever what *is* the regular ordinary course of nature; and this is so far from being inconsistent with a reasonable belief of miracles that it is, on the contrary, most useful for confirming that belief. If there were no fixed ordinary course of nature, there would be no standard for determining a miracle, which is, in the very notion of it, a deviation from that ordinary course. And Mr. Locke has remarked, with his usual good sense, that "though the common experience and the ordinary course of things have justly a mighty influence on the minds of men, to make them give or refuse credit to anything proposed to their belief, yet there is one case wherein the strangeness of the fact lessens not the assent to a fair testimony given it. For, where such supernatural events are suitable to ends aimed at by Him who has the power to change the course of nature, there, under such circumstances, they may be the fitter to produce belief, *by how much the more they are beyond or contrary to ordinary observation*. This is the proper case of miracles, which, well attested, do not only find credit

themselves, but give it also to other truths which need such confirmation." (*Essay*, B. iv. c. 16, § 13.) In proportion as we can be sure that we are acquainted with the ordinary course of nature, in that same proportion we can be sure that what varies from it is, if a fact at all, a miraculous fact. And to deny—as some unbelievers thoughtlessly at times deny—that we can in any case confidently discriminate between miraculous and ordinary events, is really to deny that we can, in any case, know what the ordinary course of nature is.

When, however, Christian apologists, speak of the violations of the course of nature, it would perhaps have been more clear to say, "The now-existing course of nature," or "The ordinary course of nature as now observed by us:" for if by "the course of nature," be understood that which is conformable to the Divine appointment, then, to speak of anything occurring that is *preter-natural*, would be a contradiction. Some persons who admit the possible and the actual occurrence of miracles are accustomed to speak as if they thought (though perhaps that is not really their meaning) that the 'course of nature' is something that *goes on of itself*; but that God has the power, which He sometimes exercises, of interrupting it; even as a man who has constructed some such engine as a mill, for instance, which he has the power of stopping when he sees cause, though he leaves it usually to *work of itself*; for they forget that there is an external agency which keeps it in motion, and of which the millwright has availed himself. But any one who believes in a *universal* divine government and divine foreknowledge, must believe that whatever has at any time happened must be in accordance with a pre-arranged system, though it may be a portion of that system that differs widely from those other portions which come under our habitual daily experience. It will then be a departure from the *ordinary* course of nature; and there may have been such an arrangement originally made, that such an extraordinary event shall, when it occurs, serve as a *sign*, in attestation of the Divine will on some point. This may be easily illustrated even in works of human agency. Suppose, for instance, a clock so constructed as to strike only at the hour of noon. A child might suppose, from an observation of several hours, that it was the *nature* of the clock to move silently; and when he heard it strike, he might account this a *departure from its nature*, though it would be in fact as much a part of the maker's original design as any of the movements, his object having been to announce the hour of noon and no other. But a similar misapprehension of the nature of the machine would be much more likely to prevail if a clock could be so constructed as to strike only at the end of a year, or at the end of a century,—supposing the maker to have kept his design from being generally known. If, at the end of a year, he despatched with a message from himself certain messengers whom he had acquainted with the construction of the machine, and whom he had authorized to announce the striking, as an attestation of their coming from him, this would be a decisive proof of the genuineness of their message. Now this, we conceive, is an illustration of the view which an intelligent believer may fairly take of miraculous evidence, namely, that the Christian miracles are not, strictly speaking, "violations of the laws of nature," but departures from the now-existing *ordinary* course of nature, in conformity with an arrangement originally contrived so as to cause these to be *signs* evidencing a divine mission. And to pronounce that no such occurrence ever did or can take place, on the ground that it has not come under our own experience, and that the strongest evidence for it is to be at once rejected unheard, is manifestly a most rash and unphilosophical procedure. If we could suppose a butterfly, which is born in the spring and lives but three or four months, to be endowed with a certain portion of rationality, he might lay it down as a law of nature that the trees should be green and the fields enamelled with flowers. And if some animal of a superior order assured him that formerly the trees were bare of foliage and the fields covered with snow, he might deride this as against all experience and all analogy, and a physical impossibility. And in this he would not be more unphilosophical than some who are called philosophers.

Analogy, of which Professor Powell talks so much, is a guide to us in proportion as the circumstances of the cases supposed are similar. If the miracles of our religion had been said to have been wrought (as the legendary miracles

are represented to have been) primarily for the sake of particular persons, to give them help in pressure of difficulty or danger, or testimony to their personal innocence or sanctity, there would arise a really strong argument from analogy against them. Because conjunctures which seem to demand such interpositions are continually occurring every day; wherein, nevertheless, we see the ordinary providence of God hold on its regular course without swerving to save the innocent or punish the guilty. Such pretended miracles, therefore, admit of comparison with innumerable known parallel cases; and on comparison are seen to vary from what analogy leads us to expect as *likely* in such cases. But the Scripture miracles were not wrought *principally* for such purposes. They were wrought to meet a conjuncture to which known analogies furnish no parallel, namely, to confirm a revelation rendered necessary by the fall of mankind into an unnatural state. Now, as Bishop Butler has justly remarked, nothing short of the history of a *world* placed in similar circumstances to our own, can afford basis for an *argument* from analogy against miracles so circumstanced.

II. But then we are told that, in all such reasoning, we *assume* the existence of an *omnipotent* Being able to change the ordinary course of nature, and that such an assumption is not warranted by the phenomena of nature, since these will only justify the assumption of a cause precisely adequate to the effects. Put thus, as thus it generally is urged, there is something very ludicrous in this objection, which seems to grant the existence of a God possessed of intelligence and power capable of *producing* and *maintaining* the physical universe, and yet to express a doubt whether He has skill and energy enough to *change* the position of the meanest part of it! In reality, however, it must be regarded as a more decent form of denial that the phenomena of nature prove the existence of a Deity at all. Let us take the argument on that ground, and Professor Powell would still gain no standing-point for his view of miracles. Whatever the phenomena of nature do or do not prove, at least they do not *disprove* the existence of Deity. The heavens do not declare that there is no God, nor does the firmament *deny* that it is His handywork. To exclude, therefore, in such a state of things, the possibility of miracles is, while granting that, for aught we know, the Author of nature *can* work them, to decline to entertain any evidence that He *has* worked them; to refuse Him the opportunity of clearing up the doubts of His creatures and manifesting His own existence; to decide, in fact, the great question practically on the side of atheism. Nothing but a strict demonstration on the side of atheism can justify us in the summary rejection à *priori* of miracles as unworthy of a philosopher's belief. The question whether there is or is not in existence a Cause adequate to their production is a question of fact, and to exclude summarily the evidence which proves the existence of such a Cause by proving the effect, must be considered by all really impartial judges a proceeding in the last degree irrational and unphilosophical, so long as the existence of such a Cause is allowed to be possible in the nature of things.

III. But this view of religion, as a matter of fact to be proved by the proper evidence of matters of fact, seems a thought so remote from Professor Powell's present tastes and studies that it has nearly slipped out of his mind. Natural religion he habitually regards as a *pretended* deduction from "physical science," and he objects to the "hypothesis" of a Deity as gratuitous, and involving at least as many difficulties as it is brought to solve.

It is not necessary here to recapitulate the evidence from the things made which prove the existence of the Maker; but when Professor Powell opposes to this evidence the assertion that the "hypothesis" leaves many speculative difficulties unsolved, he betrays a total misconception of the whole question, which is not one of mere speculative curiosity, but of practice. It is a question of moral relations and duties, such as those which meet us in ordinary life. We might as well talk of the "hypothesis" of parents, and friends, and governors, and teachers around us, as of the "hypothesis" of a Deity. The supposition that we are surrounded by intelligent beings like ourselves in the visible forms of parents, children, and friends—that there are real judges and juries, magistrates, and sovereigns—these, if regarded as mere hypotheses, certainly do not solve more speculative difficulties than they raise; and the same may be said of every

fact with which we become acquainted. But no one in his senses refuses on that account to accept the proper evidence of facts. No one says, "To suppose that this variously-coloured *species*, which you call my father, is the indication of the presence of a being like myself, is only to multiply the many difficulties which beset me when I reflect upon my own nature. That supposition will involve others, of which I do not clearly see the end, or of which, to speak more correctly, I can plainly see that there is no end. I will, therefore, stop short at once, and trouble myself with none of your hypotheses." Yet such a course would be to the full as rational as much of the reasoning of Philo, in Hume's *Dialogues on Natural Religion*, which have latterly found such favour in Professor Powell's eyes.

Religion is a practical thing, designed to regulate our conduct, not to enlarge our scientific knowledge. The orderly "Cosmos" of the visible universe is, as Berkeley truly expresses it, a language in which the God of the universe is continually conversing with us by signs which He has made us capable of understanding; and in that language He is telling us of pleasures and pains, benefits and evils, which we may obtain or shun by our own behaviour, so as to place us practically in an awful state of discipline and trial. It is not a mere speculative question whether, in the phenomena by which we are surrounded, we shall recognize a Parent, Friend, and Governor, or merely the mechanism of a surd and unintelligent frame, sempiternal and uncaused; but it is a question of the deepest moral importance, in which our best interests are visibly at stake; since it is manifest that if the universe be really an indication of God, He is a Being whose very nature demands from moral and intelligent creatures like men the inward service of love and reverence, submission and adoring awe. As for the mere mist of language by which God is concealed under such words as "Laws of nature," etc., we are almost ashamed to have to notice it. Law, as Paley long ago remarked, does nothing, and is nothing, without an agent. "The law of the material universe" is only a figurative way of denoting the general expression of a number of observed and anticipated phenomena; the regularity of their sequences being, *as if* the material things which exhibit such phenomena *understood* the general expression, and *chose* to conform to it." And, as for Hume's proof, which Mr. Powell admires so much, that the human mind has no idea of *efficiency*, we would remind the reader that it is merely a proof that, *if all our ideas are only copies of what Hume calls impressions*, we can have no idea of efficiency; and is, so far as it is valid, rather a demonstration that our ideas are not, all of them, mere copies of impressions. How the notion of efficient causation came to be connected with material sequences (a connexion, the unreasonableness of which it was not reserved for Hume to point out) is well shown by Stewart.* He justly adds, "that if we allow with Hume that there is no proof of any link between physical events, and that if at the same time we admit the authority of that principle of the mind which leads us to refer every change to an efficient cause, his doctrine seems to be more favourable to theism than even the common notions upon the subject, as it keeps the Deity always in view, not only as the first, but as the *constantly operating* efficient cause in nature, and as the great connecting principle among all the various phenomena which we observe." Thus, such of the arguments of the infidel himself as bear the test of examination, pay tribute to the Being of the Creator of the universe.

IV. Those who reject the miracles recorded in Scripture must find some means of accounting for the spread and triumph of the Gospel. Professor Powell has made the attempt. "It was the argument," he says, "of Origen, and has since been often repeated under various forms, that to suppose the success of Christianity in the world effected by such simple means and humble instruments as its history describes, *without the aid of miracles*, would be to admit a *greater miracle* than any of those called in question. But it seems to be overlooked, that the alternative is merely one between *physical* miracles, and the *moral* miracle of the conversion of the world without them. And it would clearly be

* See the article *Law* in the Appendix to Whately's *Elements of Logic*.

* *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. i. c. i. section ii.

open to us to accept the latter: to admit an interposition of *moral* and *spiritual* influence to any extent, rather than one of *physical* interruption" (p. 282). It is strange that it should not have occurred to Professor Powell that a moral miracle is as much a departure from the ordinary course of nature as a physical miracle, and that all the objections he imagines to apply to the latter, apply equally to the former. But, in truth, the alternative is not between moral and physical miracles. The real alternative is between physical miracles and the abandonment of Christianity as a revelation from God. If this principle of moral to the exclusion of physical miracles is adopted, it must follow that the sacred writers have filled their histories with descriptions of marvels which were never wrought, and have ascribed the belief in our Lord to an agency which had no existence. Preachers of a most holy faith and morality, and willingly suffering all things for the sake of the doctrines and precepts they espoused, they deliberately put on record a number of extravagant fictions, and no less wantonly than wickedly assigned the success of the Gospel to a pretended cause. Though their followers must have known the narrative to be a tissue of falsehoods, they accepted the fabricated account, and neither friends nor enemies attempted to expose it; or if they did, the attempt was vain. Nay, the apostle Paul, in his Epistles to sundry churches, besides asserting that he was himself endued with a power of working miracles, "speaks of a great variety of miraculous gifts as *then subsisting* in those churches, in the manner any one would speak to another of a thing which was as familiar to them both as anything in the world,"^o and yet this confident, matter-of-course reference to the notorious experience of his readers, made in the face of many among them who were his personal opposers, had no foundation whatsoever in the facts. All the sacred writers were agreed in telling the lie, and all the Christians of different nations, to say nothing of Jews and Pagans, were agreed in allowing it to pass current. So general was this shameful contempt of truth in the devoted and self-denying disciples of a church whose precepts were without a flaw, that it is the fabulous narrative of the greatest revolution which was ever effected in the annals of mankind that has been alone preserved and not one contemporary allusion to the real origin of Christianity remains. This is the alternative we must admit, if, as Professor Powell affirms, "it is clearly open to us, to accept the *moral* miracle of the conversion of the world," to the exclusion of the *physical* miracles recorded in the Bible. Upon this supposition there must have been a moral miracle wrought of another nature than that contemplated by Professor Powell, "a miracle," to use the language of Bishop Fitzgerald, "wrought *by* nothing at all, and *for* nothing at all,"—a miracle which "supposes that all the best established laws of the human mind were violated, and that men, in this one case, acted differently from the way in which they act in every other,"^p—a miracle of which the characteristic was deceit and dishonesty, and which contravened the injunctions of the very Gospel attested. Well may we say with Bishop Fitzgerald that, "credulous as Christians may be thought, they are too sceptical to believe this," and to such absurdities are even philosophers reduced, when they endeavour to invent some device by which to elude the force of rational evidence. . . .

The more we inquire into the external testimony to the sacred narratives the more apparent it must become that they could not have been allowed to go unchallenged by powerful and angry opponents, or been universally received by the widely-scattered converts to Christianity, unless they had been the honest record

^o Butler's *Analogy*, Part 2, chap. vii. The passages in St. Paul's Epistles which he enumerates are Rom. xv. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10—28, etc., and chap. xiii. 1, 2, 8, and the whole of chap. xiv.; 2 Cor. xii. 12, 13; Gal. iii. 2, 5. The incidental way in which St. Paul alludes to the existence of miraculous powers among those to whom he is writing, as to a common truth, "is surely," says Bishop Butler, "a very considerable thing."

^p *Cautions for the Times*, p. 510. The whole of this masterly volume should be read by every one who can be brought to pay the least attention to the arguments for Christianity, and to the various errors affecting it, which have prevailed in our day.

of indisputable facts. The more minutely we examine the books themselves, the more we shall discover that they have characteristics of truth and genuineness which never yet existed in the most "cunningly devised fables." The more we contemplate the subject-matter of our religion, and contrast it with every other religion that has prevailed, the more vividly we must perceive that it bears the impress of a Divine author, and that the splendour of its light eclipses the brightest emanations from man. The more we consider the mode and circumstances of its propagation, the more strongly we must feel that it made its way by a heavenly and not by an earthly power. In every false creed there are natural causes which explain its success. Christianity prevails *against* the sword, and not, like Mahometanism, *by* the sword. The convert to Mahometanism was called upon to believe or to suffer. The convert to Christianity, on the contrary, was invited to brave suffering for the sake of his belief. With every thing against it—power, antipathies, pains and penalties—it had only a Galilean peasant for its hero, and a few poor fishermen for its champions. "It arose in an enlightened and sceptical age, but amongst a despised and narrow-minded people. It earned hatred and persecution at home by its liberal genius and opposition to the national prejudices; it earned contempt abroad by its connexion with the country where it was born, but which sought to strangle it in its birth. Emerging from Judæa, it made its way outward through the most polished regions of the world—Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Rome; and in all it attracted notice and provoked hostility. Successive massacres and attempts at extermination, prosecuted for ages by the whole force of the Roman empire, it bore without resistance, and seemed to draw fresh vigour from the axe; but assaults in the way of argument, from whatever quarter, it was never ashamed or unable to repel, and, whether attacked or not, it was resolutely aggressive. In four centuries it had pervaded the civilized world: it had mounted the throne of the Cæsars; it had spread beyond the limits of their sway, and had made inroads upon barbarian nations whom their eagles had never visited; it had gathered all genius and all learning into itself, and made the literature of the world its own; it survived the inundation of the barbarian tribes, and conquered the world once more by converting its conquerors to the faith; it survived an age of barbarism; it survived the restoration of letters; it survived an age of free inquiry and scepticism, and has long stood its ground in the field of argument, and commanded the intelligent assent of the greatest minds that ever were; it has been the parent of civilization and the nurse of learning; and if light, and humanity, and freedom be the boast of modern Europe, it is to Christianity that she owes them. Exhibiting in the life of Jesus a picture, varied and minute, of the perfect human united with the Divine, in which the mind of man has not been able to find a deficiency or detect a blemish—a picture copied from no model and rivalled by no copy—it has satisfied the moral wants of mankind; it has accommodated itself to every period and every clime; and it has retained, through every change, a salient spring of life, which enables it to throw off corruption and repair decay, and renew its youth, amidst outward hostility and inward divisions."⁹—*Quarterly Review*.

The Septuagint Version.—It is the intimate connexion, or rather the union, of the Septuagint version with the New Testament, which must ever endear its memory to the Christian mind. The early Fathers saluted it as '*The port of the Gentiles*,' and well they might, for it is not easy to conceive how the Gentiles could have been brought into the Christian Church, without the translation of the Old Testament into Greek. None but Jews could have made such a version.

⁹ This passage, which, for the condensation of its wide historic survey, and its vigorous and glowing eloquence, is one of the finest in the whole range of literature, is extracted from No. 29 of the *Cautions for the Times*, and is known to be from the pen of Dr. Fitzgerald, the present Bishop of Cork. Our Church has never wanted able defenders of her faith, but she has never had a more sound divine, a more acute reasoner, or a more powerful writer, than she happily possesses at present in this distinguished prelate.

The Hebrew language was unknown to the rest of the world. It was executed just at the time when Macedonic Greek was spread over the East by the conquests of Alexander. Large numbers of Jews were living at Alexandria, the chief port of Mediterranean commerce, and they naturally desired this translation of Moses and the Prophets into Macedonic Greek; but their Judaic traditions forbade them departing from Hebrew phraseology. Hence arose that peculiar style which we term Hellenistic, and which distinguishes the Septuagint and the New Testament from classic Greek.

This version was begun, according to Prideaux, about 270 years before the Christian era, and probably it was not finished till towards the close of that century. It was then that Scipio had triumphed over Hannibal in Africa, and put an end to the second Punic war. The younger Antiochus soon after passed over into Asia Minor, and made considerable conquests. "Having found," says Prideaux, "the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia very serviceable and steady to his interest, he entertained a great opinion of their fidelity. And therefore, on some commotions in Phrygia and Lydia, he ordered 2,000 families of those Babylonian and Mesopotamian Jews to be sent thither for the suppression of those seditions. It was from these Jews, who were afterwards scattered in great numbers over Asia Minor, that their descendants were so numerous and influential on these coasts in the early days of Christianity."

This is valuable information, but it is little known and seldom alluded to. It shews how the churches on the coasts of Asia Minor became the head-quarters of Christianity, it proves the vast influence of the Septuagint, and it accounts for the numerous citations of St. Paul from the Hellenistic version. It was at Ephesus and Smyrna, not at Athens or Sparta, but in Macedonia, where the Gospel achieved its apostolic triumphs. It was the Hellenistic Jew, not the Grecian sophist, who became its earliest convert. The reason is plain and self-evident. He had been accustomed to read the Alexandrian version. He was familiar with its doctrinal and prophetic language; he now heard St. Paul explaining the same doctrines, and developing the same prophecies. "What doth this babblers say?" "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods," was the jesting exclamation of the Attic sophist. Nor were the Greek idolaters at Ephesus more favourable, when they exclaimed, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" Yet there was a great underlying *stratum* of Jewish Hellenists all along the shores of the Egean and Mediterranean, stretching from Bithynia to Cilicia, and it was chiefly from these Hellenists that the earliest Christian converts were collected.

Nor was a still later Antiochus, surnamed Sidetes, B.C. 136, less instrumental to the diffusion of the LXX. by his barbarous cruelties at Alexandria. "He drove abroad," says Prideaux, quoting Athenæus, "grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, and other professors of arts and sciences into Greece, the Lesser Asia, and the Isles." Amongst these were, doubtless, multitudes of learned Jews, who carried the knowledge of the Septuagint far and wide. The wars of the Maccabees at the same time must have greatly contributed to the same effect, and they also manifest that providential wisdom which was preparing the world for the Christian era.

But why should we appeal to Prideaux or Athenæus? The evidence is in the hands of all who possess the New Testament. On the day of Pentecost "there were dwelling at Jerusalem devout men out of every nation under heaven." "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians." Who was the herald that collected this world-wide multitude? What mighty talisman attracted these motley throngs to Palestine? Only one answer can be returned. It was this very version of the Old Testament. It was "the Star in the East" which conducted these proselytes to the Temple. "And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth." We adduce this prediction only as an accommodation, but we feel that it vividly represents the truth of our argument.

And here we may remark on the ignorance and folly of those Protestant prejudices which would decry the value and importance of that supplement to the canon of the Old Testament, which we call the Apocrypha. We should know comparatively but little of the Jewish history between the age of Nehemiah and St. John, if we had been deprived of the Books of Maccabees. Nor could we have appreciated the excellence of their moral writings, had we been ignorant of the Books of Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom. But the philological value of these works, in reference to the phraseology of the New Testament, can be known only by a minute collation of their style and correspondence. As might be expected, they approach more nearly to the style and idiom of the New Testament than any of the canonical books. This may be explained on two considerations. First, they are original compositions, not translations. The version is always more or less hampered by the fetters of the original. Secondly, they exhibit the Hellenistic style in a more recent aspect. So like are some chapters of the Maccabees to some of the Acts, that, if it were not for the difference of matter, they might be almost mistaken for each other.

But the inestimable importance of the version of the LXX. has not been sufficiently estimated as an irrefragable evidence of the authenticity of the Old and New Testament. It was made sufficiently long before the Christian era to free it from all suspicions of forgery, and to give it all the weight of an independent authority. It is cited more than 2,000 times by Philo, as any one may see from the *Index Locorum* of Mangey. Made by Jews, it cannot be convicted of Christian prejudice, and therefore it stands an unassailable witness of the *Hebraica Veritas*. Without such a witness, it might have been whispered, "Perhaps the Jewish Scriptures are a Jewish imposture." It remains also a permanent interpreter of their meaning, for without this interpreter they would have been vague and uncertain as hieroglyphics. And then how vast is its importance to the authenticity of the New Testament! How could the New Testament have been written in Greek, if there had not been a Greek Old Testament in general use? Or how could our Lord have appealed with effect to Moses and the prophets, if he had endorsed his own appeals from Hebrew into Greek?

The fact is plain and undeniable that, in the greater number of citations from the Old Testament, the Evangelists and Apostles have adopted the very words of the Greek version, and that they have occasionally preferred it, even where it differs from the original. This plain and undeniable fact, we say, must ever entitle it to the peculiar reverence of the Christian student. Nor should we forget, that during the first 300 years of the Christian Church, it formed the only Bible of public worship. With the single exception of Origen, not one of the Fathers could consult the Hebrew text, till the days of St. Jerome. Every version, except the older Syriac, was taken from the LXX. It forms the Bible of the Eastern Church to the present day. Such facts bespeak their own importance—they also declare the importance of that edition of the LXX. which is now before us.—*Christian Remembrancer*.

The Angel of Jehovah.—It remains to glance at those facts and reasonings which assure those who adhere to our preceding view, of the identity of the Angel of Jehovah and the Logos, or higher nature of Christ. Our limits decide for us that these must be drawn in mere outline.

In the first place, taking into the account their divine nature, the fact that both are described as *sent forth on service* from God, is presumptive of their identity. They are alike commissioned by God; and thus far occupy precisely the same relation to him. They each come forth from the bosom of the Father. As in nature, so in the Godhead, action may be supposed to be in accordance with the conservative law of parsimony. Whom co-equal, the Father sends once, the same would renewedly receive his commission. In proof that both stand in the same relation of those who are *sent*, note the meaning of the term *angel*, the expression in Zech. ii. 8, 9, and the testimony of John's Gospel (iii. 34) and his first Epistle (iv. 9, 14). Christ's being called *servant* in Philippians (ii. 7), refers to his relation to God in ministering to him, and not to man. So that this term, together

with that of *Apostle* in Hebrews (iii. 1), may well be compared with the name applied to the Revealer of the old dispensation.

And not only is the one and the other put on service, but the kind of service they each do, is sufficiently similar to suggest the inference of their sameness of person. The work of the Angel has been such as to obtain for him, by general consent the name of *Revealer*. He bore forth, into the sphere of human comprehension, somewhat of the will and attributes of Jehovah. His object appeared largely to be, to present God as a more definite and comprehensible object of service and veneration on the part of the ancient Jews. And this object was secured by exemplification as well as verbal revelation. In this character and for this object, as well as others, was the coming of the Logos. The only-begotten Son declares God. Besides the similarity of their work as regards revealing God and his will, we find a general sameness in it in respect to its subjects and its aim manward. The operation of the Angel had to do with the deliverance and direction of a chosen people of God; and this was involved, though indeed in the end less visibly and more spiritually, less prophetically and more consummately, in the work of Christ.

Again, the manner of each with regard to the people of God, over and above the fact of their leading the people, is strikingly alike. Now the angel exhibits great severity towards the erring children of Israel. To Joshua he appears as a man of war; at Bochim, he makes the people weep; and in the case of David, he not only appears to him in the attitude of terror, but goes on to destroy the king's subjects, in execution of the divine vengeance. So our adorable Redeemer manifested, on various occasions, the severer traits, and is to come, in the final day, as a destroying angel, to all the wicked. Again, the Angel of Jehovah, is characterized as peculiarly tender and protective; and so he acts. How benign his visit to Gideon! How Jacob recounts his goodness at the benediction of Joseph's sons! How touchingly beautiful the signalizing of his benevolence, in the poetry of David:

Encampeth the Angel of Jehovah
Around his pious ones;
And he delivereth them.—Ps. xxxiv. 8 (Heb.).

The prophet also says, in relation to the history of Israel: "In all their affliction he was afflicted; and the Angel of his presence saved them. In his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and carried them all the days of old" (Isa. lxiii. 9). As the house of David to David, so was the Angel of the Lord a protection to the feeble and to those who stumble and fall. The counterpart of all this, in the Son of God, is too plain to require stating at this point.

Passing by the incidental proof to be gained from the comparison of the Angel to the Son of God and Son of Man, in the book of Daniel, we notice next that Michael the Archangel, who appears to be identical with Prince Emmanuel, is also shewn to be, undoubtedly, the same as the Angel of Jehovah; and if so, the relation of the two latter is at once obvious. It is maintained by Hengstenberg, very fairly, that Michael, "that great Prince," is identical with the pre-existent Logos, because his name, signifying *who is like God*, suggests this; because his appearance, as Daniel says, is like that of the Son of Man; and because his attitude, as the chief combatant of Satan, is like that of Christ (Comp. 1 John iii. 8 with Rev. xii. 7). To us, such a view seems entirely plausible of him—

"Celestial, whether among the thrones, or named
Of them the highest, for such of shape may seem
Prince above princes."—*Par. Lost*, xi. 296-8.

But with at least as much probability is Michael identified with the Angel of Jehovah. For, in the first place, the appositional appellation of *Archangel* appears to be germane with the eminent designation of the Messenger, in its entire shape. Secondly, the warlike office of both as leaders of the armies of heaven, is suggestive of their sameness. The Angel (Josh. v. 14) is represented as the Captain, or Prince, of the Lord's host, and presents the drawn sword. The Archangel

bears also the name of Prince, and bears on the celestial war against the kingdom of Satan. One gets the impression, in reading the book of Daniel (see xii. 1 seq., and before), that he regards Michael as the Angel deliverer of Israel. Finally, eminent interpreters understand the ninth verse of Jude to recall the scene in the vision of the prophecy of Zechariah (iii. 1 sq.); and thus, on the ground of Jude's testimony, assert the oneness of the Angel and Michael. And hence the former, through the latter name, is seen to be attached to the higher nature of Christ.

Lastly, writers in the New Testament affirm, most strongly, the identity of the Logos and the Angel, by attributing acts, in a special way, to Christ, which the Old Testament writers with as much particularity, have predicated of the Messenger of Jehovah. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers the shaking of Sinai, when the law was given, to Christ; while, as has been shewn, it was, before, properly attributed to the Angel of God. Paul asserts^{*} that the supplying Source, on the exodus of the Israelites, was Christ; whereas the angel was the accompanying provider in the record of Moses. It is said in Hebrews (xi. 26) that Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater richer than the treasures of Egypt; while it is the Angel on whose account he acts, and whom he particularly obeys, in Exodus. Once more: Luke (i. 15—17) tells us that John goes before the Lord Christ, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Malachi; and Malachi says that it is the Messenger of the Covenant before whom the new Elias goes.

Such, then, are the Scriptural grounds for believing that our Saviour, in his higher nature, is one and the same with the substantial Theophany, which, under a peculiar title, we considered at length in the former division of our discussion.
—*Bibliotheca Sacra*.

Persecution of the Jews by Haman.—We now read[†] of one of the most cruel outbursts of religious fanaticism ever recorded in history. "At the instigation of his minister, Haman, in his twelfth year, a decree went forth, under the seal of Ahasuerus, to slaughter the whole Jewish people scattered" throughout his dominions, on the 13th day of the month Adar in the following year, that is to say, in the thirteenth year of the king's reign, B.C. 526, from which perilous position we know that the Jews were rescued by the intercession of queen Esther. The weak, hasty, and vacillating character of Cyaxares here well accords with what is related of Ahasuerus. Niebuhr indeed has not hesitated to pronounce this book of Esther to be of no historical value. When, however, we consider that the day of this great deliverance of the Jews had been kept in memory by an annual festival, observed down to the time of Josephus, as he himself relates; and that the feast of Purim, or casting of lots, on the 14th day of the month Adar, is one of the most important festivals in the Jewish calendar, even to the present day, it is hardly reasonable to doubt the substantial truth of this narrative, or to doubt that the Jews were objects of hatred to the Medes and Persians in this reign. Nevertheless, it is hard to account for the idea of an indiscriminate slaughter of a whole nation as the result merely of sudden impulse or caprice on the part of any prince, however cruel or unwise. Some previous preparation for such an event must, we should expect, have taken place throughout the dominions of this despot. The religious tenets and doctrines of the Jews must have become generally obnoxious to the people among whom they dwelt, before such a widely operating decree could have been carried into practical execution. Now we know that a state of religious ferment had arisen throughout the whole empire about this time, which might readily account for the violent and universal feeling thus excited against the Jews. It was about this very period that the great spiritual revolution in the East, which, under the influence of the Magi, ultimately prevailed and brought back the Medes and Persians from the idolatrous worship of

^{*} 1 Cor. x. 4. Prof. Hodge says: "This passage distinctly asserts not only the pre-existence of our Lord, but also that he was the Jehovah of the Old Testament" (on First Corinthians, p. 175). The latter clause here appears much too strong; for reasons heretofore adduced. See remarks above on Yahveh Christ.

the heavenly host to the worship of one God, began to agitate the minds of thinking men throughout those countries.* Much such a state of ferment then existed, as when Mahomet, in after days, forced his religion, sword in hand, upon the nations of the East. Now the religion of the Magi as now purified and enforced, we have every reason to believe, was indebted for some of its noblest sentiments to Jewish sources, and contained many of the leading doctrines of the holy people. Zoroaster is said to have been the disciple of a Jewish prophet.† If the book entitled *Zendavesta*, now extant, in any way represents the doctrines of this great reformer, it would appear that he taught the existence of one Eternal Being; the immortality of the soul; the resurrection of the body; the reward of the virtuous in a future state; and he is said to have spoken of the coming of that great prince whose appearance was looked forward to throughout the East, and at whose birth the Magi, his followers, came to pay their adoration at Jerusalem. It was the increasing prevalence of these religious doctrines, so nearly allied to those held by the Jews, which had now stirred up the deepest passions of the Medes and Persians in defence of their accustomed worship; and as it was in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, that Zoroaster's doctrines ultimately prevailed, we may presume that the struggle between religious parties was at the highest during the preceding reign, and in the beginning of the reign of Darius. The decreed massacre of the Jews in B.C. 526, in the reign of Ahasuerus, well accords therefore with the religious temper of the times, as also does that general slaughter of the Magi in the early part of the reign of Darius, occasioned, as I conceive, by a premature attempt of the followers of Zoroaster to overthrow the corrupt religion of the State, and to set up the reformed doctrines of the Magi in its place, together with a Magian ruler on the throne. All which may be collected from the tenor of the Behistun inscriptions. This slaughter of the Magi, like the deliverance of the Jews, was celebrated by an annual festival for some years after, called "the festival of the Magophonia."^u

It was in the month Adar, the last Jewish month of the year B.C. 526, that the Jews were allowed by decree to stand on the defensive against their enemies, after which we read that Mordecai was raised to great power by Ahasuerus; that tribute was laid upon the isles of the sea, that is, upon the isles of the Persian Gulf, and perhaps beyond it, lately subject to the king of Babylon, but now within the dominions of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes; and that all these things were recorded in the "book of the Chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia." It may be observed, that the precedence is given indiscriminately either to the Medes or the Persians in the book of Esther, which agrees not inaptly with the time of transition of power from the hands of the Medes to the Persians. In the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, the Medes, as we have seen, were without doubt allowed nominal precedence. Towards the end of that reign circumstances were entirely reversed. And when the book of Esther was written, probably in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the common order of precedence in everybody's mouth was, without doubt, Persia and Media. How long Ahasuerus continued to reign after the triumph of the Jews over their persecutors, or to whom he bequeathed his dominions, we are not told in the book of Esther. That he died without male issue we know from Xenophon. Yet we read in the book of Daniel of a certain Darius, who styled himself son of Ahasuerus,

* This was an age of deep religious and philosophical speculation throughout the east—the age of Daniel, of Pythagoras, and, according to Persian tradition, of Zoroaster, the two latter of whom are said to have sought the banks of the Euphrates, to drink the cup of wisdom from the hands of the wise men and astrologers of Babylon.

† Prideaux argues, from his thorough knowledge of the Jewish religion and the sacred writings of the Old Testament, that probably he was of Jewish origin.—*Prid. Con.*, vol. i. p. 300.

^u See some excellent remarks of Mr. Rawlinson on this subject.—Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 548.

and who, we shall find, ruled over these same hundred and twenty-seven provinces, and at Susa, who will next come under our consideration. Let us close this sketch of the reign of Ahasuerus with the observation, that while the history of this king, and the history of Cyaxares, when read separately, as referring to two different kings, and according to the common arrangement of dates, have always borne a vague unfixed, and almost fabulous character; when thus viewed in connexion with each other, as the history of one king in the manner proposed, assume a substantial and well-defined position in history, and form together a most interesting reign, full of leading and important events.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Blasphemous Reference to Christianity in Ancient Rome.—Mention has been made more than once of *graffiti* lately discovered in other localities, and especially at Rome. Of these, the most important have been found in the substructions of the Palace of the Cæsars, recently excavated. It would carry us entirely beyond our allotted limits to describe these in detail. Some of them, indeed, were discovered several years since, and are embodied in P. Garrucci's general collection. But there is one so exceedingly remarkable, and indeed of so deep and peculiar an interest, that it would be unpardonable to pass it over.

The apartment in which it was found is one of several (now subterranean) chambers on the Palatine, which, in the course of the many alterations and extensions of plan during the progress of the building of the palace, were dismantled and filled up in order to form substructions for a new edifice to be erected on a higher level. The light and air being effectually excluded by this process, the walls have remained to this day in a state of preservation little inferior to that of the buildings at Pompeii. The particular apartment in question having been opened in December 1856, some traces of Greek characters were observed upon the wall; and, on a fuller examination by P. Garrucci, who was attracted to the spot by the news of the discovery, these characters proved to be an explanatory legend written beneath a rude sketch upon the wall, in which P. Garrucci at once recognized a Pagan caricature of the crucifixion of our Lord, and of the Christians' worship of their crucified God. This blasphemous sketch represents a figure with arm uplifted and outstretched (as if in the act of kissing the hand, a recognized attitude of worship or adoration*), turned towards a cross, upon which is suspended a human figure with the head of a horse, or perhaps of an *onager*, or wild ass.

If any doubt could be entertained as to the purport of this sketch, it would be dispelled by the legend underneath:

ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ [σέβεται] ΘΕΟΝ.

'Alexamenus worships God.'

Who this Alexamenus may have been, and what may have been the special occasion (if indeed there were any) of this rude caricature, it is of course impossible now to conjecture. From the name it may be inferred that, like a large proportion of the Christians of Rome in the early centuries, he was a Greek, and perhaps a slave. But whatever may be said as to the individual on whom it was meant to be a satire, the singular *graffito* thus unexpectedly brought to light after so many centuries, is at once a most interesting illustration of the struggle between the Christianity of that early age and its yet powerful and contemptuous rival, and a literal verification of one of the most striking passages in the *Apology* of Tertullian. It is impossible to doubt that this blasphemous caricature is, in one of its forms, the actual reality to which Tertullian alludes. It is not alone that this Father defends himself and his fellow-Christians from the general charge of having an ass's head as their God, and that he retorts upon the Pagans themselves their charge against the Christians of 'being superstitious respecting the cross,' by shewing that the Pagans also worshipped the cross, when they erected trophies, or

* See Job xxxi. 27; 1 Kings xix. 18; also Juvenal's—'a facie jactare manus.

took the military oaths upon their standards; he describes something closely resembling the *very picture which we have here before us in this rude graffito*, as a caricature of the Christian worship which was then popular among the Pagan calumniators. "A new report of our God," he writes, "hath lately been set forth in this city, since a certain wretch hired to cheat the wild beasts, put forth a *picture with some such title as this*: '*The God of the Christians conceived of an ass.*' This was a creature with ass's ears, with a hoof on one foot, carrying a book, and wearing a gown. We have smiled both at the name and the figure. But they ought instantly to adore this two-formed God, because they have admitted gods made up of a dog's and a lion's head, and with the horns of a goat and a ram, and formed like goats from the loins, and like serpents from the legs, and with wings on the foot or the back." It is true that Tertullian does not here speak expressly of this figure as being represented upon the cross; but the allusion made by him in the preceding paragraph to the 'superstitions of Christians respecting the cross' is quite enough to identify the *graffito* of the Palatine as another variety of the current idea to which Tertullian refers, and as embodying in one single sketch both the popular calumnies—that which represented the Christians' God under this insulting form, and that which ridiculed their folly in worshipping the emblem of his crucifixion.

We forbear to touch the higher associations which this strange discovery presses upon the mind. But even as a purely historical monument, the most unimaginative reader will regard it with the deepest interest. It opens to us, with a distinctness which no written record could supply, a glimpse into those dark days of the infant Church, while her Divine Founder was still "a folly to the Gentile," and while it was still possible to present him to the popular mind of Paganism under that hideous type of *folly* which is here depicted in all its revolting coarseness. If the *graffito* of the Palace of the Cæsars reveals much of this, it suggests yet much more; and its unlooked-for discovery seems to afford reason to hope that, from quarters which are least suspected, light may yet be cast upon a period whose social history has hitherto been all but a blank, or at least has only been known in dim and shadowy outline.—*Edinburgh Review*.

Characteristics of the Hebrew Race.—Shylock is taken as the type of the Hebrew race. About twenty pages only are devoted to him as a representative man, but more than a hundred are given to Macbeth. It is clear where the partiality lies.

"He best can paint it who has felt it most."

"The Hebrew character," says the author, "may be conveniently unfolded by the now known tests of the Teutonic. For the Hebrew and Semites generally were a race of *personality*, with its effects of war, commerce, religiosity, in a word, selfishness. This analogy is, indeed, the cause of Teutonic sympathies with Hebrew records, while the Celts resort in preference to Græco-Roman civilization." A comparison is then made between Teuton and Hebrew, which results thus:—"A thousand other consonances of the races will now present themselves. But these are sufficient, no doubt, to satisfy that we may safely employ for brevity the test elucidated in the Teutons by way of key to the Jewish character. The only difference is of degree—which is, however, as immense as the divergence of the epochs and the development meanwhile. The Jew in mind, if not also body, might be defined an aborted Teuton; and the Teuton, a stunted shrub grown to a cedar, but yet of Lebanon. This dwarf character must needs present, then, the typic attributes in like condition." We once amused ourselves with the perusal of two bulky pamphlets, one of which was devoted to demonstrating that the Anglo-Saxons are the representatives of The Lost Ten Tribes, and the other to claiming the same honour for the North American Indians! The line of proof in both cases was twofold, historical and psychological; and the result was in both equally satisfactory, as satisfactory, in short, as that come to by our author,

that the Jew is only a dwarfed Teuton—the minnow swimming by sheer sufferance in a shoal of tritons—Tom Thumb a remote cousin of the Lancashire Bruiser! The difference is here not properly in race, but only in degree of developing; and, in the spirit of Imogene's formula,

"But clay and clay differ in dignity
Where dust is both alike."

We have not space to enter minutely into the author's estimate of Shylock as a type; we must glance only at one aspect of it, and ask our readers to study the others for themselves. As in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, so in the remarks on Shylock, our attention is turned at every page to the learning, talent, and critical acumen of the author. It is impossible to follow him without being struck with the freshness of thought and riches of information in seldom explored tracts of literature, which have been brought to bear on the theme. But these excellences must not hide the strong prejudices which make the author's conclusions in ethics unsafe. In illustrating his theory in the case of Shylock, his estimate of the religious element, apart from which no right judgment can be formed of the Hebrew race, is extremely defective and unsatisfactory. We are most unwilling even to associate him with the would-be original and profound, but in reality shallow-brained Theodore Parker. Again and again, however, when religion and the influence of the "Book Divine" crosses his path, we have been reminded of the prejudice and helpless logic of the Boston Lecturer. It is quite true that the two are wide asunder as the poles in ability, tastes, and sympathies; but both make the power of the religious principle depend on the characteristic tendencies of those who receive the Scriptures, and do not acknowledge that they present to man something which takes the lead of his being, and which, while not breaking down individuality, controls and modifies tendencies common to the race to which he belongs. This must have pressed itself on the attention of any student who has seen the influence of the same truth, preached, too, by the same men, on different races. For example, in the Scottish Highlands, the moral and social features of the Protestant Celts have, as the people yielded fully to the Protestant teaching, become wholly unlike to the marks which distinguish those who cling to the superstitions of the Papacy. Those who know the Protestant Highlanders best will be most ready to acknowledge this. This form of truth has, if our author will permit us to say so, brought his favourite race into much greater conformity with his ideal Celtic type, than they were before they were brought into "a reverence for what is writ," led to give themselves lovingly to Friar Bacon's recipe for the sin-sick world—"The study of the Bible as the fountain of all truth," and even to fall into "Teuton sympathies for Hebrew records," from all of which the writer of this work dissents.

The difficulties which the author of the "New Interpretation" found lying in his way, when he brought his keen intellect to bear on the exposition of "The Merchant of Venice," led him, as it seems to us, to attempt a new interpretation of the Scriptures as well as of Shakespear. Take one or two results of this: "The Jews," he says, at p. 232, "had no distinct notion of either soul or immortality." Now if he will admit that the Bible is to be held a trustworthy witness on this point, we offer to give him hundreds of passages from which it is very plain that they not only had distinct notions of both, but such a firm, life-possessing faith in them, as made the hopes which spring out of such beliefs like wells of water to the wilderness pilgrims. If the Bible be not a true witness, from what source are we to obtain evidence on the one side or the other? It is no doubt true, that, as to a small portion of the Divine record, he might plead the authority of Warburton;* but, even on this part, such names as Augustine and Edwards can be opposed to the author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, while, in the other portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, belief in immortality and the possession of well-defined views of the soul, lie, like lines of light ever attracting to them the attention of the thoughtful reader.

* *Divine Legation of Moses*, book v.

Again: "Of course the reasoning power [of the Hebrew race] is totally null." Will our author take this sentence and read the Epistle to the Romans in the light of it—a letter written by one who was, what he loved to say of himself, "an Hebrew of Hebrews?" We are convinced that if the writer of this work were as well acquainted with the "Hebrew Records" as he has shewn himself to be with Shakespeare, he would come to a different conclusion. And, if he shall continue to hold the Jew to be but a dwarfed Teuton, he will then regard the Teuton, when he gets quit of his strong bias, as verily a son of Anak! Had the poet, in drawing Shylock, his mind full of a Jewish ideal type, then how account we for the way he has pictured Jessica—a daughter of the race, and therefore by nature a sharer of all its peculiarities?

"Shy. I say my daughter is my flesh and blood."

Yet the poet makes the first approaches of a not very interesting lover urge her to protest—

"O, Lorenzo,
If thou keep promise, I shall end this strife;
Become a Christian, and thy loving wife."

Then we have what might seem a contradiction, but what, excluding the theory now before us, illustrates the profound penetration of the poet. In the case of the father, hatred of the Christian triumphs over the engrained love even for the ducats. But Jessica's pure Jewish extraction serves her nothing when put to the trial. She is ready not only to dishonour her own flesh and blood, but to steal for behoof of her lover.

"Jes. I will make fast the doors, and gild myself
With some more ducats, and be with you straight."

If the subordinate characters in Hamlet and Macbeth are to be held consonant to the ideal type, why not Jessica? But when we regard Shylock as the expression of Shakespeare's acquaintance with an individual Jew, and not an attempt to represent through him the Hebrew race, the difficulty here indicated is lost sight of.—*North British Review*.

Interpretation of Daniel.—The genuineness of the book being thus certainly demonstrated, the next important question which arises is that which respects its interpretation. As was to be expected, the most different views have been entertained on this point. It is a marked feature in Bible prophecy, that, while the very words in which it is expressed (*e. g.*, Isa. liii.) are found exactly descriptive of the events predicted, *after* they have occurred, there is nothing in it of such a nature as to lead man to suppose that he is the creature of fate, or to impair the sense of his moral agency and responsibility. As Auberlen admirably remarks in his classical work on Daniel, p. 127:—

"We know it is an essential feature of prophecy to reveal, and at the same time to veil, the future. It does not purport to be a history, much less a chronology of coming events; it does not put them as clearly before our eyes as the past—this would destroy man's ethical relation to the future. . . . It is its very clearness in the main which renders necessary this obscurity. The fulfilment of the eternal decree of God must not be a mere arithmetical problem which the profane understanding also may calculate by simple arithmetic, but a holy enigma, which shall stimulate to a faithful observance of the ways of God, and to a diligent study of the history of his people. 'None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand'" (Dan. xii. 10).

Those who are continually speculating on the world's future, and defining beforehand political events from the announcements of prophecy, would do well to ponder these wise and judicious sentences. Every intelligent friend of Scripture must often have regretted that its solemn foreshadowings of the future have been so often abused for the purpose of gratifying a prurient curiosity. And in spite of the ill success which has attended so many vaticinations, they are still as

rife and presumptuous as ever. There are always some weak-minded or self-seeking men who are ready to supply the desiderated pabulum to the popular appetite for a knowledge of the future, and who, consciously or unconsciously, act upon the principle, "*populus vult decipi, et decipiat.*" Of course, there is such a thing as a proper and reverent use of prophecy, even in reference to coming events. "To it we do well that we take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place;" it is both wise and dutiful to mark God's hand in providence, and humbly to compare events and appearances with the intimations of his word, so as to be prepared for "the things which are coming upon the earth." But this is very different from that minute and positive delineation of the future on which so many have ventured, and which, by its proved erroneousness, has tended, in some quarters, to bring the study of prophecy into unmerited neglect. We should gladly acknowledge fulfillments where they have already plainly occurred, and should let our eye rest inquiringly upon the prophetic horizon, with the earnest, eager question on our lips, "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?" but we should be slow to dictate the course which God in his providence must infallibly follow, or to grasp at some isolated facts or some transient appearances, as favourable to a preconceived scheme of interpretation. Instead of seeking to pry into the *future*, we prefer, for our own part, looking back upon the *past*. There are certain grand announcements contained in the book of Daniel which appear to us most plainly to have been fulfilled; and to one of these, as specially important in the present circumstances of our country, we shall now direct the attention of our readers in what remains of the present article.

The point to which we refer bears upon the interpretation of part of the seventh chapter. There can be no reasonable dispute, as was before said, that the four beasts of that chapter symbolize respectively, the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires. That much is agreed upon by all sober and reverent expositors of Scripture prophecy at the present day. It is also agreed, with like substantial harmony, that the "ten horns," which are said to have distinguished the fourth beast, refer to the tenfold division which, either on its first breaking up, or, generally speaking, in its subsequent history, has been characteristic of the Roman empire. But then, very different opinions have been formed respecting the "little horn" of which we read, verse 8, that "before it were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots, and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things," and whose character is more fully described, verses 24, 25, where it is said, that the king or power symbolized by it "shall be diverse from the first, and shall subdue three kings; and he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time."

It had been common among Protestants until late years to look upon these words as descriptive of the Papacy, that great enemy of God and of his truth, which has sprung up amid the ruins of the ancient civil power of Rome, and more than perpetuated the cruel conduct of the imperial system towards the saints of the Most High. But recently, different views have been gaining ground among some Protestant expositors. The idea that Popery is specially referred to in the above prophetic description has been more or less abandoned. There are few who do not admit that there is some sort of reference to the Papacy; but many who grant this deny that, either in Daniel, or in the other passages of prophetic Scripture which speak of the coming Antichrist, we are to suppose the Romish apostasy to be specially delineated and predicted. Their conception is that the *Antichrist is yet to come*, and that he will probably appear personally in some monster of wickedness, who shall gather around him multitudes like-minded with himself, and then, in a way hitherto unparalleled, exhibit his malignity and cruelty against the church and people of God. Along with this idea of a future personal revelation of Antichrist, it is also generally held by this school of expositors, that all the forms of evil which have hitherto appeared in the church, and all the destroying agencies which have arisen to oppose or prevent the supremacy of true religion, have been repeated adumbrations of the gigantic foe to Christ

and his truth that is yet to be revealed. In the meantime they suppose that we are to see very strikingly the working of the antichristian spirit in the Papal system, but are by no means to overlook its manifestations in other and very different communities. Thus says Auberlen:—"We can neither find the Babylonian harlot exclusively in the Roman Catholic Church, as has been thought from a one-sided Protestant point of view, nor exclusively in the Established State Churches of Christendom, as has been imagined by separatists and sectarians. . . Christendom, as a whole, in all its manifold manifestations of churches and sects, is the harlot."^a

Such views as these appear to us very inconsistent with the truth as revealed in prophetic Scripture, and fitted not only to excite baseless imaginations for the future, but to interfere in many important respects with present duty. It is important, therefore, to shew their groundlessness; and, in order to this, we must beg the indulgence of our readers while we refer for a little to what we deem the right principles of prophetic interpretation, and then briefly apply these to the point now under consideration.

It is, we hold, of essential importance for the right understanding of the Scriptures generally, and especially of their prophetic portions, that they be looked at as forming *one organic whole*. This, although often overlooked, is manifestly implied in the very idea of their inspiration. If the books which we regard as constituting the word of God were really inspired by his Spirit, it is manifest that they are thus not only distinguished from all other books in the world, but *bound together* by a property common to them all—a pervading peculiarity which, while they are in one sense *distinct*, in another and equally true sense, constitutes them *one*. It matters not how different may have been the circumstances in which they were respectively composed, or how diverse the idiosyncracies of the men who were employed in communicating them to the world. Daniel, the statesman of Babylon; Paul, the writer at Corinth; and John, the exile of Patmos, must all harmonize in their predictions, if they were all in common moved by the same divine and omniscient Spirit. The several portions of prophecy contained in Scripture must, however long the period which may have separated their human utterance, fit in exactly to each other; and so far as they refer to the same events, must reflect light on one another, and by their harmonious and blended testimony, must point more clearly than when they are separately considered, to the events which it was the intention of God to announce as awaiting either the church or the world.—*British and Foreign Evangelical Review*.

PATHWAYS IN PALESTINE.

The pathways of Thy land are little changed
Since Thou wert there;
The busy world through other ways has ranged,
And left these bare.

The rocky path still climbs the glowing steep
Of Olivet;
Though rains of two millenniums wear it deep,
Men tread it yet.

Still to the gardens o'er the brook it leads,
Quiet and low;
Before his sheep the shepherd on it treads,
His voice they know.

The wild fig throws broad shadows o'er it still,
As once o'er Thee;
Peasants go home at evening up that hill
To Bethany.

^a pp. 292, 293, of the English translation.

And, as when gazing Thou didst weep o'er them,
 From height to height
 The white roofs of discrowned Jerusalem
 Burst on our sight.

These ways were strewed with garments once, and palm,
 Which we tread thus;
 Here through Thy triumph on Thou passedst, calm,—
 On to Thy cross.

The waves have washed fresh sands upon the shore
 Of Galilee;
 But chiselled in the hillsides evermore
 Thy paths we see.

Man has not changed them in that slumb'ring land,
 Nor time effaced:
 Where Thy feet trod to bless, we still may stand;
 All can be traced.

Yet we have traces of Thy footsteps far
 Truer than these:
 Where'er the poor, and tried, and suffering are,
 Thy steps faith sees.

Nor with fond sad regrets, Thy steps we trace;—
 Thou art not dead!
 Our path is onward, till we see Thy face,
 And hear Thy tread.

And, now, wherever meets Thy lowliest band
 In praise and prayer,
 There is Thy presence, there Thy Holy Land,—
 Thou, Thou, art there!

—*The Three Wakings.*

The Discoveries of Dr. Tischendorf.—A recent supplement to the *Leipziger Zeitung*, contains a communication which will be regarded with great interest by the Biblical scholars of this country. We, therefore, hasten to lay the substance of it before our readers. On his return from the East Dr. Tischendorf spent some time at Dresden. The many rare and important acquisitions, in the form of ancient manuscripts and other antiquities, secured by him on his late journey through Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, are looked on with much satisfaction by the judges and promoters of science. His Majesty the King (of Saxony) had the first opportunity of inspecting the celebrated Biblical manuscript from Sinai. The fortunate discoverer laid it before the King, stating he regarded it as a pious duty to permit no eye in his country to see this Christian treasure before his Majesty himself. And certainly no one looked upon it with greater interest, or better able to appreciate it. After the King, the Minister for Worship, von Falkenstein and others inspected this incomparable Scripture manuscript. Without the special concurrence of the Baron, and the extension of his term of absence for more than a year, Tischendorf would not have made the so eminently successful journey he has made under the auspices of imperial Russia. The Baron, therefore, had a right to examine the spoils acquired with particular care. After these private views, the Sinai manuscript, along with the principal remaining curiosities in the Tischendorf collection, was exhibited for some time. After laying them before the King and Queen, the Russian Ambassador, Wolkonski, ordered an exhibition of them to be made at the embassy. There were there, besides his Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, several ministers and ambassadors, and many others of rank and learning.

Among the objects exhibited, in addition to the venerable manuscript of the Bible, were several Greek manuscripts or fragments a thousand years old, and of still higher antiquity, mostly relating to the Holy Scriptures. There was a perfect manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch in vellum, brought from Nablous. There was a large, and in consequence of a painting in it an extraordinary Arabic manuscript, dated in the year of the Hegira 279, and therefore probably the oldest manuscript with a date in this language. There was also Saludic fragments (obtained from a mummy case), consisting of a portion of a life of St. Victor. There were ancient Hebrew and Abyssinian manuscripts and palimpsests of different kinds, dating from the sixth century downward. There was an ancient papyrus roll with several hieroglyphics; there were sepulchral monuments of a small size in wood; and there was, in the last place, a bronze astrolabe of Greek workmanship, and professedly of the fourth century.

Since then Dr. Tischendorf has started for St. Petersburg, where his collection will prove a great ornament to the Imperial Library. The continuation of the Doctor's connexion with the University is as good as decided, thanks to Baron von Falkenstein; and no doubt he will, on examining his new treasures, remember the University to which he owes so much, and which has already had occasion to rejoice in his liberality.

It will be seen that the discoveries of Dr. Tischendorf are more numerous than had been previously stated, and he may now claim to be the most successful explorer of the lurking places of valuable and venerable documents which the present generation has produced. We now look to the enlightened liberality of the Russian Government for the speedy publication of the Sinaitic Codex at least—a document which, in Dr. Tischendorf's judgment, is as ancient and as important as the Codex Vaticanus itself, not to say still more so.

. Since the article on Recent Syriac Literature was printed, we have received Dr. de Lagarde's edition of *Titus Bostrensis*, handsomely printed in quarto. The editor has brought out the work at his private risk, and only printed 160 copies. It is to be hoped that this zeal for the promotion of Syriac studies will be duly appreciated by those who are able to purchase the book. Messrs. Williams and Norgate have been enabled by the Doctor to supply the volume in England at 18s., the same price as it may be obtained of the Author himself. The title is as follows:—*Titus Bostrensi Contra Manichæos, libri iv., Syriace.* P. A. de Lagarde edidit. 1859. 186 pp. 4to. Syriac text, with a Preface.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

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- Abælardi (Petri).—Opera hactenus seorsim edita, nunc primum in unum collegit textum ad fidem librorum editorum scriptorumque recensuit Victor Cousin, adjuvante Carolo Jourdain, Tome II. (dernier). 4to. Paris.
- Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire (J.).—Le Bouddha et sa religion. 8vo. Paris.
- Baumgarten (Dr.).—Die Geschichte Jesu. Für das Verständniss der Gegenwart, in öffentlichen Vorträgen. 8vo. Braunschweig.
- Bessel (Dr. W.).—Das Leben des Ulfilas u. die Bekehrung der Gothen zum Christenthum. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Bouix (D.).—Tractatus de curia Romana, seu de cardinalibus Romanis, congregationibus, legatis, nuntis, vicariis et protonotariis apostolicis. 8vo. Paris.
- Bräm (A.).—Israels Wanderung von Gosen bis zum Sinai, mit einer Karte. 8vo. Elberfeld.
- Cochet, l'Abbé.—Le Tombeau de Childéric I. roi des Francs restitué à l'aide de l'archéologie et des découvertes récentes faites en France, etc. 8vo. Paris.
- Coquerel (A. fils.).—La Saint-Barthélemy. 8vo. Paris.
- Cypriani, Libri ad Donatum, de Dominica oratione, de mortalitate, etc.; recognovit et adnotatione critica instruxit, J. G. Krabinger. Tübingæ. 8vo.
- Debrit (Marc.).—Histoire des doctrines philosophiques dans l'Italie contemporaine. 12mo. Paris.
- De Faye (Clem.).—L'Eglise de Lyon depuis l'évêque Pothin jusqu'au réformateur P. Viret (152 à 1563). 12mo. Paris.
- Ehrenfeuchter (Dr. Fr.).—Die praktische Theologie. Part I. 8vo. Göttingen.
- Gavairon (l'Abbé).—Défense du saint-siège. 12mo. Paris.
- Gerson (Jean).—Sermon inédit sur le retour des Grecs à l'unité, prêché en présence de Charles VI. en 1409, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale par le Prince Augustin Galitzin. 4to. Paris.
- Giguet (P.).—Job (le livre de), précédé des Livres de Ruth, Tobie, Judith et Esther, traduits du Grec des Septante par P. Giguet. 18mo. Hachette et Cie.
- Hengel (W. A. van).—Interpretatio epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, Fasc. 6, Leipzig, T. C. Weigel.
- Hippolyti.—Refutationis omnium Hæresium librorum decem quæ supersunt. Recensuerunt, Latine verterunt, notas adjecerunt, Dr. L. Duncker et Dr. F. G. Schneidewin. 8vo. Göttingen.
- Hoffman (Dr. W.).—Lieder-Concordanz über die gebräuchlichsten evangelischen Kirchenlieder, von G. Bollert, D. v. Cölln, H. Eger, and B. Stein; mit einem Vorwort von Dr. W. Hoffman. 8vo. Berlin.
- Hommel (Fr.).—Der Psalter nach der deutschen Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers für den Gesang eingerichtet. 8vo. Stuttgart.
- Huber (Dr. Johannes).—Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter. 8vo. Stuttgart. Cotta.
- Keil (K. F.).—Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie. Part II. 8vo. Frankfurt-a.-M. und Erlangen.
- Knecht (H.).—Erinnerungen an meinem Freund B. Schlegel, Bote d. Evangeliums in West-Africa. Bremen, Valette et Cie.
- Kock (L.).—Philipp Melancthon's Schola Privata. Historischer Beitrag. 12mo. Gotha.

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- Landsberger (Dr. J.)—*Die Fabeln des Sophos*. Syrisches original der griechischen Fabeln des Syntipas. Texte zum ersten Male vollständig mit einem Glossar, etc. 12mo. Posen.
- Larroque (Patrice).—*Examen critique des doctrines de la religion Chrétienne*. 2 vols. 8vo. Bruxelles.
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- Rénovation religieuse. 8vo. Bruxelles.
- Martin (Th. Henri).—*Examen d'un problème de théodicée; lu à l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*. 8vo. Paris.
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ENGLISH.

- Atkins (Rev. W. T.).—*Three Essays on the Eternal Sonship of Christ*, etc. 8vo.
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